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Morphology and Syntax of Old Hindī

Edition and Analysis of One Hundred *Kabīr vānī* Poems from Rājasthān

By

Jaroslav Strnad

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For V. M.
somewhere in saṃsāra

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PREFACE

The idea to approach the interpretation of Old Hindī texts from the analytical perspective of descriptive morphology caught my attention for the first time in the middle of the 1990s when I was confronted with the task of preparing for press the manuscript of Old Hindī Reader found in the inheritance of the late Czech Indologist Vladimír Miltner. Segmenting verses of Old Hindī poets into smallest semantic and grammatical units of the language rather than words appeared to be an interesting exercise in historical morphology but seemed a bit eccentric if designed as a method that should lead students directly to comprehension of old texts, bypassing even the basic introduction to the grammatical structure of the language or dialect in question. However, when tested in classroom, the Reader met with considerable success – reassembling the text from pre-prepared tagged segments was found to be a much easier task than consulting grammatical treatises and looking up often quite special features of the respective dialect mix. Needless to say, students who use this tool have to be well-versed in the grammar of Modern Standard Hindī and acquainted with the descriptive metalanguage relevant to the task.

Reading of old texts, particularly if they are extant in non-standard dialects, often goes hand in hand with deeper interest in the historical development of language of the area in question. In this respect the original Old Hindī Reader was found to be deficient; a more detailed information on the origin and subsequent development of a particular morpheme or syntactic construction may be welcome not only in the context of historical linguistics but also in the process of interpretation of a given text. Last but not least, each decision to constitute a morphemical segment should be properly explained and put into synchronic and diachronic perspective. Inclusion of a detailed treatment of all morphs that occur in a given text corpus was therefore seen as a natural extension of the basic model developed by Miltner. Second innovation was made in the opposite direction – in contrast to its model the present work narrows its focus and deals exclusively with texts edited from a single manuscript whose date and place of origin as well as the name of scribe is known and whose text is attributed to a single author, the poet and mystic Kabīr. The grammatical structure that emerges from the present analysis can thus be seen as a snapshot of a dialectal mix current in oral performances of the Kabīrian repertory in a clearly defined time and area.

The impulse to narrow the focus to poems attributed to Kabīr came from two directions – the first and probably the most important was the interest of students who were often fascinated by the content of the message

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as well as the forceful and terse way of its expression; the second was the publication of *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*, an edition of Kabīr's poems from old Rājasthānī manuscripts prepared by Winand Callewaert and Swapna Sharma. Close reading of the texts soon revealed the desirability to consult the original manuscript to be able to identify different scribal hands and eliminate misprints that had crept into the printed edition.

The original of the manuscript used for the present work is housed in a large private library, Śrī Sanjay Sharma Museum and Research Institute (Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Pustakālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna) in Jaipur; although the present author was not able to consult the original manuscript, he was lucky to locate in the library of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg, the microfilm that contains greater part of the manuscript in question. Success in the near-detective work of discovering this precious treasure would not have been possible without the kind help of Winand Callewaert who had been allowed, some fifteen years ago, to microfilm the original during his sojourn in Jaipur, and without the collaborative effort of Sonja Stark-Wild, librarian of the South Asia Institute, the present-day owner of the microfilm reels. I am grateful to the South Asia Institute for making them available to me for a long-term study. Special thanks are due to technical experts of the National Library, Prague, who converted the contents of the degraded microfilm into high quality digital scans.

The analysis of the material and subsequent shaping of its results into the present form has taken several years of assiduous work; during this time positive reactions and encouragement from my students, friends and colleagues were of great help to me. Annie Montaut from INALCO, Paris, Danuta Stasik from the University of Warsaw, Krzystof Stronski from the Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan and Vít Bubeník from the Memorial University of Newfoundland, showed interest in my work, reassuring me to continue in the original direction at times of doubt. Special thanks are due to Imre Bangha, organizer of the 2011 Brajbhasha and Early Hindi Retreat in Transylvania where I was able to present selected poems at reading sessions attended by scholars from Europe and beyond. My friend Charles Dent, ex-librarian at the Regenstein, facilitated my sojourn in Chicago and introduced me to the amazing Southern Asia Collection of this excellent library, went through early parts of my typescript and at many places corrected my imperfect English. In the final stages of transforming the text into camera-ready copy I was greatly helped by Patricia Radder, the editor at Brill who was always ready with expert and helpful advice. The book owes a lot to constant support and interest of my father whose inquisitive mind helped me to look at sometimes quite specific problems from different and fresh angles.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. Manuscripts edited by W. Callewaert, *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*

A	Pañcavāṇī, MS no. 875, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, dated 1675 CE, fol. 165-236
AG	Ādigranth, ed.: *Śrī Guru Granth Sāhib, with Complete Index.* 2 vols., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1996.
C	MS no. 3322, City Palace, Jaipur, dated 1660 and 1669 CE, fol. 7-35
F	The Fatehpur manuscript, dated 1582 C.E.: G.N. Bahura (ed.), *The Padas of Surdas.* City Palace, Jaipur 1982
Gop	Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās, orig. dated 1627 CE; copy dated 1724 CE from Dādū Mahāvidyālaya, Jaipur, ed. by W. Callewaert, *The Sarvāṅgī of Gopāldās.* Manohar, New Delhi 1993.
J	MS no. 1853, City Palace, Jaipur, dated 1681 CE, fol. 1-72
M	Mohan Pothī, dated 1570-1572 CE: Prītam Singh (ed.), *Ahiyapur wālī pothī.* Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1998.
MS 3190	Pañcavāṇī, etc., MS no. 3190, Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur; microfilm copy in the holdings of Südasien Institut, Heidelberg
Raj	Sarvāṅgī of Rajab, dated ca. 1620 CE
S	= MS 3190, edited by Callewaert in the *MKV*, and dated 1614 CE
V	MS no. 34, City Palace, Jaipur, dated 1658 C.E., fol. 140-220

B. Abbreviations of works and journals referred to in the text

AS	Alsdorf, Apabhraṃśa-Studien, 1937
BBSK	Ṭaṇḍana, *Braja bhāṣā Sūra kośa*
CDIAL	Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages,* 1973
CGGL	Hoernle, *A Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian* (*Aryo-Indian*) *Languages,*1975
CGMALI	Beames, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, 1966

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EA	Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi* (*A Branch of Hindi*), 1937
GB	Baṛathvāla, *Gorakh-bānī,* 1960
GHL	Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindí Language,* 1965
GNG	Shackle, *A Gurū Nānak Glossary*, 1995
GPS	Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,* 1900
HGA	Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, 1948
HGH	Oberlies, *A Historical Grammar of Hindi,* 2005
HKK	Nespital, *Hindī kriyā kośa / Dictionary of Hindi Verbs,* 1997
HLC	Poříźka, *Hindština – Hindī Language Course*, 1972
HPG	Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar for the Use of the Calcutta University Showing Differences between Afghan and Modern Persian with Notes on Rhetoric*, 1919
HŚS	Śyāmasundaradāsa, *Hindī śabdasāgara*, 1965-1975
IA	Bloch, *Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times*, 1965 (page numbers in square brackets refer to the pagination in the original French 1934 ed.)
IAL	Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages,* 1991
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
KG	*Kabīra-graṃthāvalī*
KK	Caturvedī and Mahendra (eds.), *Kabīra-kośa,* 1973
KKK	Sīha, *Kabīra kāvya kośa*, 1987
KV-S	Sīha & Sīha, *Kabīra vāṅmaya: khaṇḍa 2 – Sabada,* 1981
LB	Varma, *La Langue Braj*, 1935
LIO	McGregor, *The Language of Indrajit of Orchā*, 1968
LSI	Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*
MAS	*Modern Asian Studies*
MHK	Varmā, *Mānaka hindī kośa*, 1962-1966
MKV	Callewaert, *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī. A Collection of Pad-s*, 2000
MW	Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899
NBhS-DHL	Callewaert, Op de Beeck, *Nirgun-Bhakti-Sāgar: Devotional Hindī Literature,* 1991
ND	Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, 1931
ODB	Tiwari, *The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri,* 1960
ODBL	Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,*1970

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OHL	Miltner, *Old Hindi Reader,* 1995
OWR	Tessitori, Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani with Special Reference to Apabhramça and to Gujarati and Marwari, 1914-1916
RHSŚ	Lālasa, *Rājasthānī-Hindī saṃkṣipta śabdakośa*, 1986-1987
Rām.	Vālmīki, *Rāmāyaṇam*
Rm.	Tulasīdāsa, *Rāmacaritamānasa*
SGGS	Sant Singh Khalsa, *Sentence by Sentence Gurmukhi to English Translation & Transliteration of Siri Guru Granth Sahib*
SS	Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax,* 1973
UVP	*Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa of Paṇḍita Dāmodara*, 1953
VR	Smith, *The Vīsaladevarāsa. A Restoration of the Text*, 1976
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

C. Grammatical terms

abl.	ablative	intr.	intransitive
abs.	absolute, absolutive	loc.	locative
acc.	accusative	m., masc.	masculine
act.	active	n.	neuter
adj.	adjective	nom.	nominative
adv.	adverb, adverbial	obl.	oblique
ag.	agentive	part.	participle
aux.	auxiliary	pass.	passive
dat.	dative	perf.	perfective
denom.	denominative	pers.	person
dir.	direct	pl., plur.	plural
du.	dual	pleon.	pleonastic
emph.	emphatic	postp.	postposition, postpositive
erg.	ergative	pres.	present
f., fem.	feminine	pron.	pronoun
fut.	future	rel.	relative
gen.	genitive	suff.	suffix
imp., imper.	imperative	sg.	singular
ind.	indicative	tr.	transitive
infl.	inflected	voc.	vocative
instr.	instrumental		

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D. Other

Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
cf.	confer, compare
i.e.	*id est*, that is, that is to say
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
MSH	Modern Standard Hindī
MSS	manuscripts
IE	Indo-European
NIA	New Indo-Aryan
NPS	Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā (ed.)
O.H.	Old Hindī
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
OWR	Old Western Rājasthānī
Pkt.	Prākrit
Rm.	Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulsīdās
Skt.	Sanskrit
U.P.	United Provinces

>	changes into
<	comes from, is derived from
/	or; alternative form or meaning
=	is, equals, means
≈	equals approximately
*	hypothetical form unattested in literary documents
?	uncertain form or meaning
√	verbal root
⟨⟩	in the main text of *pads*: contains letters or words added to the main text by editorial conjecture or from a parallel source
[]	in quotations and translated passages: contains letters, words, and expressions added by the editor or translator
()	contains explanatory notes

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PART ONE

EDITION OF THE *PADS*

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INTRODUCTION

Scholars engaged in teaching courses of modern Indo-Aryan languages at the university level are familiar with a problem that invariably turns up when students finish the basic course of the modern written and spoken language and are encouraged to turn their attention toward wider cultural contexts and deeper historical perspectives behind modern literary works. Students know that the literary tradition of e.g. Hindī does not begin in the first decades of the nineteenth century and may be curious about its older phases, looking for direct encounters with texts of Hindī classics – after all, their colleagues studying the English language as a subject at the university level are taught to interpret and analyse texts of classics like Chaucer or Shakespeare. Students of Hindī should be offered comparable opportunity of enjoying the poetry composed by or attributed to Tulsīdas, Sūrdās, Gorakhnāth, Kabīr or Mīrā.

The task of introducing particularly non-Indian students into the language (or languages) of the these Hindī poets is more difficult than preparing them for reading and interpreting Shakespeare's sonnets (whose editions are often provided with explanatory notes and sophisticated philological apparatus). Basically, teachers of Hindī can choose between two different approaches: those philologically oriented may explain basic grammatical features of the main Hindī literary dialects, Avadhī, Braj and possibly Diṅgal, and then proceed to read specimens of selected works and authors. The advantage of this approach lies in the firm grammatical framework, mastered by students well in advance, which makes them aware of the position of these dialects in the broad historical development of New Indo-Aryan languages. The disadvantage is that this preparatory stage, undoubtedly worth the effort in itself, is relatively time-consuming and in the general plan of a curriculum often leaves relatively little time for reading larger sections of texts. Specimens read in class may be selected primarily with the intention to illustrate grammatical phenomena rather than to show literary creations as works of art in their own right. Moreover, this systematic approach, based primarily on the acquaintance with standard grammars of literary dialects (Braj or Avadhī), does not work well with texts attributed e.g. to Gorakhnāth, Nāmdev or Kabīr whose language shows many irregularities and aberrations from standard forms found in grammars.

The other approach, perhaps more direct and intuitive, is best represented by readers and anthologies that present texts in the original language together with their parallel translations. An excellent example of this type

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of teaching material is Rupert Snell's *The Hindī Classical Tradition: A Braj Bhāṣā Reader*, published by SOAS, London 1991, and used in several university courses across Europe and in the USA. Here, grammatical explanations are kept to a minimum; the student is invited to delve quickly into the texts themselves and to look for additional information in copious and informative notes that accompany the text. The text itself is arranged as a mirror: the left page contains Hindī original in Devanāgarī, and the right its close translation into English. Students thus can proceed more quickly, acquaint themselves, in a limited amount of time, with greater quantity and variety of literary creations, and thus get a better chance to appreciate them as works of art. A slight disadvantage of this method is that it may encourage a somewhat superficial attitude towards purely grammatical, morphological and syntactical aspects of the selected texts: once a correct meaning, arrived at with the help of the parallel English translation, is established, one ceases to worry about this or that grammatical peculiarity or irregular feature. Students using this particular reader get a good introduction into an important literary tradition and literary dialect but their ability to analyse grammatical forms correctly will be exposed to hard test when they encounter texts composed in forms of speech that differ from the standard dialect: particularly difficult to interpret may prove to be the verses of *nāthapanthī* and *nirguṇī* poets and *sants*. Frequent homonymy of grammatical morphs gives rise to ambiguities in meaning, and incidence of less familiar forms – archaisms and borrowings from other dialects – further complicates the situation. The language Kabīr's *pads* and *sākhīs* that has been often characterized by modern Hindī scholars as *sadhukkaṛī* or *khicaṛī bhāṣā*, a mixture of forms coming from various dialects of western as well as eastern parts of the Hindī area, belongs to this tradition. [1]

The purpose of the present book is to offer a strictly morphological approach to the study of Old Hindī literary dialects and texts, based on a method developed during the sixties and seventies of the last century by the Czech Indologist Vladimír Miltner. Miltner looked at the language of Old Hindī classics from the point of view of descriptive linguistics and subjected the

[1] Probably an extreme example of interpenetration of one medieval dialect or language by another can be found in the corpus of Hindī *pads* of the medieval mystical poet Nāmdev originating in Mahārāṣṭra. W. M. Callewaert and M. Lath in their edition of Nāmdev's songs give a good specimen of this phenomenon when they draw attention to the song no. 165 of the Nāmdev's Hindī corpus. The song is composed largely in Marāṭhī. "To a Rājasthānī audience the song would have made sense – to whatever extent it did make sense – only with 'Rājasthānī meanings.' This implies that phrases with a particular meaning in Marāṭhī, probably meant something totally different in Rājasthānī" (Winand M. Callewaert, Mukund Lath, *The Hindī Padavalī of Nāmdev. A critical edition of Nāmdev's Hindī songs with translation and annotation*), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989, 401–2 [commentary], 352–3 [the song]).

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morphological and syntactical structure of their selected texts to detailed and rigorous analysis. He presented the method for the first time in the 1960s in his short study *Early Hindī Morphology and Syntax* [2] and developed it further in his *Old Hindī Reader*, originally to be published in the 1970s. Due to the adversity of times it could appear in print only as late as 1998 [3].

In this latter work, Miltner took specimens of texts of thirteen Hindī authors of the pre-modern era (Roḍā, Joindu, Dāmodar, Gorakhnāth, Cand, Kabīr, Vidyāpati, Jāyasi, Sūr, Tulsī, Mīrā, Gokulnāth and Biharī Lāl). He analysed all words of this corpus into their constituent morphs, lexical and grammatical, ordered them into alphabetical sequence and prepared a detailed index of all morphological elements occurring in the texts in question. Expectably, the alphabetical ordering showed high degree of homonymy, particularly prominent in the class of grammatical morphs. In order to present the morphs as elements of a morphosyntactic system and to show how their occurrence is co-determined by their immediate context, he consistently recorded all morphs that precede and follow the morph in question. To each morph entered into the index was added a list of all other morphs, lexical as well as grammatical, that immediately precede and follow it in the text strings which had been excerpted and included in the reader.

In the Introduction to his book, Miltner assured his readers that, with this tool, the "process of interpretation is very simple and requires minimal brainwork." Practical experience in the courses of Old Hindī has shown that this assessment is more or less realistic – if students do the preliminary analysis with the help of the attached morphemical key (or morphemicon, to use his term) as their homework. They have to understand the basics of the Hindī grammatical system and the terminology used for the description of Indo-Aryan languages, but on the more advanced level of training in MA courses meeting this requirement poses no particular problem.

Major decision the author has to take in early stages of preparation of a reader accompanied by a detailed morphemical key concerns the quantity and variety of texts that have to be selected for inclusion. Processing just one or two short poems may suffice for the purposes of basic instruction but leaves the student with little scope for interpretation: as each morphological element turns up just only once or twice, the interpreter is left with the very simple task of reassembling the jigsaw-puzzle of the segmented text back to its original form, scarcely meeting any real ambiguity on the way. On the

[2] Vladimír Miltner, *Early Hindi Morphology and Syntax, being a key to the analysis of the morphologic and syntactic structure of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa*, Dissertationes Orientales 6, Prague: Oriental Institute, 1966.

[3] Vladimír Miltner, *Old Hindi Reader*, Prague: Karolinum–Charles University Press, 1998.

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other hand, processing larger samples of texts whose outstanding feature is massive homonymy of grammemes, one has often the opportunity to weigh up the pros and cons as to whether e.g. the correct form of a verb to select in a particular case is the 2nd or 3rd pers. sg. of indicative, or perhaps oblique case (instrumental) of perfective participle. The larger the corpus of analysed texts, the greater is the probability that the respective verbal base will be found in combination with several diffferent homonymous grammemes. The possibility of choice may induce the interpreter to look at the wider context of the word and sentence. In some cases, the student may realize that there is a real ambiguity implying the possibility of two different interpretations of one and the same sentence or verse. Consulting a grammatical overview where the main outlines of the dialect(s) in question are presented in a more systematic form will be helpful; the advantage of the present approach is to present the texts in their complexity – with all their ambiguities, morphological irregularities and other peculiar features that are brought into sharp relief in the process of morphological analysis.

Another important aspect that merits attention is the language variability of the selected texts. As is obvious from the list of authors chosen by Miltner for his *Old Hindī Reader*, Avadhī of Tulsī and Jāyasī is presented side by side with purely Braj works of Bihārī Lāl and Gokulnāth and with the language of Madhyadeśa represented by Gorakhnāth and Kabīr, closely related to but not identical with Braj. Miltner's Morphemicon therefore includes a wide variety of morphological forms that occur in Eastern as well as in Western Hindī; such a key, representative as it is for the Old Hindī in general, cannot be used as a catalogue of forms belonging to one particular dialect, author, or work. However, as the occurrence of eastern forms in western dialects and vice versa is not an uncommon feature with many authors (or, to be more exact, with their texts extant in existing manuscripts, printed editions or oral traditions), this is not necessarily a drawback.

It should be stressed that the minimal amount of brainwork promised by Miltner to the student has to be more than compensated by hard labour on the part of the compiler of such Morphemicon. The morphological segmentation of words found in texts which cover a time span of more than half a millennium and an area as wide as Western Europe, was certainly a very difficult task, the more so, as Miltner tried to conform to a Pāṇinian ideal of maximum consistency and economy of description. An interesting problem that arises in the process of morphological segmentation concerns the question whether the systemic clarity and economy of description should be given absolute priority and to what extent the aspects of historical development of morphological units in question should be also taken into ac-

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count. Miltner succeeded in striking the middle course – most grammatical morphs constituted by him and found in the texts can be discussed as results of historical development.

The present work is an attempt to apply Miltner's method to a larger corpus of texts attributed to a single author. The decision to analyse pads of the medieval Hindī poet and mystic Kabīr was motivated by several considerations. The initial impulse came from an edition of the *pads* of Kabīr based on several relatively old manuscripts, the oldest dating back to the year 1614 CE, recently published by Winand M. Callewaert. [4] Callewaert selected ten manuscripts with Kabīr's *pads* (short poems sung to a particular *rāga*) and organized his edition in such a way that each *pad* (or what can still be counted as a version of one and the same *pad*) was presented in all its manuscript versions on the same or following pages. This synoptic presentation shows admirably the variability inherent in the oral performance at the time when the spoken word was gradually fixed in written form and begun to undergo further changes and corruptions characteristic for the transmission of written text. As far as the requirements of a detailed morphological analysis are concerned, the great advantage of this type of presentation lies in the fact that one can work with and analyse one particular document – one single manuscript produced (mostly) by one scribe at a known moment in history and at one place. At the same time, parallel versions containing morphological, syntactic, or semantic rephrasings of the text under study may help disambiguate its difficult or unclear forms and *loci*.

When subjected to close morphological analysis, the language of a single document can be expected to have greater internal coherence than e.g. some critical editions that attempt to present the text in an – as far as possible – "original form" and are full of various emendations. [5] The morphemicon based on the analysis of a single manuscript may reveal a specific language variant whose features can be subsequently quantified (processed by a concordancer), and, if found significant in comparison with other versions of the same text extant in other manuscripts, can form a basis for further studies of oral as well as textual transmission of a given work. In this respect, the attitude of the present author differs from Miltner's: whereas his wide selection of texts yielded a very rich harvest of morphs and morphological

[4] Winand M. Callewaert (in collaboration with Swapna Sharma and Dieter Taillieu), *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī: A Collection of Pad-s*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2000.

[5] The admirable work of Pārasanātha Tivārī, *Kabīra Granthāvalī* (Prayāga, 1961) can serve as a good example of this type of edition. The result of his painstaking collation of a number of manuscripts of different age and origin and of several printed editions was a new version of two hundred of Kabīr's *pads* that claimed to stand as close as possible to the original poems, perhaps composed and sung by Kabīr himself.

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variants, the concentration on a single manuscript should help in sorting out regular features and exceptions or linguistic borrowings from other dialects.

The main criterion for inclusion of texts into the present anthology was the degree of popularity of particular *pads*; those included in greater number of *pad* collections and extant in greater number of manuscripts can be supposed to have had wider circulation and to have played a more prominent role in forming the image of Kabīr in the contemporary consciousness. Callewaert's edition makes it possible to study this process as far back as the beginning of the 17th century (he himself claims to be able to identify the more and the less popular *pads* as far back as the middle of the 16th century, that is one generation after the death of Kabīr). On the basis of the number (one to nine repertoires) and the type of manuscript material (*pañcavāṇī*, *sarvāṅgī*, Sikh scripture, independent collections) in which each *pad* occurs Callewaert developed an ingenious system in which their estimated degree of popularity was marked by one, two, or three stars. [6] The selection in the present volume has been inspired by this classification: it includes all *pads* marked in Callewaert's edition by three stars, a number of two-star *pads* and also those *pads* whose variants can be found in the eastern Kabīrpanthī tradition of the *Bījak* and – sometimes in a significantly reworked form – in the *Ādigranth*. Two *pads* (nos. 195 and 433 of Callewaert's ordering, on p. 77 and 124 of the present edition) are unique and do not occur in any other MS edited in the *Millenium Kabīr vāṇī*.

The manuscript under study contains the total of 370 *pads* with attribution to Kabīr; the present edition includes a selection of one hundred *pads*, edited with footnotes, supplemented occasionally with quotations of modern Hindī translations and commentaries, and followed by a morphemical key that can be used as a kind of small dictionary for their translation and interpretation. Constant consulting of Miltner's Morphemicon as presented in his *Old Hindī Reader* and applying the morphological units constituted by him to new textual material confirmed the viability of the majority of his decisions. Very few minor changes were necessary in the structure of the Morphemicon itself: a small innovation that seemed desirable for better understanding of the texts was the inclusion of fixed phrases or idiomatic expressions – collocations of words with special meanings, which necessarily lie beyond the horizon of morphological segmentation procedures (expressions as e.g. *pĩṛ̣ par-* "to chase", "to go after", *pā̃nī birol-* lit. "to churn water", fig. "to engage in useless activity", etc.).

[6] W. Callewaert, *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*, p. 75. In the Errata released by the editor after the book was published classification of several *pads* was corrected and the number of stars given to them changed accordingly.

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In order to make the morphological analysis more comprehensible and the process of segmentation itself more transparent, some additional explanation was felt to be in order. The second part of the present work therefore explains the reasons for the decisions made, discusses possible alternative segmentation solutions, gives a short exposition of the historical development of the morphs in question and briefly summarizes the most important ideas and observations of scholars who dealt with the problem under study in the past. Description of the form and function of each morphological unit in the text of the *pads* is followed by illustrative examples and their (as far as possible) literal English translations.

The whole work is divided into three individual but mutually interconnected parts:

1. The *Pads* edited from the microfilm copy of the manuscript no. 3190, Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya, Jaipur. Individual *pads* have been provided with footnotes which alert the reader to possible ambiguities of grammar and meaning. Alternative readings of difficult or ambiguous forms, if found in other manuscripts edited by W. Callewaert in his *Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*, have been included for comparison.

2. *Morphology and syntax of the pads*, an historical and functional explanation of grammatical morphs arranged, in the basic outline, in the standard way followed by most treatises on Hindī grammar. The main focus is on morphology and partly on syntax; phonology has been covered only in so far as it throws light on the forms and functions of the discussed morphological units.

3. Presentation of morphs constituted by the process of segmentation in the form of an alphabetically arranged *Morphemicon*; both lexical and grammatical morphs have been included as individual entries and provided with short lexical equivalents or identifications of their grammatical functions. Letter P introduces a list of all morphs that, in the analysed texts, immediately precede the morph in question, letter F those that follow it. Reference in square brackets added to grammatical morphs points to the respective section in the second, grammatical part of the work where the morph in question is discussed in greater detail.

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURES, TRANSLITERATION CONVENTIONS

A. The manuscript

The manuscript used as the source of Kabīr's *pads* for the present anthology was brought for the first time to the attention of scholarly public in a comprehensive edition Kabīr's *pads* collected from eight Rājasthānī manuscripts plus the *Ādigranth* and its predecessor, the so called *Mohan pothī*, by Winand M. Callewaert. In the Introduction to this work, published under the title *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*, he gives only a very short description of this manuscript (just 8 lines) and characterizes it as a *pañc-vāṇī* – a term generally used for collections of *sākhīs* and *pads* attributed to five *sants* who enjoyed exceptional popularity and authority in the Dādūpanth, a sect formed in the second half of the 16th century by a nirguṇī poet and mystic Dādū Dayāl (1544–1603): Dādū himself, followed by Kabīr, Nāmdev, Raidās (Ravidās) and Hardās. However, the inspection of the contents of the MS, made available to me in a microfilm copy by courtesy of the Südasien Institute, Heidelberg, presented a different picture. The MS is a huge *pothī* of 692 folios whose list of authors compiled by its present owner includes a *vāṇī-saṃgraha* (collection of sayings) of Dādū, *vāṇī-saṃgraha* attributed to Kabīr, followed by a large section entitled *vividh vāṇī-saṃgrah* that contains, apart from texts of the remaining three *pañc-vāṇī sants* mentioned above, and, interestingly, interspersed by collections of verses of Paramānand, Viṣṇudās, Veliyānand and Sūriyodās, other collections attributed to more than seventy other authors. These *vāṇī* sections are in turn followed by works of other medieval *bhakti* authors, and also by *nāthapanthī* texts (the *Gorakh-bāṇī* found in this MS is, to the knowledge of the present author, the earliest extant version of this important work).

The present owner of the manuscript, Śrī Rām Kṛpālu Śarmā, founder and chairman of *Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna*, Jaipur, has identified as compiler of this book a scribe named Rāmdās Dādūpanthī, the place of the origin of the MS (*lipisthāna*) the localities of Īḍavāgrāma (dūjaṇadāsa āśrama mẽ) and Kaḍelāgrāma; the date of origin of the compilation has been fixed by the *saṃvat* years 1671 to 1678 (i.e. 1614 to 1621 CE). This information, detailed as it is, has been probably extracted from the *puṣpikā* (colophon) which is, unfortunately, missing in the microfilmed Heidelberg part of the MS. If the datation is correct (the present author was not allowed

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by the owner to see the original MS), the compilation represents one of the oldest specimens of Dādūpanthī literary and collecting activity and probably the second oldest MS containing a Rājasthānī version of Kabīr's *pads*, *sākhīs* and *ramainīs*. It is a highly interesting subject of study in its own right – not only for its 370 *pads* of Kabīr, but also for its overall content which, among other things, represents the immediate context of its Kabīrian repertory.

The MS part from which the present selection has been made is the section entitled *Kabīra jī kā pada* consisting of 52 square-shaped pages (approx. 15 by 16 cm). The page numbers were written by a scribe in the upper right corner of the the right page of the book; before the ink was dry the book was closed so that the mirror image of the page number appeared in the upper left corner of the opposite left page. As far as pagination is concerned, opposite pages form a unit; the present edition respects this usage and identifies the pages by their original number followed by a letter *a* (left) and *b* (right page). Text of Kabīr's *pads* runs from the page 189b to the page 241a.

Of the total number of 370 Kabīr's *pads*, 36 were written by a different hand, *secunda manus*, in a handwriting which is clearly inferior to the elegant and orderly style of the first scribe. *Pads* written by this second hand were regularly added at the end of each *rāga* section into which the whole corpus of *pads* is divided; after finishing each *rāga* section the first scribe left some space (a half page, sometimes whole page) intentionally empty to make these later additions possible. At the present stage of research it is impossible to say how much later these additions are. Five of them (*pads* no. 172, 372, 384, 433, and 448 of Callewaert's numbering) have been included in the present anthology. As far as their writing conventions are concerned, the added poems are less consistently nasalized and in words with a nasal consonant they prefer the dental over the retroflex – possibly a sign of a more eastern (possibly Braj) language background of the second scribe. To show the difference in the two writing styles a reproduction of a MS page has been included at the end of this chapter. Apart from these two hands a third one, in some respects resembling the second one, may have been at work in the closing *rāga dhanāśrī* section of the *pads* (p. 241a).

B. The edition

Pads composed by Kabīr – or those whose authorship was, by a general consensus, attributed to him – have been circulating for a period extending for approximately half millenium in a large area of Northern India, a region inhabited by a number of different languages and dialects. These dialects are

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mutually related diachronically by their historical development from common ancestors, as well as synchronically by constant mutual interrelations of their speakers. The change from one dialect to the next is often gradual and even more distant dialects or languages are to a greater or lesser extent mutually comprehensible. This general situation leaves specific imprint on the character of oral literature whose creations often travel across lines dividing one dialect and literary tradition from another. In oral presentation as well as in manuscripts one and the same poem (or what can still be understood as one and the same work) often appears in several variants where the differences may be of purely phonetic nature (different nasalizations, marked preference for dental or retroflex nasals, etc.), may include certain morphological features (e.g. use of different types of future tense), or idiomatics, particularly in those cases where a saying or a proverb current in one area is felt unususal or strange in another. In the manuscript material the same *pad* can accumulate a great number of variants, most of them „reasonable" in their particular dialectal context; others may result from borrowings and subsequent assimilations and reinterpretations of imported words and forms.

In this general situation it may be difficult, perhaps even impossible, to work out detailed collations of variants with the view of drawing up a stemma and reconstructing the „original" version. In the circumstances sketched out above, adopting the method of copy-text editing appears to be the better solution: the editor chooses one particular version as a base text and emends it only in places where it is obviously corrupt – an editorial approach recommended for this type of literary works by Katre, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*, p. 87-89. The present Jaipur manuscript appears to fulfil all basic requirements for the application of copy-text editing: it is relatively old, materially well preserved, and written by competent scribes in an easily legible script.

With the exception of introducing empty spaces as word separators as described in the next section, the present editor has attempted to produce as exact transcription of the original text as has been made posible by the Devanāgarī font available to him. The Unicode Sanskrit 2003 font offers a great number of characters, ligatures and signs that can be used for this purpose. The exceptions, letters missing in the font, are the more archaic variants of the independent vowel *a*, and consonants *jha* and *ṇa*; in the transcription these had to be substituted by their modern variants. The list of the more interesting graphic representations of the Devanāgarī characters occuring in the MS is appended at the end of this chapter.

It has been thought to be more convenient to the user to place the footnotes at the bottom of text pages rather than at the end of the book; their content is directly relevant to the interpretation of the main text and includes

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definitions and probable or possible meanings of obscure words and difficult or ambiguous grammatical forms. Variant readings, although relatively copious, have been introduced with the sole purpose of elucidating problematic forms found in the base text; they may offer a clue to their probable meaning. The texts consulted for the variant readings include the Rājasthānī MSS with Kabīr's *pads* as edited by W. Callewaert in his *Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī* (*MKV*); the present editor had not the opportunity to consult the MSS themselves or their microfilmed copies. Emendations have been kept at the absolute minimum, limited to corrections of obvious scribal errors (omission or duplication of letters, etc.); occasional mistakes in the printed text of the *MKV* have been noted in the footnotes. Critical edition of this important manuscript or even a part of it is a clear desideratum for future research; the present edition has different purpose and is intended to serve as a corpus for morphological analysis and a reader for students of Old Hindī literature, scholars in the field of New Indo-Aryan languages, as well as broader public in India and abroad interested in the tradition of North Indian bhakti.

C. Segmentation into words

Scribes who composed the present manuscript followed the established habit of *scriptio continua*, writing without spaces or other marks between words. This caused no problems in situations when the message was transmitted in a (more or less) familiar language, in many cases had been already memorized and was primarily intended for oral presentation during singing performances. But modern interpreters and editors working solely with silent written texts in a temporal and often also spatial distance from their original milieu often face the problem of how to separate long strings of letters into meaningful words that would make up a comprehensible sentence.

In most cases the present author has followed the solutions of Winand Callewaert and his co-editors of *The Millenium Kabīr Vāṇī*. Changes have been made only in those instances where the text of the printed edition did not give good sense and dictionaries offered better alternatives. Later, W. Callewaert himself prepared a list of Errata which consists mainly of corrected word separations. The present author has accepted most of them and added several of his own: thus e.g. in the verse 256.1 the segmentation *camara ṣalāī* has been corrected to *camaraṣa lāī*. All such cases have been duly noted in the footnotes.

In conformity with a general convention adhered to by other printed editions of Old Hindī literary works, each verse or half-verse has been placed on a separate line so that the text keeps a clear form that reflects its inter-

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nal structure. But in contrast to the Callewaert's edition the present author has respected the scribe's marking, with all its apparent inconsistences, of ends of verses and half-verses with *daṇḍas* and double *daṇḍas*; in several instances their omission may signal that the undivided line represents an integral syntactic unit.

D. Inherent vowels

In transliterated texts of *pads* inherent vowels have been represented in all instances. Rhytmical patterns of verses indicate that the vowels were pronounced, albeit sometimes in a weakened form. Names of authors quoted in the explanatory notes and grammatical parts of the book follow the general convention for transcription of Indian names: Kabīr, Tulsī, Sūrdās. The Bibliography, however, follows the bibliographic convention and enters their names and works in the standard transliteration.

E. Hiatus

In the manuscript a hiatus between two adjacent vowels which do not form a diphthong is clearly marked by the second vowel having the full, independent form. In the transliterated text hiatus has been marked by a colon placed before the second vowel: thus कउवा *ka:uvā*, तउ *ta:u*, पहरइया *pahara:iyā*, etc.

F. Nasals and nasalizations

In the analysed MS text the *anusvāra* or *bindu*, represented by a nasalization superscript dot, is used both for nasal consonants homorganic to the following stop or affricate (as in *gãgā-* „Ganga", *cãcal-* „fickle"), and for nasalized vowels (*cə̃b-* „skin", *thũ̃ṇ̃ī-* „post", „pole"). Nasalized vowels appear in three different contexts: they form an integral part of a nominal stem or a verbal root (as in *sə̃s-* „doubt", or *sə̃c-* „to accumulate"); in many instances their occurrence is governed by morphological rules (in nominal and verbal endings, as e.g. in the loc./instr. sg. of participle *nhavāyẽ*, or 3rd pers. pl. *būḍaĩ*); but in the majority of cases their use is to be explained by systematic attention paid by the scribe (particularly by the *prima manus* of our MS) to the phonetically conditioned processes of contact nasalization. This last factor appears to be by far the most frequent source of nasalized vowels, both within lexical bases (as in *nə̃m-* „name", *karĩm-* „[God the] Merciful", etc.), and in the endings where it often interfers with nasalizations governed morphologically – as

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e.g. in nasalized endings of 3rd pers. sg.(/pl.) *ramaĩ* „rejoices(/rejoice)". Often only the context can disambiguate the exact meaning of the form. The transliteration system adopted for the present edition follows the practice of old scribes: each nasalization dot is represented by a single nasalization sign, the superscript tilde.

The convention adopted by the original scribe (the first hand) of writing the semivowel *ya* and bilabial *va* with subscript dots as य़ and व़ may sometimes cause confusion. The purpose of these diacritic marks was to highligt the semivocalic pronunciation of these sounds amidst the prevalent habit of pronouncing the letter *ya* as voiced palato-alveolar affricate /d͡ʒ/, and the letter *va* as bilabial plosive /b/. In certain positions these dots can be easily mistaken for nasalization dots placed above the letters on the lower line. In cases of doubt the present author has followed the general principle of interpreting the dots as subscript marks belonging to these two letters – particularly when the nasalization appears to be redundant and can not be explained by the application of either phonetic or morphological rules. Several examples of this feature can be seen on the photocopy of the MS folio reproduced on the following pages.

G. Variant graphs

Exact transfer of the handwriting into computer operating with the standard Unicode Devanāgarī font has been hampered by a lack of certain character forms that had been used by the scribes. Thus the independent letter *a* had to be represented by its modern variant; the letter *jha*, written in the MS as �signs, has been transliterated by its modern equivalent झ. The independent form of the diphthong *ai* occurs in the MS solely in the pronominal adjective and adverb *aisā*, *aisai* and is consistently written as अै – अैसा, अैसै. Close inspection of the occurrences of the letter ऐ, in MSH reserved for the diphthong *ai*, has shown that in the present MS it occurs only in three positions: in the near demonstrative pronoun ऐ, at the beginning of the word ऐक „one", and in endings of the perfective participles; in all three instances it freely alternates with the letter *e* (ए), expected in these positions. Thus we encounter both ऐक and एक, participial forms गऐ, गए and गये, etc. In the present texts therefore the letter ऐ has been be understood as a mere graphic variant of ए, and has been so transliterated.

Impossible to represent faithfully by the means of the available Unicode font has turned out a peculiar variant of the letter *sa* used occasionally by the scribe for writing the modified character *su*, and regularly for the ligatures *sna*, *sra* and *sva*. The form of this character is included among the specimens

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copied from the MS and reproduced on the following pages. All occurrencies of this character have been transliterated as dental *s*.

H. Retroflex ṣa ष

In Hindī words, *tatsamas*, *semi-tatsamas*, as well as in borrowed words which occur in the analysed MS, the letter ष regularly occurs in positions where one would expect the occurrence of the letter ख. Thus in Hindī words we read देषि instead of देखि „having seen", or षिलूंनां instead of खिलूंनां „toy"; in words borrowed from Arabic and Persian we have षालिक instead of ख़ालिक़ „Creator", and षुमारी instead of ख़ुमारी, „intoxication"; in *tatsamas* सुष stands for सुख „happiness", and षेत for खेत „field". It is very probable that in certain medieval Hindī dialects the retroflex sibilant /*ṣ*/ approximated in pronunciation the velar spirant /*x*/ to such degree that the sound could be represented by the grapheme originally employed for the retroflex sibilant (Chatterji, *ODBL* I, §130, p. 243). The fact that in the handwriting the Devanāgarī letter ख could be easily mistaken for the combination of letters रव (rava) might be an additional factor in the spread of this substitution (Varmā, *Hindī bhāṣā kā itihāsa*, §106, p. 161-162).

The letter ष occurs also in *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas* in positions where it represents the original retroflex sibilant, e.g. in the word अष्ट „eight", or सुषमन/सुष्मन „*suṣumnā*"; according to Kamalasīha, *Gorakhanātha kī bhāṣā kā adhyayana*, p. 20, in the medieval pronunciation the retroflex sibilant in intervocalic positions stood for *kha*, but in combination with another consonant the alternative pronunciation was still the original *ṣa*. If this was the case, we have the correctly pronounced *tatsama aṣṭa* and an alternative pronunciation of the above word „*suṣumnā*": either *sukhamana*, or *suṣmana*. But even in consonant clusters we see the tendency to discard the retroflex sibilant: we find regularly दृस्टि for दृष्टि „look", „view", बिस्न for विष्णु „Viṣṇu", त्रिस्ना for तृषणा „thirst", etc.; in these cases the actual dental pronunciation of the sibilant can be taken for granted.

Another group of *tatsamas* and *semi-tatsamas* consists of words in which the written retroflex *ṣa* stands for the original consonant cluster *kta* or *kṣa*: thus for the Sanskrit शाक्त „*Śākta*" we read साषत, for वृक्ष „tree" we have either बिरष or बृष where the real pronunciation was *birakha* or *brikha*. Change of *kṣa* to *kha* is a normal OIA > MIA development; but handling OIA *kta* as *kha*/*ṣa* seems to be a NIA phenomenon, a peculiar case of assimilation of a *tatsama* word.

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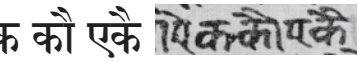
ॵ (=अ) : ॵब

इ : लाइ

ी : कौडी

उ : उदास ; मरांउ

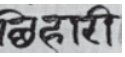
ऐ (= ए/ये) : ऐक कौ एकै 

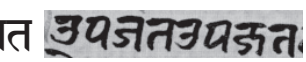
आऐ (= आए/आये)

अै (= ऐ) : अैसैं

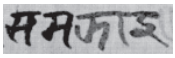
क : कुल ; कुसलहीं कुसल

कृपाल

छ : छछिहारी 

ज : गुजरी ; उपजत उपजत 

ज्यूं ; ज्यंद

ञ (=झ) : झूठे ; समझाइ 

ट : दृस्टि ; प्रगट्यौ

ठ : मींठा ; दीठौ ; कठोर

ड़ : जड़िया

ढ : ठाढी

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ण : चरणां चरणां

थ : थोथड़ा थोथड़ा

द : दुष दुष; दुहुं दुहुं

दृष्टी दृष्टी; दृस्टि दृस्टि

द्वारं, द्वार द्वारं, द्वार

ध : ध; धरै धि धरैधि; माधौ माधौ

भ : भया भया; भूलै भूली भूलैभूली

म : तुम्हारा तुम्हारा

य : परण्यां परण्यां; स्यूं स्यूं

र : डारयौ डार्यो; धरयौ धर्यो

स : हस्ती हस्ती

सु : सुर सुर सुर; सुमिरि सुमिरि सुमिरि

सुनहु सुनहु सुनहु

श्न (= स्न): बिस्न बिस्नं; त्रिस्नां त्रिस्नां

श्र (= स्र) : स्रगलोक श्रगलोक; स्रब स्रब

श्व (= स्व) : स्वांन सूकर श्वानसूकर

ह : यहु यहु यहु; अहूठ अहूठ; हूं हूं

रह्या रह्यो

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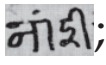
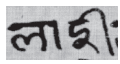
SECOND HAND:

ई : नांई  ; लाई 

प्य : प्यंड

ह्वै :

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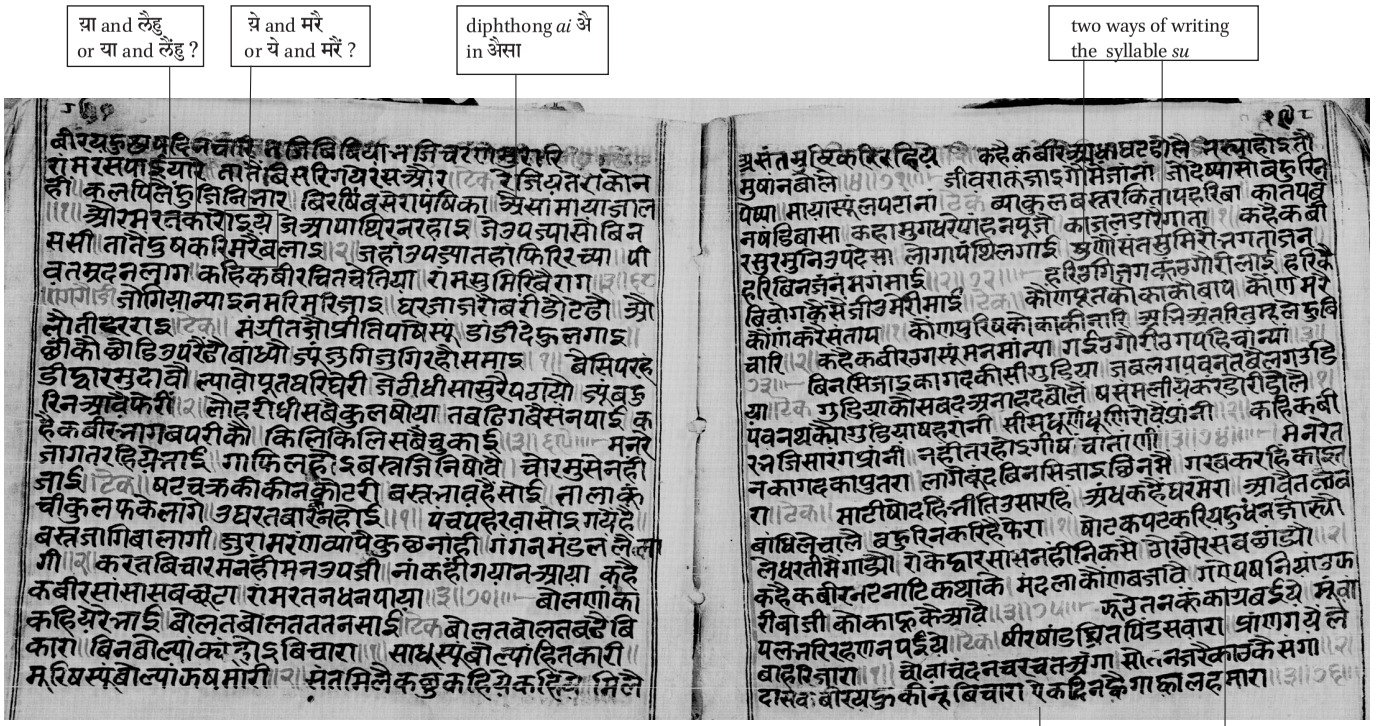

FIGURE 1. Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur, Rājasthān, MS. no. 3190, fol. 198a-b: diacritics and variants of graphemes.Photo W. Callewaert.

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FIGURE 2. Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur, Rājasthān, MS. no. 3190, fol. 233a-b: after *pad* no. 32 at the bottom of p. 233a change of scribal hand – pads no. 33 and 34 of *rāga bhairu* written by a second scribe, beginning of *rāga bilāvala* in the middle of p. 233b written again by the first hand. Photo W. Callewaert.

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The *Pads*

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1

दुलहंनी गावहु मंगलचार ॥ हंम घरि आऐ रांम भतार ॥टेक॥
तन रत करि मै मन रत करिहूं ॥ पंच तत बरिय़ाती ॥
रांमदेव़ मोरे पहुंनें आय़े है ॥ मै जोबनि मैंमाती ॥१॥
सरीर सरोव़र बेदी करिहूं ॥ ब्रह्मा बेद उचार[1] ॥
रांमदेव़ संगि भाव़रि लेहूं ॥ धनि बड भाग हंमारे[2] ॥२॥
सूर तेतीसौं कौतिग आऐ ॥ मुनिय़र कोटि अठ्यासी ॥
कहै कबीर हम ब्याहि चले हैं ॥ पुरिष ऐक अबिनासी ॥३॥१॥

1 MS3190/S1, V1 उचार; A1, J86, C1, AG482;24 उचारा. In all MSS except S1 the word उचार/ /उचारा rhymes with हमार/हमारा on the following line. *ucār-* is a nominal base and also a verbal root; both Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 35, and Sīha, *KKK*, p. 28, (here given as उचारा) explain this form as उचारण करेंगे, पाठ करेंगे, supplying the present locus as example. As nominal part of verbo-nominal expression उचार demands the verb *kar*$_1$-, "to do"; in the present context this verb might be supplied from the first half-verse and understood as the 3rd pers. sg. fut. करिहै. For उचार as noun in verbo-nominal expressions with *kar*$_1$-, see, e.g. Kabīr's *pada* 149.7 (Tivārī, *KG*, p. 88, not included in the present MS), or Sundardās's *sākhī* 2.2 (Callewaert and Op de Beeck (eds.), *NBhS-DHL*, vol. I, p. 513).

2 Only MS3190/S1 has हंमारे; A1 हंमारा; V1 हंमार; J86, C1 and AG482;24 हमारा; both -a_4 or -$\bar{a}_5$ are grammatically unproblematic and in rhyme with उचार/उचारा of the preceding line. हंमारे is locative of possessor (or, in the terminology of Kellogg, *GHL*, p. 416-417, §697, inflected genitive of possession), a form dealt with in the gramatical part of the present work in the sections 1.A.3.j. and 4.B.2.

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मन रे मनहीं उलटि समांनां ॥
गुर प्रसादि अकलि भई तो कूं ॥ नहीं तर था बेगांनां ॥टेक॥
उलटे पव़न चक्र षट बेधे ॥ सहजि सूंनि अनरागी[1] ॥
आव़ै न जाइ मरै नहीं जीव़ै ॥ ताहि षोजि बैरागी ॥१॥
नेड़ै तैं दूरि दूरि तैं नेड़ै ॥ जिनि जैसा करि जांण्यां ॥
औलौती का चढ्या बलींडै[2] ॥ जिनि पीय़ा तिनि मांनां ॥२॥
अनभै कथा कव़न स्यूं कहिय़े ॥ है को चतुर बमेकी ॥
कहै कबीर गुरि[3] दीय़ा पलीता । सो झल बिरलै देषी ॥३॥७॥

[1] A7 सहज सुंनि अनरागी; V7 सुनि सुरति लै लागी; J92 सहज सूंनि ल्यौ लागी; C10 सुनि सुरति ल्यो लागी; AG333;47 सुरति सुंनि अनरागी; Tivārī, *KG*, p. 80, सुरति सुन्नि अनुरागी. In the present reading (and also A7) the adjective अनरागी is to be construed as the attribute to the noun in ergative case पवन.

[2] A7, V7, J92, C10 have variants of the present reading; AG333;47 अलउती का जैसे भइआ बरेडा. Gupta, *KG*, p. 147, translates: [विपरीत-करणी मुद्रा द्वारा] औलौती (छाजन का वह छोर जहां से उसका पानी गिरता है) का [जल] बड़ेरे (वह बल्ली जिस पर से छाजन नीचे की ओर डाली जाती है) पर चढ़ गया: तब उस दिव्य जल को जिसने पिया, वही उसको मान गया ।

[3] Only MS3190/S7 and A7 have गुरि; V7, J92, C10, and also the editions of Gupta and Tivārī read गुर; AG333;47 has different version: जिनि दीआ पलीता तिनि तैसी झल देखी. In the translation of *SGGS*, p. 1428: "as is the fuse which you apply, so is the flash you will see."

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12

हरि के षारे बड़े[1] पकाऐ[2] ॥ जिनि जारे तिनि षाय़े[3] ॥
ग्यांन अचेत फिरैं नर लोई ॥ ता थैं जनमि जनमि डहकाऐ ॥टेक॥
धौल[4] मदलिय़ा[5] बैल रबाबी ॥ कउवा तालं[6] बजाव़ै ॥
पहरि चोलणां गादह नाचै ॥ भैसा निरति करावै ॥१॥
स्यंघ बैठा पांन कतरै ॥ घूस गलौरा लावै ॥
उंदरी बपुरी मंगल गावै ॥कछू ऐक आंनंद सुनाव़ै ॥२॥
कहै कबीर सुनहु रे संतौ ॥ गडरी परबत षावा ॥
चकवा बैसि अंगारे निगलैं[7] ॥ संमंद आकासा धावा ॥३॥९॥

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[1] MS3190/S9, A10 and V10 read बड़े, C15, Raj72;16 and AG477;6 have बरे. *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3398, 3363 notes the variants बरा/बड़ा and explains them:

बरा[1] – संज्ञा पुं० (सं० बटी) उड़द की पीसी हुई दाल का बना हुआ, टिकिया के आकार का एक प्रकार का पकान्न जो घी या तेल में पकाकर यों ही या दही, इमली के पानी में डालकर खाया जाता ह । बड़ा ।

[2] MS3190/S9, A10 and V10 have पकाऐं (ऐ being a graphical variant of ए), C15 and Raj72;16 read पकाये.

[3] AG 477;6 has different reading of this verse: राजा राम ककरीआ बरे पकाए; किनै बूझनहारै खाए । *SGGS*, p. 2025: "The Lord, the King, has cooked the cakes of ice, but only the rare man of understanding eats them." Nirmal Dass, *Songs of Kabir from the Adi Granth*, p. 129, translates: "Raja Ram, bitter *akk*-pods become ripe mangoes – few can solve the riddle and eat them." and adds following comments (*ibid.*, p. 320): "The key to this riddling song is the Rest-stanza: an *akk*-pod (calotropic procera), which is bitter, becomes a sweet mango. Here metamorphosis implies improvement; thus the soul can change and improve, and become Ram." Gupta, *KG*, p. 151, understands this AG reading differently, but still sees it as more intelligible than the Granthāvalī variant: "पं०[जाबी] का "ककरिआ" है "कर्कर" – कठिन; कठोर. पं०[जाबी] का पूरा चरण इस अर्थ के साथ संगत है । राज०[स्थानी] के "खारे" (= क्षार-युक्त) बड़ों में ऐसी कोई बात नहीं होती है कि उन्हें खाने में कठिनाई हो । वस्तुतः शब्द "खरे" होना चाहिए था । बड़ जला कर खाए जाएं , यह भी बुद्धि-सम्मत नहीं है । "जारे" संभवतः "जाने" की विकृति है, क्योंकि मध्ययुगीन "न" और "र" की आकृतियों में बहुत साम्य होता था और "जाने" पाठ की संगति भी प्रकट है । पं०[जाबी] के "किनै बूझनहारे खाए" पाठ में इस प्रकार की कोई त्रुटि नहीं है और वह संगत है ही ।"

[4] Another word whose meaning is not clear. *HŚS*, vol. 5, p. 2490, explains धौल[6] (with the etymology of Skt. धवल) as हाथी "elephant", and introduces the present locus as exemplum. (The basic meaning of Skt. धवल is "white", and one of the meanings of this word given by *MW*, p. 513, col. 2, is "one of the elephants of the quarters"). Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 206, explain धौल, again with the quotation of the present locus, as भारी बैल, सफ़ेद परेवा, i.e. "sturdy bullock, white pigeon". Gupta, *KG*, p. 150, with his translation उत्तम बैल, favours the first of these two alternatives.

[5] MS3190/S9, A10 मदलिया; V10, C15, Raj72;16 मंदलिया; AG477;6 पखावज. The AG variant and also *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3761, मदरिया, fem., defined as एक प्रकार का बाजा, indicate that मदलिया in our MS may be understood as a kind of musical instrument (a drum); Sīha, *KKK*, p. 253, on the other hand, defines the word मंदलिया (exemplified by the quotation of the present locus) as मर्दल बजानेवाला – the affix *-iyā* is understood as deriver of nouns of profession or occupation.

[6] Only MS3190/S9 has तालं, all other MSS have ताल without nasalization.

[7] Only MS3190/S9 has निगलैं, A10 and V10 read निगल, C15 has नीगल्या, Raj72;16 निगलें.

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ऐक अंचा[1] देष्या रे भाई ॥ ठाढा स्यंघ चरावै गाई ॥टेक॥
पहलैं[2] पूत पछैं[3] भई माई ॥ चेला कै गुर लागै पाई ॥१॥
जल की मछली तरवरि व्याई ॥ पकड़ि बिलईया मुरगै षाई ॥२॥[4]
तलि करि साषा उपरि करि मूल ॥ बहुत भांति जड़ लागे फूल ॥३॥
कहै कबीर या पद कूं बूझै ॥ ता कूं तीन्यूं त्रीभुवन सूझै ॥४॥११॥

[1] MS3190 reads only अंचा, the scribe having by mistake omitted the letter भ. S11 in *MKV*, p. 133, has the corrected form अंचभा, reading common to all other Rājasthānī MSS included in that edition.

[2] Variants: C14 पैहलै, Raj72;15 आगैं.

[3] V65 पाछैं, C14 पाछे, Raj72;15 पीछे.

[4] C14 inserts the following verse: बैलहि डारि गुनि घरि अई । कुता कौं ले गई बिलाई ॥

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अवधू मेरा मन मतिवाला ॥
उनमंनि चढ्यौ मगन रस पीवै ॥ त्रिभवण भया ऊजियाला ॥ टेक ॥
गुड करि ग्यांन ध्यांन करि महूवा ॥ ऐ भौ भाठी भारा[1] ॥
सुष्मन नारी सहजि समांनी ॥ पीवैगा पीवनहारा ॥ १ ॥
दुइ पुड जोड़ि चहोड़ी भाठी ॥ चुवै महारस भारी ॥
कांम क्रोध दोउ कीया बलीता[2] ॥ छूटि गई संसारी[3] ॥ २ ॥
त्रीकुट कोट मैं मदल बाजैं[4] ॥ तहां मेरा मन नाचै ॥
गुर प्रसादि अमर फल पाया ॥ सहजि सुष्मनां काछै[5] ॥ ३ ॥
पूरौ मिल्यौ तबै सुष उपनौ ॥ तन की तपति बुझांणी[6] ॥
कहि कबीर भव बंधन छूटै ॥ सुष मैं सुरति समांणी[7] ॥ ४ ॥ १५ ॥

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[1] The word भारा is variously interpreted by different Kabīr scholars and translators: thus, Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 320, explain it as किराया, भाड़ा ("rent", "hire") and illustrate this meaning with the quotation of the present locus; Gupta, *KG*, p. 187, translates it as ईंधन ("fuel", "firewood"); J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 47, translate भट्ठी ("oven": सांसारिक विषय-वासनाओं की भट्ठी). The translation preferred here is "load", "fill", "charge" of matter loaded into the oven. The meaning common to all these explanations seems to be that one has to sacrifice the world and the attachment to it to the process of mystical distillation.

[2] J. and V. Sīha connect this word with the Persian फलीतह (sic! Correct spelling is पतील), meaning "wick". "igniter" (*KV-S*, p. 47, and *KKK*, p. 208-209; also *HŚS*, vol. 7. p. 3411, and vol. 6, p. 2893); Gupta, *KG*, p. 187, explains it as जलने वाले लकड़ी के कुन्दे, interpretation not supported by dictionaries.

[3] Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 47, translate संसार के प्रति उसकी आसक्ति, Gupta, *KG*, p. 187 has सांसारिकता.

[4] Similarly A17: त्रिकुट कोट में मंदला वाजै, and V57 त्रिकुट कोट मैं मंदल बाजै; Gop21;1 has सुंनि मंडल मैं मंदला बाजै, reading preferred by printed editions of the text.

[5] All Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* that include this *pad* (S15, A17, V57, Gop21;1) have the same reading of this verse whose meaning may have created no problem to the scribes, singers and the audiences of the time. To us, the expression सहजि सुष्मनां काछै (in the *MKV* transcribed incorrectly सुषमनां) is less clear. J. and V. Sīha translate simply सुषुम्ना सहज में लीन हो गयी; Gupta, *KG*, p. 187, is more elaborate: सहज में ही सुषुम्णा ने [अपना वेष] काछ लिया (सुषुम्णा अपना कार्य करने लगी). In Old Hindī, the verb काछना occurs frequently with nouns such as वेष, भेष, etc. *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 892, explains काछना[1] thus: १. कमर में लपेटे हुए वस्त्र के लटकते भाग को जांघों पर से ले जाकर पीछे कसकर बांधना । २. बनाना । संवारना । पहनना । But *HŚS*, ibid., knows also a homonym काछना[2] derived from the OIA कर्षण with the meaning "to skim", "to scum". This second of the two homonyms seems to fit better in the context of the present *pad* which describes the yogic procedure of attaining the state of *sahaja*; the parallel between this state and the effects of an intoxicating drink can be found also in *pad* 28 of Gorakh (Baḍathvāla, *GB*, p. 122): कुसमल होता ते झड़ि पड़िया, रहि गया तहां तत सारं. Cf. also the *pad* 419 in the present corpus describing the attainment of *sahaja* in terms of churning milk and pointing out the role of the *nāḍīs* in filtering away the buttermilk (छछिहारी) from the real substance (तत).

[6] In the MS the word looks like बुझोणी.

[7] V57 जोतिहि जोति संमांनीं; Gop21;1 जोतिहि जोति समांनीं.

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बोलौ भाई राम की दुहाई
इह[1] रसि सिव्र सनकादिक माते ॥ पीव्रत न अजहूं अघाई ॥टेक॥
इला पिंगुला भाठी कीन्ही ॥ ब्रह्म अगनि परजारी ॥
ससिहर सूर द्वार दस मूंदे[2] ॥ लागी जोग जुग ताली ॥१॥
मन मतिव्राला पीव्रै रांम रस ॥ दूजा[3] कुछ न सुहाई ॥
उलटी[4] गंग नीर बहि आय्रा ॥ अंम्रित धार चव्राई[5] ॥२॥
पंच जने सो संगि करि लीन्हा[6] ॥ चलत षुमारी लागी ॥
प्रेम पिय्राला पीव्रन लागा ॥ सोव्रत नागिनी जागी ॥३॥
सहज सुनि मैं जिनि रस चाष्या ॥ सतगुर तैं सुधि पाई ॥
दास कबीर इहि रसि माता ॥ कबहूं उछकि न जाई ॥४॥१६॥[7]

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[1] A18 ईहि; V59 इहिं; Gop21;12 इहि. These forms can be easily identified as obl. sg. of the demonstrative pronoun (corresponding to MSH इस). The form इह in the *ṭeka* of MS3190/S16 is scribal error – in the last verse we have the correct reading of the same phrase: इहि रसि माता.

[2] ससिहर and सूर can be interpreted either as obl. sg. with the force of ergative, i.e. as the subjects of the sentence, agents who close the ten doors (so according to Gupta, *KG*, p. 189: शशधर ... और सूर्य ... ने दसों द्वार मुद्रित ... कर दिये), or as obl. sg. with the force of locative (as understood and further elaborated by J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 254: चन्द्र और सूर्य अर्थात् इडा-पिङ्गला नाड़ियों में प्राण और अपान की गति बंद हो गई.)

[3] In S16 दूंजा : subscript *nukta* व्र on the preceding line taken by mistake for nasalization dot above the syllable दू.

[4] MS3190/S16 and Gop21;12 उलटी; A18 and V59 उलटि.

[5] MS3190/S16 चवाई; A18, V59, Gop21;12 चुवाई; AG1123;3, M45 चुआवउ. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 125, quote this locus and explain चुवाई as क्रिया सकर्मक with the meaning टपकाई. Similarly, Sīha, *KKK*, p. 61, has चुवावा, explained as टपकाया.

[6] A18 पंच जनैं सौं संग करि लीना; V59 पंच जंने सूं संग करि लीन्हें; Gop21;12 पंच जनें सो संग करि लीन्हें. These variants have (correctly) संग as a noun in phrase with obl. analogous to MSH किसी का संग कर लेना. But संगि of S16 appears to be an adverb (or locative of a noun) with the meaning "together with [oneself]" which does not fit grammatically into such phrase; moreover, सो, if meant as a postposition, would then be redundant – it makes sense only with संग. The phrase "to take with oneself" is attested several times in texts of *KG* as संगि लि-/ली-, of course, without any other preceding postposition (see, eg. the *pad* 459.1); whereas the verb करना tends to form a nomino-verbal construction with postposition joining it to an adverbial. The reading in S16 may be a conflation of two possible variants: पंच जने सो संग करि लीन्हा and पंच जने संगि करि लीन्हा. In the latter variant the absolutive करि can be understood as a postpositive formative, analogically to such expressions as e.g. तलि करि, उपरि करि in *pad* 15, verse 3. For more details on this special use of the absolutive, see Part two, *Morphology of the pads*, section 5.F.1.d. The expression पंच जने has been interpreted variously as पंचप्राण (Gupta, *KG*, p. 189), or पाँचों ज्ञानेन्द्रियाँ (Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 154).

[7] Similar *pad* with several identical phrases is S6 (*MKV*, *pad* 7, p. 124), exstatic experiences are described also in the immedialtely preceding S15 (*MKV*, *pad* 19, p. 137).

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अब हंम सकल कुसल करि मांनां ॥
स्वांती भई जब गोबिंद जांनां ॥टेक॥
तन मैं होती कोटि उपाधि ॥ उलटि भई सुष सहज समाधि ॥१॥
बैरी उलटि भऐ हैं मींता ॥ साषत उलटि सजन भऐ चींता[1] ॥२॥
जम थैं उलटि भयौ हे राम[2] ॥ दुष बिसरयौ सुष कीयौ बिश्रांम ॥३॥
आप जांणि उलट[3] ले आप ॥ तब नही ब्यापै[4] तीन्यूं ताप ॥४॥
अब मंन उलटि सनातन हूवा ॥ तब हंम जांण्यां जीवत मूवा ॥५॥
कहै कबीर सुष सहजि समाउं ॥ आप न डरूं न और डरांउं ॥६॥१८॥

[1] Nasalization only in MS3190/S18 (perhaps due to the compulsion of rhyme with मींता in the first half of the verse); A20 has मींता – चीता; V13, Gop7;10, Raj71;2 and AG326;17 read मीता – चीता without nasalizations.

[2] Variants: A20 जन थैं उलटि भये हैं रांम; V13/Gop7;10 जंम/जम थैं उलटि भया है रांम; Raj71;2 जम तैं उलटि भया है रांम; AG326;17 जम ते उलटि भए है राम, translated in *SGGS*, p. 1399, as "I have turned away from death and turned to the Lord." Gupta, *KG*, p. 153, working with the version V13/Gop7;10, translates: यम (काल) से उलट कर राम हो गया है.

[3] S18 in the *MKV* उलट, but the word in the MS appears to be corrected, perhaps by a different hand, to उलटी; A20 and V13 उलटि; Gop7;10 and Raj71;2 उलटी. AG326;17 has different reading: आपु पछानै आपै आप.

[4] Only Gop7;10 has the obvious plural ब्यापैं, all the rest have ब्यापै or व्यापै: the expression तीन्यूं ताप may have been felt as singular, meaning "triple affliction", Skt. त्रिताप.

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तांननां[1] बुननां तज्या कबीर्य[2] ॥ रांम नांम लिषि लिय़ा सरीर ॥टेक॥
जब लग भरौं नली का भेव़[3] ॥ तब लग तूटै मेरौ रांम संनेह ॥१॥
ठाढी रोवै़ कबीर की माइ ॥ ऐ लरिका क्यूं जीवै़हि[4] षुदाइ ॥२॥
कहै कबीर सुनहुं री माई ॥ पूरंणहारा त्रिभुवनराई ॥३॥२२॥

[1] तांननां: the paper of the MS appears to have been contaminated by the ink from the opposite leaf or through a leakage of colour from the reverse page. The status of *mātrās* and their nasalisations in the first two syllables is uncertain and should be decided on the inspection of the original. Other MSS read either तननां (A25, J97, Gop92;10), तंननां (V100) or तनना (C32, AG524;2).

[2] All other MSS read कबीर. For the variant of the loc./instr./erg. ending *-ya*$_1$, see Part two, *Morphology of the pads*, section 1.A.2.k.

[3] S22 and A 25 भेव, V 100, C32 and Gop92;10 बेह, J97 बेहरा.

[4] The verb *jī*$_1$- in this verse has differrent forms in different MSS: apart from जीवैहि in MS3190 we have जीवहि in A25, जीवै in V100, जीवे in J97, जीवैं in C32 and नीवहि (probably with an error of the scribe or editor?) in Gop92;10. These forms should be understood as 3rd pers. sg. pres., variants of जीवहि, probably with modal or future sense.

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अपणै बिचारि असवारी कीजै ॥ सहज कै पाइडै पाव जब दीजै ॥टेक॥
दे मुहुरा लगांम पहरांउ[1] ॥ सिकली[2] जीन गगन दौरांउं ॥१॥
चलि बैकुंठ तोहि ले तारूं ॥ थकै त प्रेम ताजिणै मारूं ॥२॥
जन कबीर अैसा असवारा ॥ बेद कतेब दूहू थैं न्यारा ॥३॥२४॥

[1] In MS3190 the final *-u* appears without the superscript anusvāra. However, in close proximity is a clearly visible dot belonging to the letter व on the preceding line. The verb at the end of the line is in grammatical rhyme with पहरांउ and has both vowels nasalized: दौरांउं. The first verb is therefore interpreted as ending with *-ũ*, too. *MKV*, p. 146 (S24) reads पहरांउ; A29 पहिरांऊं and दौरांऊं; V21 पहिरांउं and दौरांऊं; C17 पहिरांवुं and दौरांउ; Gop54;1 पहरांऊं and दौरांऊं; AG329;31 पहिरावउ and दउरावउ.

[2] Word of unclear meaning. All Rājasthānī MSS included in the *MKV* (S24, A29, V21, C17, Gop54;1) read सिकली; AG329;31 has सगल in the phrase सगल त जीनु गगन दउरावउ (in translation of *SGGS*, p. 1412, "abandoning everything, I now ride through the skies", the word division त जीनु and interpretation of दउरावउ as non-causative form appears problematic). Both Gupta, *KG*, p. 160, and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 3, in their treatments of this locus appear to follow the suggestion of Caturvedi and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 393 (सिकली = भारी, दृढ, with the quotation of the present verse as example) and translate the word as मज़बूत and भारी, respectively. This meaning is derived from the Arabic ثقيل "heavy", "weighty" (but no adjective formed from the Arabic root ثقل is attested in Steingass' *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*). Śarmā, *KG*, p. 329, offers a different etymology: सिकली in combination with गगन is translated as शून्य शिखर, i.e. ब्रह्मरन्ध्र. *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 6009, explains सिकली as a noun, with the meaning "polishing", "sharpening" (as of a weapon), quoting verse 89.6 of Kabīr´s Bījak.

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झंगरा ऐक नबेरौ राम ॥ जे अपंणां जन सेती कांम ॥टेक॥
ब्रह्मा बडा कि जिनि उपाय़ा ॥ बेद् बडा क जहां थैं आय़ा ॥१॥
य़हु मन बडा[1] क जहां मन मांनै ॥ रांम बडा कि रामहि जांनै[2] ॥२॥
कहै कबीर षरा उदास ॥ तीरथ बडे क हरि के दास ॥३॥२५॥

[1] In MS3190 the initial letter appears like व (so also in *MKV*, p. 147), i.e. without the slanted crossbar in the middle, but also without the subscript dot characteristic for this letter in the present MS. In the present context it has been interpreted as ब.

[2] … कि रामहि जांनै : S25, A30, V23 and Gop17;32 omit relative pronoun, subject of the sentence. Other MSS fill this gap: … क जिनि रांम पिछानां (J101, and with small variants also C36); … कि जिहिं रांम जांनां (Raj97;5).

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संतौ धागा तूटा गगन बिनसिगा[1] ॥ सबद जु कहां समाई ॥
य़हु संसा मोहि निस दिन ब्यापै ॥ कोई न कहै समझाई ॥टेक॥
नही व्रह्मंड प्यंड भी नांही । पंच तत भी नांहीं ॥
अला पिंगुला सुषमन नांहीं ॥ ऐ गुन कहां समांहीं ॥१॥
नही ग्रिह द्वार कछू नही तहुव़ां ॥ रचनहार पुनि नाहीं ॥
जोव़नहार[2] अतीत सदा संगि ॥ ऐ गुंन तहां समांहीं ॥२॥
तूटै बधै[3] बधै पुनि तूटै । जब तब होइ बिनासा ॥
तब को ठाकुर इब[4] को सेव़ग ॥ को का कै व़िसव़ासा ॥३॥

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[1] MS3190 बिनसिगा, *MKV*, p. 153, wrongly बिनसि गया, perhaps under the influence of all other MSS included in that edition that have this variant reading.

[2] All Rājasthānī MSS have either जोवनहार, जोवनहाडा or जोवणहार, word of unclear meaning, differently interpreted by different translators and lexicographers. Explanations include: जोवनहार = ढूंढने वाला, जिज्ञासु with the present locus as example, in Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 154; जोवनहार = साक्षि-चैतन्य, again, exemplified by quotation of the present verse, in Sīha, *KKK*, p. 111. Both interpretations are supported by dictionaries: *HŚS*, vol. 4, p. 1805, has जोवना as verb with meanings १. जोहना । देखना । तकना ।२. ढूँढना । तलाश करना । ३. आसरा देखना । रास्ता देखना । Lālasa's *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 488, has जोवण, fem., with first meaning देखने की क्रिया या भाव. *MHK*, vol. 2, p. 390, includes, apart from the verb जोवना – ध्यानपूर्वक देखना, also the noun जोवण, m., as variant of the noun यौवन "youth". Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 375, in his translation, or rather free interpretation of this line explicates the meaning given in his above-mentioned dictionary: ये सारे पदार्थ उस साक्षि-चैतन्य में लीन हो जाते हैं जो इन सब से अतीत और शाश्वत है । वही परमतत्व इनका आदि भी है और अवसान भी है । सांसारिक पदार्थ नश्वर है । Gupta, *KG*, p. 165, has more literal translation: केवल संसार से अतीत (निर्लिप्त) जोवनहार (संयोजन करने वाला) निरन्तर संग होगा, तब ये गुण वहां (उसी में) समाएंगे । Tivārī, *KG*, p. 67, accepts different readings of the word as well as of the whole line. He himself gives preference to a variant found in AG 334;52;2: जोड़णहारो सदा अतीता इह कहीअै किसु माही ("The Joiner is forever unattached; now, within whom is the soul said to be contained?", in the translation of *SGGS*, p. 1433), and adds the following note: दा. नि. स. [MSS read:] जोवनहार अतीत सदा संगि ए गुण तहां समांहीं । [पद में आरंभ से ही प्रश्नों की श्रृंखला चल रही है जो आगे की द्विपदी में समाप्त होती है । दा. नि. स. की यह पंक्ति, जो चौथी पंक्ति का उत्तर ज्ञात होती है, प्रश्नों की इस स्वाभाविक श्रृंखला को तोड़ देती है, अतः अस्वीकृत ।] Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 153, include the word as it occurs in this variant reading too; for them, जोड़नहारो = जोड़ने वाला.

[3] Variants: A34 वंधै; C19 बंधै; J105 जूरै; Raj67;1, AG334;52 जुडै. Sīha, *KKK*, p. 204, explains the form बधै as बढता है. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 291-292, recognize the word as homonymous with meanings 1. मारे डाल रही है, and 2. बढता है (the first meaning is exemplified by quotation from *sākhī* 12.40 of the Śyāmasundaradāsa ed.: काँची कारी जिनि करै, दिन दिन बधै बियाधि । However, in this particular instance too, the proper meaning may well be "to grow", as understood e.g. by Gupta, *KG*, p. 44-45).

[4] MS3190/S28, Gop83;1 इव; C19 ईव; A34 अव; V27, Raj67;1 अब.

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कहै कबीर य़हु गगन[5] बिनसै ॥ जौ धागा उनमांनं[6]
सीष्यें सुणें पढें का होई ॥ जे[7] नहीं पदहि समानं ॥४॥२८॥

[5] Of all MSS published in the *MKV*, only Raj67;1 inserts the negative particle **न** after **गगन**. On the other hand, Gupta's *KG* and Sīha's *KV-S* include **न** without any mention of this being a *varia lectio*.

[6] Apart from MS3190/S28 **उनमांनं** also in Raj67;1; A34 **उंनमांनां**; C19 **ऊनमांनं**; V27 **ऊंनमांनां**. This word has been variously understood as a noun or as a verb; thus Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 39: **उनमांनां – क्रि०[या] स०[कर्मक] (हि० उनमान से उनमानना) – सोचा है, अनुमान किया है । उ[दाहरण] जौ धागा उनमांनां । (प[द] ३२-९).** Sīha, *KKK*, p. 30, on the other hand, explains **उनमांनां – वि[शेषण] (हि० उन्मान) उन्मनी अवस्था में । ~ कहै कबीर यहु गगन न बिनसै जौ धागा उनमांनां । पद २९८-९ ।** Sīha's free translation *cum* commentary is consistent with his lexical explanation: **पद के प्रारंभ में उठाई गई शंका का समाधान करते हुए कबीर कहते हैं कि यदि ध्यान-सूत्र उन्मनी में स्थिर हो जाये तो चित्त का संबंध सारशब्द से हो जाएगा और तब पता चलेगा कि एक ऐसी अवस्था है, जहां शब्द शाश्वत है ।** Gupta, *KG*, p.165, too understands the word as a noun that denotes a peculiar state of mind: **कबीर कहता है, यह आकाश नहीं विनष्ट होता है, यदि उन्मन (मन को इन्द्रियों से हटा कर उसे उत्थित करने की प्रक्रिया) का धागा (सूत्र) [लगा हुआ] हो ।** Here, *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 594, may be of some interest: **उन्मनी – संज्ञा स्त्री०[लिंग] (सं[स्कृत]) खेचरी, भूचरी आदि हठयोग की पाँच मुद्राओं में से एक । इसमें दृष्टि को नाक की नोक पर गड़ाते हैं और भौं को ऊपर चढ़ाते हैं ।**

[7] Variants: MS3190/S28, A34, V27 **जे**; Raj67;1 **जै**; C19 **जो**; Gop83;1 **जौ**. Sīha in *KV-S* and Gupta in *KG*, **जौ** without variants.

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हंम न मरै[1] मरिहै[2] संसारा ॥ हंमकूं मिल्या जीवांव़नहारा ॥टेक॥
अब नही मरूं मरण मन मान्यां ॥ सोई[3] मुवां जिनि रांम न जान्यां ॥१॥
साकत मरैं संतजन जीवैं ॥ भरि भरि रांम रसांईन पीवैं ॥२॥
हरि मरिहै तौ हंमहूं मरिहैं ॥ हरि न मरै हंम काहे कूं मरिहैं ॥३॥
कहै कबीर मन मनहि मिलाव़ा ॥ अंमर भय़े सुष सागर पाव़ा ॥४॥३३॥

[1] MS3190/S33 and C41 मरै, A43, V36, Gop105;1 and Raj 71;3 मरैं which appears to be the correct grammatical form here; J109 मरिहैं; AG325;12 मै न मरउ. In MS3190 there may be anusvāra above the sign रै; even on close inspection of the photocopy it is impossible to decide whether it is a separate dot or an ending of the lower part of the letter र on the upper line.

[2] Only S33 मरहै; A43, J109, C41, Gop105;1 and Raj71;3 (correctly) मरिहै; V36 मरिहैं. In MS3190 we have मर at the end of the line; the next line begins with a vertical stroke followed immediately by है : ।है. The form is here interpreted as मरिहै.

[3] MS3190/S33, A43, Raj71;3 सोई with मुवां can be interpreted as sg.; A43 has सोई मूवा; V36 and Gop105;1 have the proper pl. forms तेई मूवै and मुये; J109 and C41 read जे मूवा.

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रांम मोहि तारि कहां लै जैहौ ॥
सो बैंकुंठ कहौ है कैसा ॥ करि पसाव़ मोहि देहौ ॥टेक॥
जे मेरे जिय़ दोइ जांणत हौ[1] ॥ तौ मोहि मुंक्ति बताव़ो ॥
ऐकमेक ह्वै रह्या सबनि मैं ॥ तौ काहे भ्रमाव़ो ॥१॥
तारंण तिरंण जबै लग कहिय़े ॥ तब लग तत न जांणां ॥
ऐक रांम देष्या सबहिन[2] मैं ॥ कहि कबीर मन मांना॥२॥३९॥

[1] All Rājasthānī MSS published in the *MKV* have this reading. AG1104;5 (and also M47) read जउ (जे) तुम्ह (तुम) मो कउ दूरि करत हउ ("If You keep me far away from You"), unproblematic from the point of view of grammar and meaning. Gupta, *KG*, p. 177, prefers the Rājasthānī version as fitting better in the context and explains the word दोइ as अपने से भिन्न.

[2] MS3190/S39 and Gop75;23 सबहिन; A50 सवहिंन; V40 सबनि.

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त्रिमल त्रिमल रांम गुंन गावै ॥ सो भगता मेरै मनि भावै ॥टेक॥
जे जन लैहि[1] राम कौ नाव । ता की मैं बलिहारी[2] जांउं ॥१॥
जिहि घटि रांम रह्यौ भरपूरि । ता की मैं चरनन[3] की धूरि ॥२॥
जाति जुलाहौ म⟨ति कौ धी⟩र[4] हरषि हरषि गुन रंमै कबीर ॥३॥५१॥

[1] In different MSS this verbal form is given as लैहि (MS3190/S52, C78), लेंहि (A27, J149) and लेहि (V99, Gop16;19 and AG328;26); the correlative pronoun ताकी would lead us to interpret this form as 3rd pers. sg. pres. of the verb ले-. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 364, however, quote this locus as जो जन लेहिं रांम कौ नांउं, ताकी मैं बलिहारी जांउं, and explain the form लेहिं as लेते हैं.

[2] Sīha, *KKK*, p. 208, explains the shift in the meaning of बलिहारी from the noun denoting an agent in Sanskrit (बलि को ले जाने वाला) to the abstract noun in Hindī (बलि को देने का भाव अर्थात् उत्सर्ग); *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3411, records the expression बलिहारी जाना = निछावर होना । कुरबान जाना । बलैया लेना ।

[3] MS3190/S52 चरनन; A27 and Gop16;19 चरननि; V99 चरंननि; J149 चरनोरज; C78 चरनौंरज.

[4] In MS3190 the letters given here in angle brackets are illegible. *MKV*, p. 185, supplies the missing letters ति कौ धी from other Rājasthānī MSS.

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मैं सबनन मैं अर मैं न हूं सब[1] ॥ मोरी बिलगि बिलगि बिलगाई[2] हो ॥
कोई कहौ कबीर कोई कहौ राम राई हो ॥टेक॥
ना हंम बार बूढ नांही हंम ॥ नां हमारै चिलकाई[3] हो ॥
पठयें न जांउ ख़ां नही आंउं ॥ सहजि रहूं हरिआई[4] हो ॥१॥
ख़ोढन हमारै ऐक पछेख़रा ॥ लोक बोलैं अकताई[5] हो ॥
जुलहै तणि बुणि बांन न पाख़ल ॥ फारि बुंणी दस ठांई हो ॥२॥
त्रिगुंन रहित फल रंमि हंम राषिल[6] ॥ तव हंमारौ नांउ राम राई हो ॥
जग मैं देषूं जग न देषि[7] मोहि ॥ इहि कबीर कछु पाई हो ॥〈३〉॥५५॥

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[1] A48 मैं सवननि मैं अर मैं न हूं सव मैं; V38 मैं सबननि मैं अरु मैं न हूं; Gop105;7 मैं सबनि मैं और न मैं हूं सब; Raj49;8 मैं सबहिंन मैं अर मैं न हूंहिं सब.

[2] This passage has been interpreted differently by different translators. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 302: मुझे लोग भिन्न-भिन्न पदार्थों में पृथक-पृथक समझते हैं । Gupta, *KG*, p. 176: लोग भिन्न [ढंग] से मुझे उन से अलग [निरूपित] करते हैं ।

[3] So in all Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV*. The word is hapax (this locus) in the whole *NBhS-DHL* corpus and is included neither in the *HŚS* nor in the *RHSŚ*. *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 514. gives as equivalent चमक, Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 123, चमकाहट; Sīha, *KKK*, p. 80, उतार-चढ़ाव, उत्तेजना.

[4] In *MKV*, p. 195, this sequence of letters is in all versions of this *pad* consistently transcribed as two words – हरि आई, whose meaning, in the present context, remains unclear. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 414, explain हरिआई as verb (क्रिया अकर्मक) with the meaning हरा रहता हूं, ताज़ा रहता हूं, quoting the present locus as example. In this particular case, however, the form appears to be an absolutive with the finite form of the verb रहना. Gupta, *KG*, p. 195-196, translates: मैं हरा-भरा होता ... रहता हूं ।

[5] Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1533, has two variants of this adjective, یکتا *yak-tā*, and یکتای *yak-tāy*, with the meanings "single", "simple"; "unique", incomparable"; "a garment without a lining"; "God". The form in the present *pad* is to be understood as a borrowing of the second variant of this adjective (rather than an abstract noun newly formed with the formative affix *-ī$_1$-*).

[6] MS3190/S56, A48, V38 राषिल; Gop105;7, Raj49;8 राषल.

[7] MS3190/S56 and A48 देषि; V38 देषैं; Gop105;7 and Raj49;8 have the regular 3rd sg. देषै.

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ऐसा भेद बिगूचनि[1] भारी ॥
बेद कतेब दीन अरु दुनिय़ां ॥ कूंण पुरिष कूंण नारी हो[2] ॥टेक॥
ऐक बुंद ऐकै[3] मल मुंत्र ऐक चांब ऐक गूदा ॥
ऐक जोति तैं सब उतपंना ॥ कौंण वारंण कौंण सूदा ॥१॥
माटी का पिंड सहजि उतपंना ॥ नाद रु बिंद समांना ॥
बिनसि गय़े थैं का नांउ धरिहौ ॥ पढि गुंणि मरंम न जांनां ॥२॥
रज गुंन ब्रह्मा तम गुंन संकर ॥ सत गुन हरि है सोई ॥
कहै कबीर ऐक रांम भजहु रे । हीदू तुरक न कोई ॥३॥५६॥

[1] MS3190/S57, A55, Gop53;15 and Raj77;4 बिगूचनि; V45 बिगूचंनि; C44 बिगुचनि; J112 बिगुचन; NPS ed. बिगूचन.

[2] हो only in MS3190/S57. In all other MSS edited in *MKV*, p. 196-197, this word or particle is missing, so that the last word नारी rhymes with भारी which stands at the end of the preceding line.

[3] Forms of the first pair of the numeral *ek-* (note the variant forms ए and ऐ, and the use of emphaic forms in *-ai*) in the other *MKV* MSS: A55 ऐक … एक; V45 ऐक … ऐक; J112 येकं … येकं; C44 येक … येकै; Gop53;15 एक … एकै; Raj77;4 एकै … ऐक. The second pair of *ek-* on this line is in all MSS non-emphatic.

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मुलां करि ल्यौ[1] न्यांव़ षुदाई ॥
इहि बिधि जीव़ का भ्रंम न जाई ॥ टेक ॥
सरजीव़ आंणैं देह बिनासैं[2] ॥
माटी बिसमल कीता[3] ॥
जोति सरूप अनाहद[4] लागा ॥
कहौ हलाल क्या कीता ॥ १ ॥
बेद कतेब कहौ क्यूं झूठा ॥
झूठा जौ[5] न बिचारै ॥
पहली ऐक ऐक करि ध्यावै ॥

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[1] MS3190/S58, A60, V50 and Gop56;3 ल्यौ; J114 and C46 ल्यो; Raj78;1 लै. In the present context the form is to be understood as 2nd pers. pl. imper. in the compound verbal expression करि ल्यौ. For more details, see the section 5.B.2.c. (2nd pers. pl. imper.) in the grammatical part of the present work.

[2] Nasalizations in both आंणैं and बिनासैं allow us to interpret these forms as 3rd pers. pl. pres. ("they bring ... they destroy"). Other MSS which nasalize आंणैं only, make stronger case for understanding it as adverbial perfective participle ("having brought .. he kills"): A60 सरजीव आंणैं देह विणासै । माटी विसमल कीता; V50, Gop56;3 (and Raj78;1) सरजीव आंणैं (आंनैं) देह बिणासै (बिनासै) । माटी बिसमलि (बिसमिल) कीता. However, one should take into account the possibility that the final nasalization in आंणैं is due to phonological (preceding nasal consonant) rather than morphological/grammatical reasons. J114 (C46) सरजीव (सिरजीव) आन्यो (आंन्यू) देह (देहि) बिनासी । मांटी (माटी) बिसमल कीनां (कीना) understand both verbs as passive past participles ("brought ... destroyed"); so do AG1350;4 (and M10): पकरि जीउ आनिआ (आणिआ) देह बिनासी । (ता) माटी कउ (कउं) बिसमिलि कीआ. Interestingly, the form of the past participle कीता (see the next note), possibly a Panjābism in the Rājasthānī MSS, does not occur in the AG and M which have the more common form कीआ. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 278, wrongly interpret the form बिनासै as क्रिया अकर्मक, translate "नष्ट होती है", and quote the present locus as example.

[3] Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 75, explains कीता as a variant of the perfective participle किया and quotes the present verse as example. Similarly, *MHK*, vol.1, p. 536, explains कीता as "करना" का पुराना भूतकालिक रूप । किया । (पश्चिमी हिंदी). On the other hand, Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English.* Vol. II., p. 888, explains: "*kītā* (imperf. part. of *kīnā=karnā*, qq.v.), part. Doing, making (*=kartā*)". Manuscripts give different variants of this verbal form: see the note 2 above. As both कीनां/कीना and कीआ are to be understood as perfective participles, the form कीता can be best interpreted in the same way – in accordance with *MHK* and Caturvedī and against Platts. For further information on this form, see the grammatical part of the present work, section 5.E.6.

[4] S58 and Raj78;1 अनाहद लागा; A60, V50, J114, C46, Gop56;3 read हाथि न (नहीं) आया; AG 1350;4 (M10) अनाहत (अनाहतु) लागी. Sīha, *KKK*, p. 11, remarks that कबीर वाणी में "अनहद" शब्द दो अर्थों में प्रयुक्त हुआ है – (क) अनाहत नाद के अर्थ में और (ख) अनहद अर्थात् जिसका कोई हद नहीं या असीम के अर्थ में ।

[5] जौ only in MS3190/S58. A60, V50, Gop56;3, Raj78;1 and AG1350;4 have जो; J114 and C46 read जे.

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भी दूजा करि मारै ॥२॥
कुकड़ी मारी बकरी मारी ॥
हक हक कहि बोलै ॥
सबै जीव़ सांई के प्यारे ॥
उबरहुगे किस व़ोलै ॥३॥
दिल नहीं पाक पाक नहीं चीन्हां ॥
उस्ता[6] षोज न जांन्यां
कहै कबीर भिस्ति छिटकाई ॥
दोजगि हीं मन मांन्यां ॥४॥५७॥

[6] In MS3190 the word can be read either as उस्ता or उस्ना. In form the ligature is almost identical with the conjunct consonant स्त in the word भिस्ति on the next line. In *MKV*, p. 197-200, the reading उस्ना occurs only in S58 and has a parallel in A60 which supplies probably a better reading उसनां; V50 and Gop56;3 have उसका, J114, C46, Raj78;1 show उसदा, AG1350;4 and M10 तिसका. Tivārī, *KG*, p. 107, gives the form उसता as one of variant readings and adds comment "पंजाबी मूल". This form, as well as उस्ना (उसना) in S58 (A60), can be interpreted as pronominal genitive – as is the case of the other variants given by other MSS. The form of the adjectivizing postposition ना may be due to western Rājasthānī influence: see Tessitori, *OWR*, § 73,5 (postposition नउ) and also Kellogg, *GHL*, § 173, p. 112 (Hindī variant of dat./acc. postp. in ना connected with corresponding Mār. नै). The noun षोज, however, is regularly feminine.

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कैसैं नगरि करौं[1] कुटवारी ॥ चंचल पुरिष बिचिषिन नारी ॥टेक॥
बैल बिय़ाइ गाइ भई बंझा ॥ बछरा दूझै तीन्यूं संझा ॥१॥
मकरी घरि माषी छछिहारी[2] ॥ मांस पसारि चील्ह ⟨रषवारी ॥२॥
मूसा षेवट नाव बिलइया । मींडक सोवै साप पहरइया[3] ॥३॥
नित उठि स्याल स्यंघ सौं[4] झूझै । कहि कबीर कोई बिरला बूझै ॥४॥५९॥⟩[5]

[1] *MKV*, S60, p. 202, reads these indistinct letters as क्यौं; on close inspection of the MS microfilm copy, however, these appear to be करौं; also A68 and Raj72;21 have करौं. V64 करुं; Gop78;51 करूं.

[2] For a more extensive information on this word, see note 4 in the *pad* no. 419.

[3] Tivārī, *KG*, p. 71, *pad* 120.2, has पहरिया, a more regular form. पहरैया and पहरईया of the manuscripts might be used to rhyme better with the preceding बिलैया and बिलईया.

[4] A68 स्यौं, V64 सूं, Gop78;51 सनि (not attested by available dictionaries), Raj72;21 सौं.

[5] In MS3190/S60 the last two lines are missing. In the present edition they have been supplied, in square brackets, from Rāj72;21, v. 2 and 4., which is almost identical with A68, v. 3 and 4.

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रांम रस पाईय़ा[1] रे ॥ ता तैं बिसरि गय़े रस और ॥टेक॥
रे जिय़[2] तेरा को नहीं ॥ कलपि लैहु जिनि भार[3] ॥
बिरषि बसेरा पंषि का ॥ अैसा माय़ा जाल[4] ॥१॥
और मरत का रोइय़े जे आपा थिर न रहाइ ॥
जे उपज्या सो बिनससी[5] ॥ ता तैं दुस करि मरै[6] बलाइ ॥२॥
जहां उपज्या तहां फिरि रच्या[7] ॥ पीव़त म्रदन[8] लाग ॥
कहि कबीर चित चेतिय़ा ॥ रांम सुमिरि बैराग ॥३॥६८॥

[1] MS3190/S69 and C50 पाईया, A77, V60, J121 and Gop89;13 पाइया. AG 337;64 reads पीआ, perfective participle of the verb पीना. The form पाईया stands somewhere between the regular perfective participle पाया and synthetic passive पाइये/पाईये; in the present context it can be interpreted both ways. For details, see the treatment of ambiguous passive and participial forms in Part 2 of the present work, section 5.D.1.

[2] V60 has जीव, A77, J121, C50, Gop89;13 and AG337;64 have मन.

[3] कलपि लैहु (लेहु) जिनि भार only in S69 (and A77); C50 (and also V60, J121, Gop89;13 and AG337;64 with minor variants) read षैंचि लहि जिनि भार.

[4] V60 and AG337;64 संसार and संसारु , instead of माया जाल/जार of the rest.

[5] Only in S69; the rest have बिनसिहै, J121 बिनाशिहे.

[6] AG337;64 रोवै.

[7] रच्या here in the sense अनुरक्त हुआ, "was/is attached", "was/is fond of". See e.g. *HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 4105. J121 चल्या.

[8] All other MSS spell मरद or मरंदं (V60). The division मरद न only in the *MKV* ed. Both Tivārī and Gupta in their editions of *KG,* and also J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, read मरदन, probably the better solution.

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मन रे जागत रहिय़े भाई ॥
गाफिल होइ बस्त जिनि षोवै ॥ चोर मुसे[1] नहीं जाई ॥टेक॥
षट चक्र की कनक[2] कोटरी ॥ बस्त भाव़ है[3] सोई ॥
ताला कूंची कुलफ के लागे ॥ उघरत बार न होई ॥१॥
पंच पहरव़ा सोइ गयें[4] हैं ॥ बस्त जागिबा लागी ॥
जुरा मरंण व्यापै कुछ नांही ॥ गंगन मंडल लै लागी ॥२॥
करत बिचार मन हीं मन उपजी ॥ नां कहीं गय़ा न आय़ा ॥
कहै कबीर सांसा[5] सब छूटा ॥ रांम रतन धन पाय़ा ॥३॥७०॥

[1] A79, V19 and AG339;73 मुसै.
[2] MS has कीन with subscript क as probable scribal correction; कनक is the reading of later versions (A79 and V19).
[3] S71 reads हैं, but the dot probably belongs to the letter व़ on the upper line; A79, V19 have the contextually more appropriate sg. form है.
[4] Only in MS3190/S71; other *MKV* MSS without nasalization: A79 गये; V19 गए.
[5] A79, V19 संसा.

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बोलणां का कहिय़े रे भाई ॥ बोलत बोलत तत नसाई ॥टेक॥
बोलत बोलत बढै बिकारा ॥ बिन बोल्यां क्यूं होइ बिचारा ॥१॥
साधू स्यूं बोल्यां[1] हितकारी ॥ मूरिष स्यूं बोल्यां झष मारी ॥२॥
संत मिलै कछु कहिय़े कहिय़े ॥ मिलै असंत मुष्टि करि रहिय़े ॥३॥
कहै कबीर आधा घट डोलै ॥ भरय़ा[2] होइ तौ मुषां न बोलै[3] ॥४॥७१॥

[1] बोल्यां, instr. sg. of verbal noun in *-ā*, here best understood in its original sense "by talking", "(by) having talked", "by talk". A80 बोल्या; V53 बोल्यां; J117 बोले; Raj95;4 बोलें and बोल्यां; AG870;1 बोलें. हितकारी is perhaps related as attribute to बिचारा in the preceding verse. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 252 (*pad* no. 200), reads ज्ञानी सौं बोलें उपकारी मूरिख सौं बोलें झखमारी.

[2] भरया, only in *MKV*, S72, is a printing error; MS3190 and all other MSS (A80, V53, J117, Gop50;11 and Raj95;4) read भरय़ा.

[3] *Bījak*, ed. by V. Śāstrī, p. 85, *ramainī* 70, reads पूरा होय बिचार ले बोलै – "when full, speaks with consideration" (lit. "having taken consideration"). Cf. identical locution in the *MKV pad* 477.0 (p. 100 in the present anthology).

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जीव़रा[1] तूं जाइगौ मैं जांनां ॥
जो देष्या सो बहुरि न पेष्या ॥ माय़ा स्यूं लपटानां[2] ॥टेक॥
ब्याकुल[3] बस्तर किता पहरिबा ॥ का तप बनषंडि बासा ॥
कहा मुगध रे पांहन पूजै ॥ का जल डारै[4] गाता ॥१॥
कहै कबीर सुर मुनि उपदेसा ॥ लोगा पंथि लगाई ॥
सुणौं संत सुमिरौ भगता जन ॥ हरि बिन जंनंम गंमाई[5] ॥२॥७२॥

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[1] A81 जीवरा; V73, Gop13;15 जीयरा; AG338;67 जीअरे.

[2] A81 माया स्यौं लपटानां; V73 माटी सूं मंन मांनां; Gop13;15 माया सूं मन मांनां; AG338;67 संगि माइआ लपटाना.

[3] A81 व्याकुल ("agitated", "perturbed", "restless"); V73 and Gop13;15 बाकुल ("bark of tree"); AG338;67 बिपल ("many")..

[4] A81 पूजैं - डारैं; V73 पूज्यै - डारै; Gop13;15 पूजैं - डारै. The characterisitic construction का + instr. sg. of perfective participle with the meaning "what [is gained] by ..." appears several times with different verbs and different forms of the loc./instr./erg. ending in the present corpus. This fact, together with other MSS readings (nasalized forms, the unmistakable form पूज्यै in V73) makes the interpretation of पूजै and डारै as participles preferable to understanding them as finite verbal forms (2nd or 3rd pers. sg. pres.).

[5] A81 गंमाई; V73 गवाई; Gop13;15 गंवाई; AG338;67 has a different variant of the whole verse.

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हरि ठगि जग कूं ठगौरी लाई ॥ हरि कै बिव्रोग कैसैं जीउ[1] मेरी माई ॥टेक॥
कौंण पूत को का कौ बाप॥ कौंण मरै कौंण करै संताप ॥१॥
कौंण पुरिष को का की नारि ॥ अभिअंतरि तुम्ह लेहु बिचारि ॥२॥
कहै कबीर ठग स्यूं मन मांन्या ॥ गई ठगौरी ठग पहिचांन्यां ॥३॥७३॥

[1] Except of MS3190/S74, all other MSS have the final vowel nasalized: A82, V74 and Gop89;18 जीऊं, J128 जीवों.

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झूठे तन कूं का ग्रबईग़े[1]॥ मूंवां पल भरि रहण न पईग़े ॥टेक॥
षीर षांड घ्रित पिंड सव़ारा ॥ प्रांण गय़ें ले बाहरि जारा ॥१॥
चोव़ा चंदन चरचत अंगा । सो तन जरै काठ कै संगा ॥२॥
दास कबीर य़हु कीन्ह बिचारा । ऐक दिन ह्वैगा ह्वाल[2] हमारा ॥३॥७६॥

[1] A85 ग्रवइग़े, V76, J133 गरवइग़े, AG330;35 गरवईआ.
[2] A85, J133, AG330;35 हवाल, V76 हाल.

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जौ पै रसना राम न कहिबौ ॥ तौ उपजत बिनसत भ्रंमत रहिबौ ॥टेक॥
जैसी देषि तरवर की छाया ॥ प्रांन गयें को का कर माया[1] ॥१॥
जीवत कछू न कीया परवांनां ॥ मुवां मरंम को का कर जांनां ॥२॥
कंध काल सुष कोउ न सोवै ॥ राजा रांक दोउ मिलि रोवै[2] ॥३॥
हंस सरोवर कवल सरीरा ॥ रांम रसांईन पीवै कबीरा ॥४॥८६॥

[1] Only in MS3190/S87 (and A95 **प्रांण गये**). V108 has the more comprehensible **प्रांण गयें कहु का की माया**; similarly AG325;8: **प्रान गए कहु कां की माइआ**. Gop47;13 does not include this verse, A138 is a different *pad* and with A95 has common only the *ṭeka*. The translation and meaning of the variant in S87 and A95 perhaps is "look, [it is] like the shadow of a tree: after death who [remains], whose [then] is *māyā* (wealth)?" Problematic remains the lack of concord in gender of **कर** and **माया**, smoothed out in V108 and AG325;8.

[2] A95 has the regular plural form **रोवैं**.

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चलन चलन सब लोग कहत हैं ॥ न जांनौं बैंकुंठ कहां है ॥टेक॥
जौजन ऐक प्रमिति न जांनैं ॥ बातनि हीं बैकुंठ बषांणैं[1] ॥१॥
जब लग है बैकुंठ की आसा ॥ तब लग नहीं हरि के चरंण निव्रासा ॥२॥
कहैं सुनें कैसैं पतिय़ाइय़े ॥ जब लग आप तहां नहीं जाइय़े ॥३॥
कहै कबीर य़हु कहिय़े काहि ॥ साध संगति बैकुंठ हि[2] आहि ॥४॥८७॥

[1] In MS3190 the ending is nasalized (the dot is rather faint). Without final nasalization only *MKV* S88 and C35 (बषानै); other MSS give the final nasal vowel appropriate for the correct plural form: A96 बषांणैं; V20 बषानैं; J100 बषानें; Gop25;5 बषांनैं.

[2] The text offers two possible ways of segmentation: 1. *baikũṭh-* + *-a*$_4$; *-hi*$_5$ "(the company of saints) is the very paradise"; 2. *baikũṭh-* + *-ahi*$_1$ "(in the company of saints) [one] is in the paradise".

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मन रे कागद कीरि[1] पराय़ा॥
कहा भय़ौ ब्यापारि तुम्हारै ॥ कलतरि[2] बधै[3] सवाय़ा[4] ॥टेक॥
बडै बौहरै सांठा दीय़ा । कलतरि[5] काढ्या[6] षोटै ॥
चारि लाष अरु असी ठी⟨क⟩[7] दे ॥ जनम लिष्यौ सब चोटै ॥१॥
अब की बेर कागद नहीं कीरय़ा । तौ धर्मराइ स्यूं तूटै ॥
पुंजी बितड़ि बंदि लै दैहै ॥ तब कहैं कौंन कै छूटै ॥२॥
गुरदेव़ ग्यांनी भय़ौ लगनिय़ां[8] ॥ सुमिरंण दीय़ा हीरा ॥
बडी निसरंणी नांउ रांम का चढि गय़ा कीर[9] कबीर ॥३॥८८॥

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[1] MS3190, Gop112;5, Raj69;33 कीरि; A97, V86, J156, C85 कीर. This word, most probably a verb, is missing in Hindī dictionaries; the only exception is Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 75, which interprets the form कीर (with the present locus quoted as exemplum) as imperative of the verb चीरना, कीरना – नष्ट कर दो, फाड़ कर दो. Gupta, *KG*, p. 208, on the other hand, explains कीर as कील – भर. The interchange of *r* and *l* is of relatively frequent occurrence in Hindī dialects; the meanings of the verb कीलना relevant in the present context are "to close", "to close up", "to stop the progress or propagation of" (Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English,* vol. 2, p. 889-890). Forms of this verb appear also in the verse 2 (कीरय़ा) and 3 (कीर, *var. lect.* कीरि); in all three instances the meaning "to honour one's obligations" appears to fit best in the context. The expression कागद कीर- may carry the technical meaning "to honour a bill".

[2] MS3190, A97 कलतरि; V86, J156, C85, Gop112;5, Raj69;33 कलतर.

[3] MS3190, C85 बधै; A97 वधै; V86, Gop112;5, Raj69;33 वढ़ै; J156 भयो.

[4] Only *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 5019 and 5020 explains this technical term: ऋण का एक प्रकार जिसमें मूल धन का चतुर्थांश ब्याज में देना पड़ता है.

[5] Only MS3190 कलतरि; A97, V86, J156, C85, Gop112;5, Raj69;33 कलतर.

[6] The basic meaning of this verb, "to take out", "to draw", is, in the present context, not specific enough; perhaps the extended meaning "to discharge" in the sense "to pay off", "to repay" is the right choice. Gupta, *KG*, p. 208, follows this line of interpretation in translating this *caraṇa* तूने [उसके बदले में] खोटे कलदार (सिक्के) [ऋण चुकाने के लिए] निकाले ! The meaning of the verb काढ़ना closest to the field of finances, as given by the Hindī dictinaries, is उधार लेना "to borrow" (*HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 896; *MHK*, vol.1, p. 505), the opposite of the sense expected in the present verse.

[7] In MS3190 the final क is omitted; all other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV*, and also the editions of Gupta and Yugeśvara, read ठीक.

[8] Another technical term explained differently by different authorities. Sīha, *KKK*, p. 289, has ज़मानतदार ("guarantor"), meaning used by him also in the interpretation of the present *pad* in his *KV-S*, p. 274. Gupta, *KG*, p. 208, on the other hand, explains as हमारी ओर से पूंजी लगाने वाले, i.e. "an investor", giving good sense in the present verse. Similarly Yugeśvara, *Kabīra samagra*, p. 566: पूंजी लगानेवाले. The nominal stem लगन्- with the basic meaning "love", "friendship", "affection", may add to the derived form लगनिया a more emotional shade "well-wisher", "patron".

[9] MS3190, A97, V86, J156, C85, Gop112;5 कीर; Raj69;33 कीरि.

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हरि जननी मै बालिक तोरा ॥ काहे न औगुन बकसौहु[1] मोरा ॥टेक॥
सुत अपराध करै दिन केते[2] ॥ जननी कै चिति रहैं न तेते ॥१॥
कर गहि केस करै जे घाता । तौउ न हेत उतारै माता ॥२॥
कहै कबीर एक बुधि[3] बिचारी ॥ बालिकि[4] दुषी दुषी महतारी ॥३॥९४॥

[1] Regular form of 2nd pl. is either बकसहु (*-ahu*$_{2}$, as in Gop78;82) or बकसौ (*-au*$_{5}$, as in A103, V89, C72, Raj39;11, contracted to *-o*$_{5}$, as in बकसो in J143). The form बकसोहु appears to be a product of conflation of both these forms.

[2] MS3190/S95, A103, V89, Gop78;82, Raj39;11 केते; J143, C72 केता; AG478;12 जेते.

[3] In MS3190 after एक follows बुधि, so that the phrase reads एक बुधि बिचारी. The same reading supplies also V89 and A103 (here बुधि instead of बुधि). In *MKV*, p. 238, S95, this word is missing. The beginning of the verse has still other variants: J143 कहै कबीर यहु हेत बीचारि (C72 with बिचारि) and कहत कबीर ऐक हेत बिचारी (Raj39;11).

[4] Correctly probably बालिक or बालक as in the other MSS.

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राम बिन तन की ताप न जाई । जल मै अग्नि उठी अधिकाई ॥टेक॥
तुम्ह जलनिधि मै जल कर मींना । जल महि रहौं जलहि बिन षीना॥१॥
तुम्ह पिंजरा मै सुवना तोरा । दरसन देहु भाग बड[1] मोरा ॥२॥
तुम्ह सतगुर मै नौतम चेला । कहै कबीर राम रमौं[2] अकेला ॥३॥९५॥

[1] MS3190/S96, V96 and Gop125;35 वड, "great"; A104 वड. AG323-324;2 has different version: मंद भागी तेरो दरसनु नाहि, giving meaning opposite to that supplied by A104, V96 and Gop125;35. (The form वुड in *MKV*, p. 239, is due to an error in deciphering blurred letters at the top of page damaged perhaps by contact with water. The word is not found in dictionaries; perhaps the intended form is बूड, MSH डूबता है, with the meaning "my fortune is going under"; hence the cry for help in the form of a *darśan*.)

[2] In the MS the word is written in the upper left corner of the page contaminated by a seepage of pigment from the opposite page or from the reverse side of the leaf. A small dot or blot may or may not be interpreted as nasal. *MKV*, p. 239, does not record it as a dot of nasalization; but A104 and V96 read रमौं, Gop125;35 has रमूं both correct forms of 1st sg. pres.

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रांम बांण अंणिय़ाले[1] तीर । जिहि लागे सो जांणै पीर ॥टेक॥
तंन मंन ढूंढौ चोट न पांउं । व़ोषद मूली कहां लगांउं ॥१॥
ऐक रूप दीसै[2] सब नारी । नां जांणौं का[3] पिव़हि पिय़ारी ॥२॥
कहै कबीर जां मस्तकि भाग । ना जांणौं काहू दइ[4] सुहाग ॥३॥९८॥

[1] Both Gupta and Sīha in their translations understand this word as meaning "pointed", "sharp": अनी वाले (Gupta, *KG*, p. 213); नुकीला, तीक्ष्ण, अनीदार (Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 333). Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 12-13, however, take the word अनियाले as variant of अन्ययाले, explained as अनोखा, निराला, and quote the present locus as exemplum: रांम बांन अन्ययाले तीर. Both the actual context and the form of the word speak for the first alternative.

[2] MS3190/S99, A107, F4 दीसै; V94, Gop125;33, Raj 9;2 दीसैं; AG327;21 देखउ.

[3] A107, V94, Gop125;33, Raj 9;2 कौ; AG327;21 कउन; F4 कोइ.

[4] A107, Gop125;33, Raj 9;2 देइ; V94 देई; AG327;21 मिलै; F4 लेइ.

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डगमग छाडि देहु मन बौरा ॥
अब तौ जरें[1] बरें बनि आवै ॥ लीन्हां हाथि संदौरा ॥टेक॥
होहु[2] निसंक मंगन होइ नाचौ ॥ लोभ मोह भ्रंम छांडा[3] ॥
सूरौ कहा मरंण तैं डरपै ॥ सती न सांचै भांडा ॥१॥[4]
यहु संसार सकल है मैला ॥ रांम कहैं ते सूचा ॥
कहै कबीर हरि नांउं न छाडूं ॥ गिरत परत चढूं उंचा ॥२॥९९॥

[1] This form (as well as the following **बरें**) is to be read as adverbial perfective participle – the variant reading **जरयां बरयां** in V101 supports this interpretation. For another occurrence of the phrase *ban$_1$- + -i$_{11}$ + ā$_1$-* in construction with this participial form, see *MKV, pad* no. 281 (see p. 68, further below in this volume), *ṭeka*: **मीयां तुम्ह स्यूं बोल्यां बनि नहीं आवै.**

[2] **होहु** (S100, Gop58;1), **होह** (A108, V101), **होइ** (J151, C80, Raj63;3).

[3] Only in MS3190/S100; in all other MSS the ending is *-au*, corresponding with the preceding **नाचौ**.

[4] J151 and C80 as well as *KG* (both Gupta and Tivārī ed., variant readings) add at this place two lines which are missing in the other *MKV* manuscripts and in the AG: **लोक बेद कुल की मरजादा । इहे गला में फासि । आघो होइर पाछो ह्वै हे । होसी जुग में हासी ॥**

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गोबिंदा गुंन गाइय़े रे ॥ पाइय़े परंम निधांन ॥टेक॥
व़ो उंकारे जगु उपजै ॥ बिकारे जगु जाइ ॥
अनहद बेन बजाइ करि ॥ रह्यौ गगन मठ छाइ ॥१॥
झूठै जगु[1] डहकाइयौ[2] रे ॥ का जीव़न की आस ॥
रांम रसाइंण जिनि पीय़ा ॥ ताकूं बहुरि न लागी पिय़ास ॥२॥
अरध षिण जीव़न भलौ ॥ भगवंत भगत[3] सहेत ॥
कोटि कलप जीव़न वृथा ॥ जाकौ नांहिन हरि स्यूं हेत ॥३॥
संपति देषि न हरिषिय़ें[4] ॥ बिपति देषि न रोइ ॥
ज्यूं संपति त्यूं बिपति है ॥ करता करै स होइ ॥४॥
श्रगलोक न बांछिय़े ॥ डरिय़े[5] नरक निवास ॥
हूंणा था सो होइ रह्या ॥ मंनहिं न कीजै आस ॥५॥[6]
का जप का तप संजमा[7] ॥ का तीरथ व्रत स्नान ॥
जौ पैं जुगति न जांणिय़ैं ॥ भाव भगति भगवांन ॥६॥
सुंनि मंडल मैं सोधि ले[8] ॥ परंम जोति प्रकास ॥

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[1] Only MS3190/S102 जगु; A110, J146 and C75 जुगि; V97 जगि; in AG337;63 this verse is missing.

[2] A110 (V97) झूठै (झूठे) जुगि डहकाइया; J146 (C75) झूठे (झूठै) जुगि डहक्या घनां. Both *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 713, and *HŚS*, vol. 4, p. 1941, distinguish डहकाना as अकर्मक with the meaning ठगा जाना, धोखा खाना, from डहकाना as transitive, meaning (१) धोखा देना, ठगना । (२) देने के लिए कोई चीज़ दिखाकर भी न देना । Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 532, has डहकाणौ, डहकावणौ only as transitive, with meanings, i.a.: २. भ्रम में डालना । ६. धोखा देना, ठगना । In the present context the morph *-i-* standing before the ending has been interpreted as passive affix *-i_3-* and the verb as transitive.

[3] Only MS3190/S102 भगत; A110, J146, C75 and V97 भगति; AG337;63 has a different variant of this verse.

[4] Final nasalization only in MS3190/S102.

[5] All other MSS edited in the *MKV* and also printed editions include negative particle न (or the usual variants thereof) and read डरिए न नरक. The missing न in S102 may be due to scribal error.

[6] This verse has an interesting parallel in *sākhī* 19.39 of Dādū: दादू हूंणा था सो है रह्या श्रग न वांछी धाइ । त्रक कहैथी नां डरी हूवा स होसी आइ ॥ Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. I, p. 179.

[7] Only MS3190/S102 has संजमा without final nasalization. A110, V97, J146 and C75 have the expected संजमां.

[8] In the *MKV*, p. 245, this locus is transcribed as सोधि-ले. There is no hyphen in the original manuscript. Variants (*MKV* spelling): A110 सोधि लै; V97 सोधि-ले; J106 शोधि-ले; C75 सोधि-लै. The variant readings ले/लै point to 2nd pers. sg. imper. as one of two possible solutions; the other is to understand the form सोधिले as adverbial perfective participle (see Part 2 of the present work, sections 5.E.4 and 5). Similar problem of interpretation

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जाकै रूप न रेष हैं ॥ बिन फूल्यां फल्यौ आकास ॥७॥
कहि कबीर गुन गाइ ले ॥ संत संगति रिदा मझारि ॥
जो सेव़ग सेव़ा करै ॥ ता संगि रंमै मुरारि ॥८॥१०१॥

arises with the form गाइले in the following verse. In this case the variants found in other Rājasthānī MSS mostly repeat (again in the *MKV* spelling): A110 and C75 सोधि ले and सोधि-लै; V97 सुंमिरि ल्यौ; J146 सोधिलै.

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जा नरि रांम भगति नहीं सांधी ॥ सो जनमत कहि[1] न मूंवो अंपराधी ॥टेक॥
ग्रभ मुचे मुचि भई कि न बांझ ॥ सूकर रूप फिरैं कलि मांझ ॥१॥
जिहि कुलि पूत न ग्यांन बिचारी ॥ ता की बिधवा काहे न भई महितारी ॥२॥
कहै कबीर नर सूंदर सरूप ॥ रांम भगति बिन कुचिल करूप ॥३॥१०३॥

[1] A112, V104, Gop10;23, Raj69;32 काहे; AG328;25 and F8 कस.

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का नागौं[1] का बांधै[2] चांम । जौ नहीं चीन्ह्यसि[3] आतम रांम ॥टेक॥
नागैं फिरयां जोग जे होई । बन का म्रिघ मुक्ति गय़ा[4] कोई ॥१॥
मुंड मुडाइयैं[5] जौ सिधि होई । श्रंगैं[6] भेड न पहुती कोई ॥२॥
बिंद राषि जे षेलै भांई । तौ षोसरै[7] कौंण परंम गति पाई ॥३॥
पंढे गुंणें उपजै अहंकारा । अधधर डूबे व़ार न पारा ॥४॥
कहै कबीर सुंनहुं रे भाई । रांम नांम बिन किनि सिधि पाई ॥५॥१०८॥

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[1] MS3190/S109, Raj98;6 नागौं; A118 नांगै; V109, Gop11;24 नागैं; AG uses a different phrase. The variant MS3190/S109 may be a scribal error, verse 1 has the correct form नागैं.

[2] A118 वांधै; V109, Gop11;24 बांधैं; Raj98;6 बांधे; AG324;4 बाधे.

[3] Only in MS3190/S109; A118 चींन्हिसि; V109 and Gop11;24 चीन्हिसि; Raj98;6 चीन्हसि; AG324;4 चीनसि. All these forms can be interpreted as 2nd pers. sg. of the sigmatic future. Both V. S̃īha and M. P. Gupta read चीन्हसि and translate by past tense: यदि आत्मतत्त्व को नहीं पहचाना है (S̃īha, *KV-S*, p. 99) and यदि तूने आत्म-राम को न पहचाना (Gupta, *KG*, p. 221). Both authors see this form as 3rd pers. sg. of the Avadhī past tense used in ergative construction; but the meaning of the sentence may require future rather than past tense – "why to go around naked or clad in deerskin when [this way] you *shall not* find *ātmarāma*" seems to make equally good sense as "why to go around naked or clad in deerskin when [this way] you *have not* found *ātmarāma*". Verses which follow the *ṭeka* call in question various traditional means to achieve this end, means which always precede the non-attainment of the final goal.

[4] मुक्ति गया – perhaps syntactical analogy to Skt. expressions of acc. of a noun expressing a state or condition with the verb "to go" (esp. √गम्- or √या-), like मोक्षं ययौ, मुक्तिं गतः, etc.

[5] Only MS3190 मुडाइयैं (in *MKV*, S109, p. 254, transcribed without nasalization as मुडाइयै); A118 मुंडांय; V109 and Gop11;24 मुंडायैं; Raj98;6 मुंडायें; AG324;4 मुंडाए. All these forms appear to be obl. cases (instr. sg.) of perfective passive participle of causative stem. See also Part 2 of the present work, section 5.D.1.

[6] A118, V109 श्रगैं; Gop11;24 श्रगहि; Raj98;6 सुरगां; AG324;4 मुकती.

[7] MS3190/S109, A118 षोसरै; V109 षुसरनि; Gop11;24 षुसरै; Raj98;6 षुसर; AG324;4 खुसरै. *HŚS* does not know any of the variants of the word as extant in these manuscripts; Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 1006, have only षुसरै, hapax, this locus. The form as it occurs in S109 is not found in dictionaries. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 371, introduce the form षुसरै with the equivalent श्वशुर, ससुर, quoting as example, curiously, this very locus. S̃īha, *KKK*, p. 66, is more elaborate: खुसरै – क्रि० [अ० खुसिय = अंड़कोश, खुस्र = हानि पहुँचाना] = बधिया करना । ~ बिंदु राखि जौ तरिऐ भाई, तौ खुसरै क्यूँ न परम गति पाई । -> सब० ७७-५ । Similarly, Gupta, *KG*, p. 221, explains खुसरे (बधिया किए हुए वृषभादि) ने […]. This interpretation finds support in the AG variant खुसरा whose established meaning is "eunuch" (Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, p. 1376; also Shackle, *GNG*, p. 93, with probable etymology in Persian *khwāja-sarā*).

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हरि बिन भ्रंमि बिगूते गंदा ॥
जां[1] पैं जांउं आपणपौ छुडांवंन ॥ ते बीधे बहु फंदा ॥टेक॥
जोगी कहैं जोग भल नीका[2] ॥ और न दूजा[3] भाई ॥
लौंचित[4] मूंडित मूनि जटाधर ॥ ऐ जु कहैं सिधि पाई ॥१॥
जहां का उपनां[5] तहां बिलांनां ॥ हरि पद बिसरया तबहीं ॥
पंडीत गुंनी सूर कवि दाता ॥ ऐ जु कहैं बड हमहीं ॥२॥
व़ार पार की षबरि न पाई ॥ फिरयौ सकल जुग अैसैं ॥
य़हु मन बोहिथ के कव़ा ज्यूं ॥ रह्यौ ठग्यौ सौ बैसैं ॥२[6]॥
तजि बांव़ैं दांहिणैं बिकारा ॥ हरि पद दिढ करि गहिय़े ॥
कहै कबीर गूंगे गुड षाय़ा ॥ बूझै तौ का कहिय़े ॥३॥१०९॥

[1] Nasalization only in MS3190/S139. The form, nasalized or not, is obl. sg., incongruous with the plural of correlative तें in the second half of the verse.

[2] MS3190/S110, A119 जोग भल नीका; V110 जोग हैं नीका; Gop47;16 जोग सिधि नीकी; AG334;51 जोगु भल मीठा.

[3] S110 incorrectly दूजां: the subscript dot of *nukta* व़ on the preceding line in the MS has been mistaken for a nasalization mark in दूजा.

[4] MS3190/S110, A119 लौंचित; V110 लुचित; Gop47;16 लुंचित; AG334;51 रुंडित.

[5] MS3190/S110, A119, Gop47;16 उपनां; V110 उपज्या; AG334;51 उपजौ.

[6] In the MS3190 this verse and the following one are wrongly numbered as 2 and 3 instead of 3 and 4. References to these two verses in the grammatical sections of this work use the corrected numbering.

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पांडे कौंन कुमति तोहि लागी ॥ रांम न जपहिं अभागी ॥
भरंम करंम मैं ऊरझि रह्यौ रे ॥ जनम गमाय़ौ बादी ॥टेक॥
बेद पुरांण पढत अस पांडे ॥ षर चंदन जैसैं भारा ॥
रांमं नाम तत संमंझत नांहीं । अंति पड़ै मुष्य छारा[1] ॥१॥
बेद पढ्यां का ऐ फल पांडे ॥ सब घटि देषे रांमा ॥
जांमण मरंण तैं तौ तूं छूटै ॥ सुफल ह्वैंहि[2] सब कांमां ॥२॥
बेद पढत अर जीव़ बधत हौं ॥ य़हु को धरंम कहाई ॥
आपण तौ मुनिजन ह्वै बैठे । कास्यूं कहूं कसाई ॥३॥
नारद कहै ब्यास य़ूं भाषै ॥ सुषदेव़ पूछौ जाई ॥
कहै कबीर कुमति जब छूटै ॥ हरि भजि रहैं समाई[3] ॥४॥११५॥

[1] Variants: A125 अंति पड़ै मुषि छारा; V224 लै डूब्यौ परिवारा; Gop56;1 लै डूब्यौ संसारा; AG1102-1103;1 कैसे उतरसि पारा; M38 भै डूबै सैसारा.

[2] Only MS3190/S116 ह्वैंहि; A125, V224, Gop56;1 ह्वैंहि; AG1102-1103;1 and M38 have different variant of the poem. Tivārī, *KG*, p. 111, gives as *varia lectio*, extant in Dādūpanthī and Nirañjanī MSS, the form होहिं.

[3] In MS3190 the status of the dot over the syllable है is uncertain: either it is nasalization (so interpreted in *MKV*, S116), or a diacritic belonging to the syllable य़ूं on the upper line. A125 has no nasal and reads हरि भजि रहै समाई; V224 and Gop56;1 have different variant of the last line: कहै कबीर कुमति तब छूटै । जे रहौ रांम ल्यौ लाई; AG1102-1103;1 has कहि कबीर रामै रमि छूटहु नाहि त बूडे भाई. In MS3190 भजि is either 2nd pers. sg. imper., or absolutive; रहै/ /रहैं, apart from simple present, may be perhaps interpreted also as adverbial perfective participle ("remaining immersed in Hari, do worship [Him]"). The 3rd pers. sg. छूटै in the expression कुमति जब छूटै "when the foolishness disappears/leaves [you]" can be compared with the formally identical 2nd pers. sg. of the same verb in verse 2 where the explicit object is marked with the ablative postposition तैं – "(if) you disengage/free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying".

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कहौ भाई अंबर का स्यूं लागा ॥ कोई जांणैंगा जांणणहार सभागा ॥टेक॥
अंबरि दीसैं केता तारा ॥ कूंन चतुर अैसा चितरंणहारा ॥१॥
जे तुम्ह देषौ सो य़हु नांही ॥ य़हु पद अगंम अगोचर मांही ॥२॥
तीनि हाथ ऐक अरधाई ॥ अैसा अंबर चीन्हौं भाई ॥३॥
कहै कबीर जो अंबर जांनै ॥ ता ही स्यूं मेरा मन मांनै ॥४॥११६॥

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सब दुनी सय़ांनी मैं बौरा । हंम बिगरे बिगिरै जिनि औरा ॥टेक॥
मैं नहीं बौरा रांम्य कीय़ा बौरा । संतगुर जारि गय़ा भ्रम मोरा ॥१॥
बिद्या न पढौं बेद नहीं जांणौं । हरि गुंन कथत सुनत बौरांणौं[1] ॥२॥
कांम क्रोध दोउ भय़े बिकारा । आपहिं आप जरै संसारा ॥३॥
मीठौ जाहि जौ भाव़ै । दास कबीर रांम गुंन गाव़ै ॥४॥११७॥

[1] V118 and Gop59;17 read बौरांनूं, a form of the 1st pers. sg. pres. of the verb बौरांना "to go mad", "to become insane" (*HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3581). In the context of these readings the *-aũ* in S118 can be interpreted in this way. But the final diphthong *-aũ* can be also understood as nasalized variant of the nominal ending *-au*$_1$, itself an allomorph of dir. sg. m. *-ā*$_{5.1}$, here preceded by the perfective participle affix *-n*$_2$-. Understood in this way, the form बौरांणौं has analogues in other perfective participles occurring in the present corpus: बौरांनां in 402.3, and बौरांनी in 419.3. AG855;2 reads बउरानो, perfective participle "driven mad", "gone insane". Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, p. 2897, describes the form बउराना as verb (वातुल होणा, पागल होणा), and also as adjective (वातुल होइआ).

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है हरिजन स्यूं जगत स्यूं[1] लरत है ॥ फुनिगा कैसैं गरर भषत है ॥टेक॥
अचिरज ऐक देष्यौ संसारा ॥ सुंनहां षेदै कुंजर असवारा ॥१॥
ऐसा अैक अचंभा देष्या ॥ जंबक करै केहरि स्यूं लेषा ॥२॥
कहै कबीर रांम भजि भाई ॥ दास अधंम गति कबहूं न जाई ॥३॥११८॥

[1] A128, V116, Gop40;6 and Raj92;7 read जगत लरत. The second स्यूं in MS3190/S119 is probably scribal error.

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ऐसे लोगनि स्यूं का कहिय़े ॥
जे नर भऐ भगति तैं न्यारे ॥ तिन तैं सदा डरांणे रहिय़े ॥टेक॥
आपन देही चरव़ा पांनी[1] ॥ ताहि नीदहि जाहि[2] गंगां आंनीं ॥टेक॥
आपन बूडैं और कूं ब्याव़ैं[3] ॥ अग्नि लगाइ मंदिर मां सोवैंहिं[4] ॥१॥
आपन अंध और कूं कहै कांनां ॥ ता कूं देषि कबीर डरांनां ॥२॥११९॥

[1] Alternative (and probably preferable) segmentation of the first word is *āpa* + *na* „they themselves do not give". A129 inserts negative particle न after the verb दे- and reads आपन देंहि न चरवा पांनीं, similarly also V115, Gop40;3 and Raj 95;3. AG332;44 has आपिन देहि चुरू भरि पानी.

[2] Identical endings in ताहि (dat./acc.) and जाहि (erg.) only in MS3190/S120 and V115 (ताहि […] जांहि), perhaps due to scribal oversight; other Rājasthānī MSS correctly use different forms for the these two different cases: A129 ताहि […] जिंनि; Gop40;3 ताहिं […] जि; Raj 95;3 ताहि […] जिनि.

[3] A129 वोवै; V115 बोवै; Gop40;3 बोवैं; Raj 95;3 आपण जांहिं और कौं षोवैं; AG332;44 आपु गए अउरन हू खोवहि. A, V and Gop use the same phrase as S; it is therefore highly probable that the verb ब्या- of S is a variant of बो-/वो- of the other three manuscripts.

[4] सोवैंहिं (in *MKV*, S120, p. 265, सोवैहिं with the first nasalization omitted) attested only in MS3190; A129 has सोवै; V115, Gop40;3 and Raj95;3 सोवैं (rhyming with ब्यावैं); AG332;44 सोवहि. The form in MS1614 can be interpreted as a regional variant of 3rd pers. pl. pres.: see Part 2 of the present work, section 5.B.1.f. Cf. also the parallel sg. form जीवैहिं in the *pad* 27, verse 2.

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लोका तुम ज कहत हौ नंद कौ नंदन[1] । नंद कहौ धौं काकौ[2] ।
धरंनि अकास दोऊ नही होते[3] । तब य़ह नंद कहां थौं[4] ॥टेक॥
जांमैं मरै न संकुटि आवै । नाव़ं निरंजन जाकौ[5] ।
अबिनासी उपजै नही बिनसै । संत सुजस कहैं ताकौ[6] ॥१॥
लष चौरासी जीवजंत[7] मैं । भ्रमंत भ्रमत नंद थाकौ ।
दास कबीर कौ औसौ[8] ठाकुर । भगति बिना हरि काकौ[9] ॥२॥१२६॥

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[1] MS3190, Gop63;36 and Raj43;18 read नंद कौ नंदन; नंदन कौ नंदन in the *MKV*, p. 280, S127 is editorial error. J157 has नंद को नंद.

[2] J157 सु नंद काहे धों काको रे; Raj43;18 सो नंदन नंदन काकौ रे.

[3] J157 धरती अकास पवन नही पांनीं; Raj43;18 धरणिं अकास न होते निसबासुरि.

[4] Only MS3190 and J157, probably echoing the nasalization in धौं on the preceding line; Gop63;36 and Raj43;18 have the expected थौं without nasal marking.

[5] J157 जुग छ़तीस जोगी जग जीवन । नांव नीरंजन वाके रे ।; Raj43;18 जांमैं मरै जगत मैं आवै । लड़ि भिड़ि करै सु साकौ रे । Apart from these v*ariae lectiones* spanning the whole line there is the doubtful reading नाव़ं in the MS3190/S127: more natural appears to be the variant नांव़ (with the *anusvāra* dot shifted to the left) attested in J157 and Gop63;36. In the transcription for the grammatical analysis outlined in the second part of the present work नांव़ has been selected as the preferred reading.

[6] J157 संकट परैं जोनि नहि आयो । माइ बाप नही वाकेरै ॥; Raj43;18 अबिनासी पट तर क्यूं कहिऐ । यहु मत नांहीं पाकौ रे ॥

[7] J157 जोनि. Before this passage J157 inserts another line that is not found in any other MS of the *MKV* edition: गोबिंद की करु सेवा सुमिरन । सहंस्र नांव ले लें भाषु रें ।

[8] औसौ in S 1614/S127 is probably scribal error. Correct reading is either अैसौ, अैसो (so in Gop63;36/J157 and AG338-339;70) or perhaps और, "different" (with the meaning: "devout Kabīr has a different Lord; but without *bhakti*, whose is Hari? (i.e.: "who has Hari as his Lord?").

[9] J157 inserts before the last line, which is almost identical with that of S127, another, not seen in other MSS: भगति हेति अवतार लियो । ग्रह भाग बडो बपुरा को रे । Gop63;36 differs in the last half-line from the S127: भगति करै सो वाकौ. Raj43;18 has the last line completely different from all other MSS: कहै कबीर सो कहां गयो । अब यहु ब्रह्मांड सु ताकौ रे ॥ This *pad*, published in four Rājasthānī variants and in the Ādigranth version, has a great number of variant readings: only S127 and Gop63;36 look really like one and the same version. J157 and Raj43;18 have several verses in common with the rest but add new material of their own. AG338-339;70 appears to be a peculiar mixture put together from pieces of all other versions (with the possible exception of S127). However, as the AG is older than the rest, one must suppose that a reverse process probably took place: AG version, or a version close to it, was gradually modified as it was sung by the bards of Rajasthan. It is perhaps not without significance that in the MS3190 this *pad* (together with four others) was written by a different hand in the free space of the last page of the *rāga gauṛī* section; it is a later addition.

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ऐसा ग्यांन बिचारि लै ॥ लै लाइ लै ध्यांनं ॥
सूंनि मंडल मैं घर कीय़ा ॥ जैसैं रहै सिचांणं ॥टेक॥
उलटि पवन कहां राषिय़े ॥ कोई मरंम बिचारै ॥
सांधै तीर पताल कूं ॥ फिरि गगन कूं मारै ॥१॥
कंसा नाद बजाइलै ॥ धुंनि निमषले[1] कंसा ॥
कंसा फूटा पंडित ॥ धुनि कहां निवासा ॥२॥
प्यंड परे[2] जीव कहां रहै ॥ कोई भेद लषावै ॥
जीव़त तिस घरि[3] राषिय़े ॥ उंधै मुषि नावै[4] ॥३॥
सतगुर मिलै त पाइय़े ॥ ऐसी अकंथ कहांणी ॥
कहै कबीर संसा मिट्या ॥ मिले सारंगप्रांणीं ॥४॥२॥

[1] MS3190/S132 निमष ले; A150, V135 निमषि ले; Raj72;70 निमसि लै; AG857;11 has slightly different version: कासी ते धुनि उपजै धुनि कासी जाई ("from the bell the sound is born, in the bell the sound fades out"). Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 215, interpret this sequence as single verbal form: निमसिल – क्रि० अ० (हि० निमसना) – बन्द हो जाने पर, समाप्त होने पर । उ० कंसानाद बजावले, धूंनि निमसिले कंसा । (प० १५४-५)। Practically the same explanation supplies also Sīha, *KKK*, p. 158; *HŚS*, however, does not know the verb निमसना.

[2] MS3190/S132and V135 परे; A150 परें; Raj72;70 पड़ें. These *variae lectiones* suggest that the form परे in our MS is to be understood as participle, here in absolute construction, rather than 3rd pers. sg. pres., predicate of a separate clause.

[3] घरि : Sīha, *KKK*, p. 364, offers for this form, identified as loc. sg. घर में, two meanings in two separate entries – हृदय में and चैतन्य में.

[4] The adverb उंधै/ऊंधै and the expression उंधै मुषि has been treated differently by different scholars. Thus, Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 43, explain ऊंधे (from Hindī औंधा) as ढालुए किनारे से, ढाल से. Sīha, *KKK*, p. 33, on the other hand, derives ऊंधैमुखि from Skt. अधःमुख, and interprets it as नीचे मुख कर के गर्भ में आना. Both authors quote the present locus as exemplum. For correct understanding of the whole phrase the meaning of the verb at the end of the verse is important. Whereas MS3190/S132 and A150 have नावै, V135 and Raj72;20 read न आवै; editors of printed editions follow the second variant and chose नहीं आवै. Ad नावै: *HŚS*, vol. 5, p. 2599: नावना† – क्रि० स० [स० नामन] १. झुकाना । नवाना । [...] २. डालना । फेंकना । गिराना । [...] ३. प्रविष्ट करना । घुसाना।

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है कोई संत सहजि[1] सुष उपजै । ता कूं जप तप देहुं[2] दलाली ॥
ऐक बुंद भरि देई रांम रस ॥ ज्यूं भरि देइ कलाली ॥टेक॥
काय़ा कलाली लाहणि करिहूं[3] । गुरू सबद गुड कीन्हां ॥
कांम क्रोध मोह मद मछर ॥ काटि काटि कस दीन्हां[4] ॥१॥
भव़न चत्रुदस[5] भाठी पुरव़ी ॥ ब्रह्म अग्नि परजारी ॥
मूदे मदन सहज धुनि ऊपजी ॥ सुषमनि पोतनहारी[6] ॥२॥
नीझर झरै अंमीरस निकसै ॥ तिहि मदि राव़ल छाका ॥
कहै कबीर बास बिकट अति ॥ ग्यांन गुरू ले बंका ॥३॥३॥

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[1] MS3190/S133, A151 सहजि; V136, Gop21;7, Raj60;3, AG968-969;1 सहज.

[2] दे पदहुं is a misprint occuring only in the printed *MKV* edition. The manuscript has the correct spelling देहुं, corresponding to 1st pers. sg. of the *h*-future. Other MSS use forms of the 1st pers. sg. pres.: A151 देउं; V136 and Gop21;7 देऊं; Raj60;3 देंव (?); and AG968-969;1 देउ.

[3] On close inspection of the manuscript, it is possible to see a nasalization dot above the final syllable: करिहूं. It has been omitted in the printed edition.

[4] As against the non-nasalized दीन्हा of the printed text, the MS has the ending nasalized as दीन्हां, corresponding to कीन्हां at the end of the first half-verse.

[5] In his translation, Vāsudeva Sīha interprets this phrase as शरीर में विद्यमान स्थूल-सूक्ष्म कोष; his *KKK*, p. 429, has also: चौदह भुवन – संज्ञा पु० [स० चतुर्दश भुवन] १. सात स्वर्ग – भूः, भुवः, स्वर्ग, जन, तप, महः, सत्य । २. सात पाताल – अतल, वितल, तल, सुतल, महातल, रसातल, पाताल । ~ चौदह भुवन चौधरी मरिहै काकी धरिऐ आसा । -> पद २९३-६, हिंडोला (८) १-१० । The number fourteen figures also in the description of knots (*granthis*) inside the body: "Importance is attached to the knots (*granthi*) the chief of which are the plaitings of the nāḍis in the kanda and in the ājñā. The total number is fourteen. The cakras contain some of them, Brahmā in the anāhata and Rudra in the ājñā. The knot in the ājñā is called *tribeṇī*." Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs*, p. 319. Compare also the expression भौ भाठी in the *MKV, pad* 19.1 (S15).

[6] Dictionaries: पोतनहारी – सं० स्त्री० (हि० पोतना + हारी) – कपड़े की गीली तह चढ़ाने वाला । उ० मूँदे मदन सहज धुनि उपजी, सुखमन पोतनहारी । (प० १५५-६ ।) Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 255. Similarly, Sīha, *KKK*, p. 195: पोतनहारी – संज्ञा स्त्री० [दे०] ठण्डक लाने के लिए गीला कपड़ा लगाने वाली भपके की नाली । ~ मुद्रा मदन सहज धुनि लागी सुखमन पोतनहारी । Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, Vol. II., p. 865: hapax, this locus.

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जाइ पूछौ गोबिंद पढिय़ा पंडित ॥ तेरा कूंन गुरू कौंण चेला ॥
आपणैं[1] रूप कूं आपहीं जांणैं ॥ आपैं रहै अकेला ॥टेक॥
बांझ का पूत बाप बिन जाय़ा ॥ बिन पांउ तरव़रि चढिय़ा ।
अस बिन पाष⟨र ग⟩ज[2] बिन गुडिय़ा ॥ बिन षांडे संग्रांमि जुड़िय़ा ॥१॥
बीज बिन अंकूर पे⟨ड बि⟩न तरव़र ॥ बिन साषां[3] तरव़र फलिय़ा ॥
रूप बिन नारी पहुप बिन परमल ॥ बिन नींरै सरव़र भरिय़ा ॥२॥
देव़ बिन देहुरा पत्र बिन पूजा ॥ बिन पांषां भव़रा बिलंबिय़ा ॥
सूरा होइ सु परंम पद पावै ॥ कीट पतंग ह्वै[4] सबै जरिय़ा ॥३॥
दीपक बिन जोति जोति बिन दीपक ॥ हद बिन अनाहद सब्द बागा ॥
चेतना होइ सु चेति लीज्यौ[5] ॥ कबीर हरि कै अंगि लागा ॥४॥६॥

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[1] MS3190/S136 आपणैं; A155 अपणैं; V168 आपनां; Gop63;31 आपणां; Raj43;3 अपणां.

[2] Two letters appear to be missing due to damage of the paper; all other versions included in the *MKV*, p. 291-292 (A155, V168, Gop63;31 and Raj43;3), read पाष र गज. Correct segmentation is पाषर गज, पाषर being a term meaning "armour, protective overcover for a horse". See e.g. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 245, or Sīha, *KKK*, p. 182. The damage extends to the next line where the letters ड बि adopted from the other MSS have been added in angle brackets.

[3] MS3190/S136, A155, V168, Raj43;3 साषां; only Gop63;31 साषा without the final nasalization.

[4] MS3190/S136 and V168 कीट पतंग ह्वै सबै जरिया; Gop63;31 dtto with जलिया; A155 कीट पतंग होइ सबै जुड़िया; Raj43;3 कीट पतंग सबै ह्वै जलिया. Tivārī, *KG*, p. 70, *pad* 119.3, has after सूरा as well as after पतंगा the form होइ.

[5] लीज्यौ in all Rāj. MSS. Tivārī, *KG*, *pad* 119.4, has लीजौ.

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अवधू जागत नीद न कीजै ॥
काल न षाइ कलप नहीं व्यापै ॥ देही जुरा न छीजै ॥टेक॥
उलटी गंग संमुद्रहि सोषै ॥ ससिहर सूर ग्रासै ॥
नव ग्रह मारि रोगिय़ौ[1] बैठा ॥ जल मैं ब्यंब प्रकासै ॥१॥
डाल गह्यां तैं मूल न सूझै ॥ मूल गह्यां फल पाव़ा ।
बंबई उलटि श्रप कूं लागी ॥ धरंणि[2] महारस षाव़ा ॥
पैसि गुफा मैं सब जगु देष्या । बाहरि कछू न सूझै ॥
उलट्यौ[3] धणंकि पारधी मारय़ा । य़हु अचिरज को बूझै ॥३॥
उंधा घड़ा न जल मैं बूडै । सूधा सूभर भरिय़ा ॥
जा कूं य़हु जगु घिनि[4] करि चालै ॥ ता प्रसादि निस्तरिय़ा[5] ॥४॥
अंबर बरसै धरती भीजै । य़ा बूझै सब कोई ॥
धरती बरसै अंबर भीजै ॥ बूझै बिरला कोई ॥५॥
गाव़नहारा कदे न गाव़ै । अणबोल्या[6] नित गाव़ै ।

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[1] MS3190/S138 रोगियौ, A157 रोपिया, V154, Raj72;67 रोगिया. In the present context the meaning of this word is not clear. *HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 4213, explains it as रोगी, बीमार, giving as example an unspecified quotation from Jāyasī; Sĭha, *KV-S*, p. 40, translates the present locus as योगी (योगी नव ग्रह [...] वश में करके ध्यानस्थ होता है), Gupta, *KG*, p. 240, as रोगी (रोगी [अपने विरोधी] नव-ग्रहों को मार बैठे). रोगी, रोगिया, a "patient", may be the adept-beginner of yoga who is determined to master his body and mind; the verse sounds like an echo of *sākhīs* 88-92 of Gorakhanātha; cf. Baḍathvāla, *GB*, p. 31-32, particularly the passage निहचल घरि बैसिबा पवन निरोधिबा कदे न होइगा रोगी ।

[2] धरणि has been variously identified as पृथ्वी, मूलधार चक्र and बुद्धि (Sĭha, *KKK*, p. 376 and 148); as पृथ्वी also by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 203, where the present verse is quoted as example. The identification of धरती and धरणी with कुण्डलिनी in the context of the present verse is found in the commentary of Gupta, *KG*, p. 241. For the identification of कुण्डलिनी शक्ति as drinker of the nectar, possible in the context of the verse 2 and 8 of the present *pad*, see Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 242; also Gorakhnāth's use of the alternative term धरती with this meaning in *sākhī* 267, and *pad* 56.0 (Baḍathvāla, *GB*, p. 81 and 152, and his MSH translation and explanatory notes).

[3] A157 उलटि, V154 उलट्या, Raj72;67 उलटै.

[4] MS3190 घिनि, changed in S138 to घिन, shown also by all other Rājasthānī MSS. In the present edition the original MS3190 reading has been retained with the conjectured meaning "loathsome", "abhorrent" (Skt. घृणित).

[5] निस्तरिया, either synthetic passive, variant of the regular निस्तरिये (perhaps to keep the rhyme with the preceding भरिया), or perfective participle extended with the connecting vowel *-i$_2$-*, variant of निस्तरय़ा. See the explanations in Part 2 of the present work, sections 5.D.1., and 5.J.2.

[6] MS3190/S138 अणबोल्या, A157 अणवोल्या, V154 बिन बोल्या, Raj72;67 अण बोल्या (written as two words in the *MKV*), Bījak अनबोला. Dictionaries treat it as an adjective: Caturvedī

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नटवर पेषि पेषणा पेष्या । अनहद बेन बजाव़ै ॥६॥
कहणी रहणी निज तत[7] जांणै । य़हु सब अकथ कहांणी ॥
धरती उलटि अकासहि ग्रासै ॥ य़हु पुरिसां की बांणी ॥७॥
बाज पिय़ालै अम्रित सोष्या ॥ नदी नीर भरि राष्या ॥
कहै कबीर ते बिरला जोगी ॥ धरणि महारस चाष्या ॥८॥८॥

and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 8, explain अणबोल्या as न बोला हुआ, with the present locus as example. Similarly SĪHA, *KKK*, p. 10, has अनबोला with the equivalent मौन and quotation of the present verse. *HŚS*, vol. 1., p. 186-187, records अनबोल (with variants अनबोलता and अनबोला[ः]) meaning १. अनबोला । न बोलनेवाला । २. चुप्पा । मौन । ३. गूँगा । बेज़बान । ४. जो अपने सुख दुःख को न कह सके ।

[7] S138 तर by a mistake, MS3190 and also A157, V154 and Raj72;67 correctly तत. The meaning of the phrase is not clear. The words कहणी रहणी are probably in the oblique case – possibly in locative, instrumental, or genitive; perhaps the true nature of the verbal explanation and the actual state of liberation is meant here, or the fact that one comes to know one's own true essence by [correct] speaking and practising. These two words occur together in juxtaposition in Gorakhnāth's *sākhī* 119: कहणि सुहेली रहणि दुहेली कहणि रहणि बिन थोथी । "speaking is easy, practice/achievement is difficult; speaking without practising/achievement is an empty exercise" (BAḌATHVĀLA, *GB*, p. 42). See also KAMALASĪHA, *Gorakhanātha aura unakā hindī-sāhitya*, p. 102-103.

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रांम गुंन बेलड़ी रे अवधू गोरषनाथि जांणी[1] ॥
नां तस[2] मूल न छाय़ा ता कै । वूरधि करै बिन पांणी[3] ॥टेक॥
बेलड़ियां दोइ अंणी पहूंती । सैली न[4] पहूंती सैली ॥
सहज बेलि जब फूलन लागी ॥ डाल्ही कूंपल मेल्ही[5]॥१॥
मंन कुंजर जाइ बाड़ी बिलंब्यौ ॥ सतगुरि व़ाही[6] बेली ॥
पंच सषी मिलि पव़न पय़ंप्यौ ॥ बाड़ी पांणीं मेल्ही ॥२॥
काटत बेली कूंपल मेल्ही ॥ सींचतडां कुमिलांणीं[7] ॥
कहै कबीर ते बिरला जोगी ॥ सहजि निरंतर जांणी ॥३॥९॥

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[1] This *pad* is a paraphrase of *pad* 17 of *Gorakha-bānī*. Cf. BAḌATHVĀLA, *GB*, p. 106-107. Its first line: तत बेली लो तत बेली लो, अवधू गोरषनाथ जांणीं ।

[2] MS3190/S139 and A158 तस; V163 and Gop57;16 तिस.

[3] *GB*, *pad* 17.0b.: डाल न मूल पहुप नहीं छाया, बिराधि करै बिन पांणी ॥

[4] Only MS3190 has सैली न (in S139 wrongly transcribed as सेली न), obviously a scribal error; A158, V163 and Gop57;16 read, probably correctly, गगन. In either case, the meaning remains unclear. Both M. P. Gupta and V. Sĩha read सैली, (deriving it from Skt. स्वैरम्, "on one's own accord, freely, spontaneously"): इस वेली से दो अनियां हुईं, जो स्वच्छन्दतापूर्वक आकाश तक जा पहुंचीं ।(GUPTA, *KG*, p. 241); इस लता में इड़ा-पिंगला नामक दो शाखाएं हैं जो स्वच्छन्दतापूर्वक गगन मंडल तक पहुंच जाती हैं । (SĨHA, *KV-S*, p. 324). Cf. *GB*, *pad* 17.3a.: बेलडियां दौं लागी अवधू, गगन पहूंती झाला ।: "[when] the plantlet caught fire, o *avadhūta*, the flame climbed up into the sky".

[5] *GB*, verse 3b: जिम जिम बेलीं दाझबा लागी, तव मेल्है कूंपल डाला ॥: "as soon as the plant began to burn, the branch put out shoots".

[6] The problematic word here is वाही/बाही (from the OIA root वह्-) whose different meanings have led translators to diametrically opposed interpretations: thus, SĨHA, *KV-S*, p. 324, understands it as जोतकर उत्पन्न किया है, whereas GUPTA, *KG*, p. 242, translates it as चला (हटा) दिया. CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 273, introduce as a lemma the form बाहै, with the meaning जोतता है. *GB*, verse 1a: काया कुंजर तेरी बाड़ी अवधू, सत गुर बेलि रुपांणीं । "in the grove of the body is your garden, o *avadhūta*, the Supreme guru planted a herb/ /plant [there]".

[7] *GB*, verse 4a: काटत बेली कूंपल मेल्ही सींचतडां कुमलाये ।

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अवधू सो जोगी गुर मेरा ॥ जो इहि पद का करै नबेरा ॥टेक॥
तरवर ऐक पेड बिन ठाढा ॥ बिन फूलां[1] फल लागा ॥
साषा पत्र फूल पल नांहीं ॥ अष्ट गगन मुषि बागा ॥१॥
पै बिन निरति करां बिन बाजा ॥ जिभ्या हीणां गावै ॥
गावंनहारा कै रूप न रेषा ॥ सतगुर होइ लषावै ॥२॥
पंषी का षोज[2] मींन का मारग ॥ कहै कबीर विचारी ॥
अपरंपार पार परसोतम । वा मूरति की बलिहारी ॥३॥१०॥

[1] फूलां: either obl. pl. m. of the noun *phūl*$_1$- "flower", or adverbial perfective participle of the verbal root *phūl*$_2$- "to blossom".

[2] S140 ज्योज; MS3190 shows the word as beginning with a strange ligature – ज्षोज, the first ज- being certainly an uncorrected scribal error. A159, V140 and Raj72;88 have षोज.

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अब मै जांणिबौ[1] रे केव़ल राइ की कहांणी ॥
मंझा जोति रांम परकास्या । गुर गंमि बांणीं ॥टेक॥
तरव़र ऐक अनंत मूरति ॥ सुर्त्ता[2] लेहु प्रमांणी[3] ।
साषा पेड फूल फल नांही । ताकी अंम्रित बांणी ॥१॥
पहुप बास भुव़रा[4] ऐक राता । बारह[5] ले उर धरिय़ा ॥
सोलह मझै पव़न झकोलै ॥ आकासे फल फलिय़ा ॥२॥
सहज समाधि बृषा य़हु सींच्या ॥ धरती[6] जलहर सोष्या ॥
कहै कबीर तास मै चेला ॥ जिनि य़हु तरव़र पेष्या ॥३॥११॥

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[1] All Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* (S141, A160, V141, Raj72;59) show the same form of जांणिबौ/जांणिवौ; S141, A160, V141 in the same context of nom./erg. of the personal pronoun मै/मैं; only Raj72;59 has अब कैं जांणिबौ. An interesting variant is found in AG 970;6: जानी जानी रे राज राम की कहानी "I have come to know the story of my Sovereign Lord" (tr. Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 3968).

[2] A160, V141, Raj72;59 सुरता. Going by the *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 7006 and 7018, both सुर्त्ता and सुरता (two graphic variants of a single word) can be interpreted as adjectives with the meaning "attentive", "concentrated".

[3] A160 प्रवांणीं; V141 पिछांनीं; Raj72;59 पिछांणीं; AG970;6 has different reading of the verse.

[4] A160 भवरा; V141 भूंरा; Raj72;59 भौंरा; AG970;6 भवरु.

[5] MS3190/S141, A160 बारह; V141 बारा; AG970;6 बाहर.

[6] For the possibility to identify धरती with the कुण्डलिनी शक्ति, see Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 242; also Gorakhnāth's use of this term in his *sākhī* 267, and *pad* 56.0 (Baḍathvāl's ed., with his MSH translation and explanatory notes). Sĩha, *KV-S*, p. 16, and Gupta, *KG*, p. 244, understand the expression धरती जलहर as genitive construction with the meaning सांसारिक जलाशय and धरती के जलाशय respectively. In the interpretation of the present author धरती is understood as कुण्डलिनी in the instrumental/ergative case, standing as logical subject of the past participle of the transitive verb *soṣ-*; जलहर is grammatical subject (logical object) in the direct case.

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ऐसा अदबुद मेरे गुरि कथ्या ॥ मै रह्यौ उभेषै[1] ॥
मूसा हस्ती स्यूं लरै । कोई बिरला पेषै ॥टेक॥
मूसा पैठा बांबि मैं । लारा[2] सापणि धाई ॥
उलटि सापणि मूसै गिली । य़हु अचिरज भाई ॥१॥
चीटी परबत उषण्या[3] ॥ ले राल्या[4] चौंरै ॥
कूकड़ौ मीनकी स्यूं लरै ॥ झल पांणी[5] दौंरै ॥२॥
सुरही चूषै बाछा तरि[6] । बाछी दूध उतारै ॥
ऐसा नाव़ल गुनी भय़ा ॥ सारदूरहि[7] मारै ॥३॥
भील लुक्या बन बीझ मैं ॥ सु सल्यौ सरि मारै[8] ॥
कहि कबीर ताहि गुर करौं । जो य़ा पदहि बिचारै ॥४॥१८॥

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[1] Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 41, explain the form उभेषै as आश्चर्यचकित and introduce the present locus as example. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 69, reads उमेषै, variant not supported by our MS, and translates as आश्चर्यचकित रह गया. Both authors appear to derive the meaning of this word, apparently of single occurrence in the whole corpus of Kabīr's verses, from the present context. *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 625, records this word as उभेष, m., with possible origin in the Skt. उभयस्थ, and meaning सन्देह, अनिश्चय. Again, the present verse serves as example. In the present analysis the word is understood as noun in the locative case, the ending *-ai* interpreted as obl. sg. m.

[2] The form लारा (together with variants लारां, लारि, लारियां, लारे and लारै) can be found only in Lālasa's *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 530, as adverb with the basic meaning पीछे. The shorter variant लार with the meanings साथ-साथ and पीछे has been recorded also by Sīha, *KKK*, p. 292. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 361, have the extended form लारै, explained as verb दुलार करने लगती है "begins to fondle", and illustrated by the quotation of the present locus, a less probable interpretation.

[3] The verb *uṣaṇ-* could be found as a lexical entry only in the *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 127 as उखणणौ; given meanings relevant in the present context include बोझा सिर पर उठाना and खोदना.

[4] Again Rājasthānī word. *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 480, records it as राळणौ, रालणौ; relevant meanings: ऊपर से गिराना, पटकाना, डालना, फेंकना.

[5] In the Callewaert's *MKV*, p. 305, transcribed as single unit झलपांणी, a word not attested by dictionaries.

[6] In *MKV* transcribed as one word बाछातरि.

[7] In *MKV* transcribed as two words सार दूरहि.

[8] The NPS ed. and Gupta's *KG*, p. 239, based on it have another variant: ससा सरि मारै ("hare strikes/kills [him] with arrow") which seems to fit better in the succession of role reversals running as the main theme through the poem. In the present reading this meaning is either diluted (the prey killing the hunter is missing; he, himself pierced, kills or strikes – but whom?), or absent.

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बाबा करहु कृपा जन मारगि लोव़ो । ज्यूं भव़ बंधन षूटै ।
जुरा मरण दुष फेरि करंण सुष । जीव़ जनम तैं छूटै ॥टेक॥
सतगुर चरंण लागि युं बिनव़ौं[1] ॥ जीव़न कहां तैं पाई ॥
जा कारंणि हम उपजैं बिनसै[2] ॥ क्यूं न कहौ समझाई ॥१॥
आसा पास षंड नहीं पाड़ै[3] । य़ूं मन सूंनि न लूकै[4] ॥
आपा पर[5] आंनंद नहीं बूझै ॥ बिन अनभै क्यूं छूटै ॥२॥
कह्यां न उपजै उपज्यां हीं जांनैं[6] ॥ भाव़ अभाव बिहूंणां ।
उदै अस्त जहां मति बुधि नांहीं ॥ सहजि रांम ल्यौ लीनां ॥३॥
ज्यूं प्रतिबिंब प्रतिबिंबहि समांनां[7] ॥ उदिक कुंभ बिगरांनां ॥
कहै कबीर जांनि[8] भ्रंम भागा । सीव़हि जीव समांनां ॥४॥२३॥

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[1] MS3190/S153 and V155 बिन्वौं, J48, C89 and Gop1;12 बिनौं; AG475;1 हम बिनवता.

[2] MS3190/S153 हम उपजैं बिनसैं; V155, C89 यहु उपजैं बिनसैं. Consistent nasalization of endings have J48 हम उपजें बिनसें; Gop1;12 हम उपजैं बिनसैं; AG475;1 जगु उपजै बिनसै. The form उपजैं can be read either as 1st pers. pl., or adverbial perfective participle (*upaj-* + *-0$_2$-* + *-ai̯$_2$*), i.e. equivalent to the unambiguous form उपज्यां in the third verse.

[3] MS3190/S153, V155 पाड़ै; J48 पारै; C89 पारै; Gop1;12 पाड़ै; AG475;1 फारै. Dictionaries – *HŚS*, vol. 6, p. 2935: पाड़ना – उखाड़ना । उपाटना । Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 56: पाड़णौ – १. पराजित करना । […] १३. उखाड़ना । Shackle, *GNG*, p. 200: **phāri**, v.t. "rip, tear" [13825 sphāṭayati].

[4] MS3190/S153 लूकै; V155 लुकै; AG475;1 लूकै; J48, C89, Gop1;12 लूटै. Dictionaries – *HŚS*, vol. 8, pp. 4307 and 4303: लूकना with cross-reference to लुकना and a note restricting its use to Old Hindī, काव्य and ग्राम्य प्रयोग, explained as ऐसी जगह हो रहना जहाँ कोई देख न सके । आड़ में होना । गुप्त स्थान में हो रहना । छिपना । Gupta, *KG*, p. 254, notes on *variae lectiones* of this difficult verse: पं[जाबी] में इसके स्थान पर है : 'माइआ फास बंध नहीं फारै यों मन सुंनि न लूकै' । 'पाड़ै' तथा 'फारै' में भेद भाषा-मात्र का है । 'आसा' और 'माइआ' भी समान रूप से संगत हैं, किन्तु राज[स्थानी] के 'खण्डित करके फाड़ने' में एक प्रकार से पुनरुक्ति है, जो पं[जाबी] में नहीं है । राज[स्थानी] का शून्य का 'लूटना' निरर्थक लगता है, शून्य में लूक्- : लुक्- : विलीन होना ही सार्थक है । Good explanation, perhaps with one reservation: expressions like 'खण्डित करके फाड़ने' are not necessarily *punaruktis*: see e.g. MSH verbal constructions like उखाड़ फेंकना or even उखाड़ फेंक डालना, etc. Sant Singh Khalsa's English translation of the Pañjābī AG version, *SGGS*, p. 2019: "The mortal does not break free from the bonds of the noose of Maya, and he does not seek the shelter of the profound, absolute Lord."

[5] पर in all MSS except AG475;1 which reads: आपा पदु निरबाणु न चीन्हिआ. This reading confirms the meaning ascribed to the word पर as परमात्मा by modern comentators, e.g. Gupta, *KG*, p. 253. *HŚS*, vol. 6, p. 2819, has among equivalents of पर : ३. ब्रह्म । ४. ब्रह्म ।

[6] MS3190/S153, V155, C89 जांनैं; J48 जांनें; Gop1;12 जांणैं. Only AG475;1 जाणै.

[7] For brief and clear elucidation of the reflection analogies (*bimbapratibimbavāda*) used by philosophers of Vedānta to explain the relation between the Highest Self and human selves, see e.g., Karl H. Potter, *Advaita Vedanta up to Śaṃkara and his Pupils* (Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies, Vol. III), Delhi 1981, p. 84-86. All Rājasthānī MSS repeat in small variants the word प्रतिबिंब/प्रतिब्यंब, the second, repeated occurrence with the obl. sg. suffix *-ahi$_1$*. AG475;1 reads जिउ प्रीतबिंबु बिंब कउ मिली है.

[8] Only V155 जोनि. जांनि can be interpreted either as loc./instr. sg. of noun *jā̃n$_2$-* + *-i$_6$*, or as absolutive of the verb: *jā̃n$_1$-* + *-i$_{11}$*.

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तेरौ जन ऐक आध है कोई ॥
कांम क्रोध अरु लोभ बिबरजित । हरि पद चीन्हैं सोई ॥टेक॥
राजस तामस सातिग कहिय़े ॥ तीन्यूं तेरी माय़ा ॥
चौथे पद कूं जो जन चीन्हैं ॥ तिन्ह ही[1] परंम पद पाय़ा ॥१॥
अस्तूति निंद्या दोउ छाडै ॥ तजै मांन अभिमांनां ।
लोहा कंचन समि[2] करि जांनैं । सो मूरति भगवांनां ॥२॥
चितवै तौ माधौ चिंतामणि ॥ हरि पद रमैं उदासा ॥
त्रिश्नां अरु अभिमांनं रहित है । कहै कबीर सो दासा ॥३॥२६॥

[1] V167 जो नर चीन्हैं , तिंनहि; J49 जो जन चीन्हे, तिनहुं; C90 जो जन चीन्हैं, तिनहु; Gop16;10 जे जन चीन्हैं, तिनहि; AG1123;1 जो नरु चीन्हे, तिन्ह ही

[2] MS3190/S156, C90, Gop16;10 समि; V167 संमि; J49, AG1123;1, M37 सम.

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माधौ चले बुनांव़ंन माहा[1] ॥ जगु जीत्यां जाइ जुलाहा[2] ॥टेक॥
नौ गज दस गज गज उगनींसा[3] ॥ पुरिय़ा ऐक तणांई ॥
सात सूत दे गंड बंहतर ॥ पाट लगी अधिकाई ॥१॥
तुलह न तोली गजाह न मापी ॥ पहजन सेर अढाई ॥
अढाई मौंहि[4] जे पाव़ घटै ॥ तौ करकच[5] करै बजहाई[6] ॥२॥

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[1] The form माहा/माहौ/माहो is attested by all *MKV* Rājasthānī MSS (S158, V166, Raj72;66), and also in editions of Gupta (*KG*, p. 261, No. 39) and Tivārī (*KG*, p. 65, No. 111) as well as in *Sabadas* ed. by Sīha (*KV-S*, p. 343, No. 271). Sīha's and Gupta's translation of this word as "*māyā*" is not corroborated by any of the dictionaries available to the present editor. Can the *-h-* be understood as a substitute for *-y-* to make a rhyme with जुलाहा at the end of the line? AG335;54 has गई बुनावन माहो, freely translated by Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 1435, as "Life weaves itself into its patterns" . Both Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha's *Mahāna Kośa*, p. 3361, and *Srī Gurū Grantha Kośa* by Gurcaran Singh, p. 3439, explain माहो (with the present locus as exemplum) as सूत, ताणा ("thread", "warp").

[2] AG335;54 घर छोडिअै जाइ जुलाहो.

[3] V166 उंगनींसा; Raj72;66 उगनींसकर, an obl. case.

[4] V166 महतैं, Raj72;66 मांहिं.

[5] All three Rāj. MSS. have करकच, explained by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 57, as झगड़ा. Gupta, *KG*, p. 261, on the other hand, understands it as ककेशा (माया) and therefore as subject of the sentence. AG335;54 reads झगरु. Interestingly, करकच is also the variant found in the Bījak version of this *pad* (Śukdev Singh's ed.) where the verse reads तामें घटे बढे रतियो नहीं करकच करे घरहाई. Hess, *The Bījak of Kabīr*, p. 48, translates "It doesn't stretch or shrink by a speck but the housewife kicks up a row with her husband, rants and raves." and comments (p. 178) that "the Bījak version is particularly obscure. Some of the lines are nearly impenetrable and probably corrupt. Where necessary I have simply made a best guess." Unfortunately, in the case of the present *pad*, the task of translator of the *KG* version is in no way easier. An alternative interpretation of the MS3190 version can be based on the meaning of the word करकश – टुकड़ा, खण्ड, as given by *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 804 – "piece", "part", "fragment". Here the fabric woven by the weaver and described in the preceding verse symbolizes the human body; the final result totalling just nineteen *gaz* can be seen as defective, one *gaz* less than the desirable size of twenty *gaz*. The use of the numeral nineteen for something less valuable, defective, and of twenty for the excellent, full, etc., is idiomatic. See e.g. Kapūra, *Lokabhāratī muhāvarā kośa*, p. 69: उन्नीस होना : कुछ घट कर होना; जैसे – यह कपड़ा उस कपड़े से उन्नीस है । This incompleteness gives cause for complaints, quarrels, and problems. One can speculate that the addition of the tenth door as another *gaz* to the nineteen mentioned in the verse would give the total twenty, a number symbolizing excellence or superiority (see Kapūra, *ibid.*, p. 368, under the heading बीस पड़ना).

[6] MS3190 बजहाई (in *MKV*, S158, p. 316, wrongly spelt as बडुहाई), V166 लुकाई, Raj72;66 and Gupta, *KG* 261/39 बजहाई (translated by him, without further explication, as वज्राघात, "a stroke of lightning"). According to *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3356, बजहाई is वादविवाद, झगड़ा, meaning illustrated by the present locus. AG335;54, Sīha, *KV-S* 343/271, and also *Bījak* (ed. Ś. Sīha), 116/15 have घरहाई.

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दिंन की बेठि षसम स्यूं कीजै ॥ और जु लगी तहाही[7] ॥
भागी पुरिय़ा घरहीं छाडी[8] ॥ चले जुलाह रिसाई ॥३॥
छोछी नली कांमि नहीं आवै ॥ लपटि रही उरझाई[9] ॥
छाडि पसारौ रांम कहि बौरी ॥ कहै कबीर समझाई ॥४॥२९॥[10]

[7] V166 अरु जुं लीगी तहांहीं; Raj72;66 अरज जु लगी तहांई; AG335;54 has different variant: दिन की बैठ खसम की बरकस इह बेला कत आई (*SGGS*, p. 1436, transl.: "How many days will you sit here, in opposition to your Lord and Master? When will this opportunity come again?" Tivārī, *KG*, p. 66, accepts the first half of the AG verse, but instead of इह बेला कत आई inserts तापर लगी तिहाई. To the present editor, the meaning of all these variants remains unclear.

[8] MS3190/S158 and Raj72;66 भागी पुरिया घरहीं छाडी; V166 भाजि पुरिया घरही छाडी; AG335;54 छूटे कूंडे भींगे पुरीआ ("Leaving his pots and pans, and the bobbins wet with his tears": *SGGS*, ibid.); Bījak: भींगी पुरिया काम न आवै.

[9] V166 उरझि रही लपटाई; Raj72;66 लहुरी रही उरझांई; AG335;54 न तर रही उरझाई.

[10] Number 29 given by mistake of the scribe; the correct numerical order of this *pad* within the *rāga rāmagrī* section is 28.

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भोली मालनी हे गोंबिंदौ जागतौ जगदेव़ ॥
तूं करै किस की सेव़ ॥टेक॥
भूली मालणि पाती तोड़ै ॥ पाती पाती जीव़ ॥
जा मुरति कूं पाती तोड़ै ॥ सो मूरति त्रिजीव़ ॥१॥
टांचणहारै चांचिय़ा[1] । दे छाती उपरि पाव़ ॥
जे य़ा मूरति सकल है तौ घडणहारै षाव़[2] ॥२॥
लाडू लाव़ण लापसी ॥ पूजा चढै अपार ॥
पूजि पूजारौ ले गय़ा ॥ दे मूरति कै मुषि छार ॥३॥
पात्रे ब्रह्मा कली बिश्न ॥ फल मंध्ये रुद्र देव़ा ॥
तीनि देव़ां ऐक मूरति ॥ करै किस की सेव़ ॥४॥
ऐ[3] न भूला दोइ न भूला ॥ भूला सब संसारा ॥
एक न भूला[4] दास कबीरा ॥ जा कै रांम अधारा ॥५॥३४॥

[1] MS3190/S164 टांचणहारै चांचिया; A181 टांचनहारै टांचिया; V170 घड़नहारै घड़ियौ; Gop14;5 टांचणहारै टांचिया; Raj102;1 आंणिं पांहण मूरति घड़िया; AG479;14 पाखान गढि कै मूरति कीन्ही. MS 3190 चांचिया is probably scribal error: according to *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1499, चांचिया is name of a caste whose members live on looting and thuggery. Most probably the correct reading here is टांचिया, perfective participle of the verb *ṭāc-*.

[2] A181 घड़णहारा नैं षाव; V170 घडनहारे षाव; Gop14;5 घडनहारे कूं षाव; Raj102.1 घडणहारहिं षाव; AG479;14 गढणहारे खाउ. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 89, quote this locus and explain the form खाव (thus spelled in the NPS edition) as imperative: खाओ, निगल जाओ. Gupta, *KG*, p. 266, on the other hand, translates it as 3rd sg. pres.: वह उस गढ़ने वाले को खा जाए, probably better solution. The original ending seems to have been altered to fit into rhyme with पाव on the preceding line.

[3] Scribal error in MS3190; other MSS have the correct एक.

[4] In MS3190 scribal error भूदला, in the *MKV* corrected to भूला.

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माधौ मै अैसा अपराधी । तेरी भगति हेत नहीं साधी ॥टेक॥
कांरंणि कौंणि आइ जगि जनम्यौ । जनमि कव्रन सचु पाय़ौ ॥
भौ जल तिरंण चरंण चितामणि ॥ ता चित घड़ी न लाय़ौ ॥१॥
पर निंदा पर धंन पर दारा ॥ पर उपवादैं सूरा ॥
ता थैं आव़ागव़न होइ फुनि फुनि ता पर संग न चूरा[1] ॥२॥
कांम क्रोध माय़ा मद मछर ॥ ऐ संतत हंम माहीं
दय़ा धरंम ग्यांन गुर सेव़ा ॥ ऐ प्रभू सुपिनै नांहीं ॥३॥
तुम्ह क्रिपाल दय़ाल दमोदर ॥ भगत बछल भौ हारी ॥
कहै कबीर धीर मति राषौ ॥ सासति करौ हंमारी ॥४॥४०॥

[1] Caturvedī and Mahendra's *KK*, p. 126, give a rather strange definition of this word in the present context: चूरा (२) […] खाद्य पदार्थ, with the present locus as example. Sīha, *KKK*, p. 91, interprets differently: चूरा – क्रिया [सं० चूर्ण] विचूर्ण होना, नष्ट होना । ~ आवागवन होत है फुनि फुनि, तापर संग चूरा । Gupta, *KG*, p. 260, translates this passage: तिस पर भी मैंने [इसका] संग न तोड़ा (छोड़ा). Sīha's and Gupta's interpretation is supported by the *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1572, which records the word as a verb: चूरना – … [सं० चूर्णन] १. चूर करना । टुकड़े टुकड़े करना । २. तोड़ना । तोड़ डालना । Similarly Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 410, under चूरणा – […] ४. नाश करना, ध्वंस करना ।

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संतौ आई ग्यांन की आंधी ॥
भरंम की टाटी सबै उडांणीं ॥ माय़ा रहै न बांधी ॥टेक॥
हित चित की द्वै थूंणीं गिरांणी ॥ मोह बलीडा टूटा ॥
त्रिश्नां छांनि परी घर उपरि ॥ कुबधि का भांडा फूटा ॥१॥[1]
आंधीं[2] पीछैं जो जल बरस्या ॥ प्रेमि हरीजन भीनां ॥
कहै कबीर भांण कै प्रगटैं ॥ उदित भय़ा[3] तम षीणां ॥२॥४३॥

[1] Of all the available MSS and editions, only Gupta's *KG*, p. 154, inserts at this place following two lines:

जोग जुगति करि संतनि बांधी, निरचू चुवै न पांणीं ।
कूड कपट काया का निकस्या, हरि की गति जब जांणीं ॥

[2] आंधीं only in MS3190/S173; J95, C6, Gop7;9, Raj73;1 and AG331-332 have आंधी.

[3] MS3190/S173, and also Gop7;9 and Raj73;1 have readings where उदित (adj.) + भया tends to be interpreted as predicate to भाण. Translators have problems with this construction where the noun भाण is in obl. sg. in a phrase with adverbial past participle प्रगटैं, and can not stand as the subject of sentence. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 380, interprets उदित loosely as a noun – दिव्य प्रकाश छा गया – and Gupta, *KG*, p. 154, supplies another noun in square brackets: [जगत] उदित (प्रकाशित) हुआ. Another possibility is to see उदित भया as attribute to तम (as in MSH उदित हुआ तम): "the darkness that had fallen"; J95 and C6 substitute the participle प्रगटैं for the expression अब सुरिज/सूरिज उग्या.

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गोबिंदे[1] तुम्हारे बन कंदलि मेरा मन अहेरे[2] षेलै ।
बप बाड़ी अंनग मिरग ॥ रचि रची रचि[3] मेल्है[4] ॥टेक॥
चित तरउव़ा[5] पव़न षेदा ॥ सहजि मूल[6] बाधा ॥
ध्यांन धनक जोग करंम । ग्यांन बांण सांधा ॥१॥
षट चक्र कव़ल बेधा ॥ जालि उजाला कान्हां ॥
कांम क्रोध लोभ मोह ॥ हाकि साव़ज दिन्हां ॥२॥
गगन मंडल रोकि बारा ॥ तहां द्यौंस न राती ॥
कहै कबीर छाडि गय़े ॥ बिछुरे ह्वै[7] साथी ॥३॥६॥

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[1] In the *MKV*, p. 346, S185 गोबिंद by oversight; A102 गोव्यंदे; V181, Raj64;1 गोव्यंदे; Gop57;1 गोबिंदे.

[2] A202 अहेरैं, V181, Gop57;1 अहेरा, Raj64;1 अहेडै.

[3] MS3190/S185 read रचि रची रचि where रची is scribal error, unwitting repetition; A202, V181, Gop57;1, Raj64;1 रचि हीं रचि is most probably the correct reading which gives good sense. *MHK*, vol. 4, p. 467, explains रचि रचि as बहुत ही अच्छी तरह और ध्यान तथा युक्तिपूर्वक.

[4] S185 मेल्है, A202, V181, Gop57;1 मेलै; Raj64;1 मेलौ.

[5] In the MS3190 the originally incorrect तरवर has been corrected by the scribe to तरउवा. S185 omits the final long vowel and has only तरउव. A202 and V181 have तरवा; Gop57;1 तरउवा; Raj64;1 तरुउवा.

[6] मूलाधार चक्र, according to Hess, *Studies in Kabīr: Texts, Traditions, Styles and Skills*, p. 236.

[7] Only MS3190/S185 ह्वै; A202, V181, Gop57;1 and Raj64;1 read सब.

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मेरी जिभ्या बिश्न नैंण नाराइण ॥ रिदै जपौं गोब्यंदा ।
जम द्वारि जब लेषा माग्या ॥ तब क्या कहसि मुकंदा ॥टेक॥
तूं बांभण मैं कासी का जुलाहा ॥ चीन्हि न मोर गिय़ांन[1] ॥
तैं सब राजा भूपति मागे ॥ मोरे रांम धिय़ांनं ॥१॥
पूरब जनम हंम बांभन होते । व़ोछ जनम तप कीन्हां[2] ॥
रांमदेव़ की सेव़ा चूका ॥ पकरि जुलाहा कीन्हां ॥२॥
नौमी करि नेम दसमी करि संजम ॥ ऐकादसी जागरणां ॥
द्वादसी दांन पुनि की व़ेलां ॥ सर्ब पाप ष्यौ करंणं[3] ॥३॥
भौ बूडतां कछु उपाइ करीजै । तौ[4] तिरि लंघौ तीरा ॥
रांम नांम लिषि भेरा बंधौ[5] ॥ कहै उपदेस कबीरा ॥४॥१८॥

[1] A220 चीनसि मोर गियांनां; V188 चीन्ह न मोर गियांनं; Gop47;24 चीन्हि न मोर गियांनां; AG482;26 बूझहु मोर गिआना.

[2] A220 वोछ करम तव कीन्हां; V188 ओछ करंम हंम हीनां; Gop47;24 वोछ करम तप हींनां; in AG482;26 this passage is missing but AG326;15 has similar verse पूरब जनम हउ तप का हीना। Cf. also Tɪvārī, *KG*, p. 27, *pad* 46, verse 1.

[3] A220 विषहरणां; V188 करनां; Gop47;24 करणां.

[4] Only in MS3190/S197; A220 ज्यौं; V188, Gop47;24 ज्यूं. This relative pronominal adverb with the force of a conjunction can introduce, inter alia, also a clause expressing a purpose or a result of an action (as in the verse 200.0 in the present corpus). In the present context तौ appears to fulfil this function.

[5] A220 वांधौ; V188 बाधौं; Gop47;24 बांध्यौ; AG482;26 has different version. Short *a* is probably error of the scribe of MS3190.

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रांम राम रांम रांम राम रमि रहिय़ै ॥ साषत सेती भूलि न कहिय़ै ॥टेक॥
का सुंनहां कूं सुम्रिति सुनांय़ैं ॥ का साषित पैं हरि गुंन गांयैं ॥१॥
का कउव़ा कूं कपूर षुव़ाय़े[1] ॥ का बिसहर कूं दूध पिलाय़ें ॥२॥
साषत सुनहां दून्यूं भाई ॥ व़ो नींदैं[2] व़ो भौंकत जाई ॥३॥
अंम्रित ले ले नीब सिचाई ॥ कहै कबीर व़ाकी बांनि न जाई ॥४॥१९॥

[1] V216 षुवावै; Gop30;3 षुवांयैं; Raj95;6 षुवांयें. In A197 the whole verse is missing. AG481;20 (slightly different version) has चराए. The causative form षुवा- "to feed" as variant of the regular षवा- occurs only in the MSS quoted above. Other editions, *HŚS* and *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II., do not record this form at all.

[2] MS3190/S198, A197, V216 नींदैं; Gop30;3, Raj95;6 नादै; AG481;20 has diferent version. The context indicates that the form should be understood as 3rd pers. sg.

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हरि मेरा पीव़ माई हरि मेरा पी[1] ॥ हरि बिन रहि न सकै मेरा जीव ॥टेक॥
हरि मेरा पीव़ मै हरि की बहुरिय़ा ॥ राम बडे मैं छुटक लहुरिय़ा ॥१॥
कीय़ौ सिगार मिलन कै तांई ॥ अजहूं न मिले राज रांम गुसांई ॥२॥
अब की बेर मिलंन जे पांउ[2] । कहि[3] कबीर भौ जलि नही आउं ॥३॥२१॥

[1] A253, V93, J145, C74 and Gop126;2 read पीव.

[2] All other *MKV* MSS have the nasalised ending: पांऊं (A253, V93, Gop126;2), पांउं (C74), पावुं (J145).

[3] The verb *kah-* shows different forms in different MSS: कहि (S200, A253, Gop126;2, AG483;30), कहत (V93), कहे (J145), कहै (C74). The usual form in this expression regularly used at the end of a poem is the 3rd pers. sg. (usu. कहै); available MSS readings suggest that this should be the case here too.

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मन मेरौ रहंटा रसन पुवरिय़ा । हरि कौं नाव़ ले ले[1] काति बहुरिय़ा ॥टेक॥
चारि षूंटी दोइ चमरष लाई[2] ॥ सहजि रहटव़ा दीय़ा चलाई ॥१॥
सासू कहै काति बहू अैसैं ॥ बिन कातें निस्तरिबौ कैसैं ॥२॥
कहै कबीर सूत भल काता ॥ रहंटौ नही परंम पद दाता ॥३॥२३॥

[1] A234, V213 and Gop20;45 read लै लै.

[2] In transcriptions of all Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* (S202, A234, V213 and Gop20;45) these two words are identified as चमर षलाई, which, however, does not give any intelligible meaning. Edited texts (Gupta, *KG*, p. 281, Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 271) divide the text into चमरख लाई, an easily comprehensible alternative. As for the noun चमरख, *MHK*, vol. 2, p. 208, gives an explanation echoed in both Caturvedī's, and Sīha's Kabīrian dictionaries: चमरख – स्त्री० [हिं० चाम + रक्षा] चरखे में लगी हुई चमड़े, मूंज आदि का वह चकती जिसमें तकला पहनाया जाता है ।

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मै सासुरि पीव़ गुंहुनैं आई ।
सांई संगि साध नहीं पूगी । गय़ौ जोबंन सुपिनै की नाई ॥टेक॥
पंच जनां मिलि मंडप छाय़ौ ॥ तीनि जनां मिलि लगन गिनाई[1] ॥
सषी सहेली मंगल गाव़ै[2] । दुष सुष माथै हलद चढाई ॥१॥
नांनां रंगै भांव़रि फेरी ॥ गांठि जोरि बाबै पति ताई[3] ॥
पूरि सुहाग भय़ौ बिन दुलह ॥ चौक कै रंगि धरय़ौ सगौ भाई ॥२॥
आपनौ[4] पुरिष मुंष कबहूं न देष्यौ ॥ सती होत संमझी समाझाई[5] ॥३॥
कहै कबीर मै सल रचि मरिहूं ॥ तिरूं ले कंले[6] तूर[7] बजाई ॥४॥२४॥

[1] A258 गिणायौ, V212 गंनाई, Raj72;89 गिनांई. As all available dictionaries report the noun लगन (meaning "auspicious moment for a wedding ceremony") as a masculine, the final *-āī/-ā̃ī* can be best interpreted as potential passive *-ā̃$_4$-* + *-ī̃$_3$-*. Gupta, *KG*, p. 280, solved the problem by making the noun लग्न feminine: तीन् जनों ने मिलकर [विवाह की] लग्न लिखाई थी ।

[2] MS3190/S203, V212 गावै, A258, Raj 72;89 गावैं.

[3] *MKV*, p. 363-364, transcribes पतिताई as single word. In the present edition ताई is understood as postposition and therefore transcribed as separate word.

[4] A258 अपनौं; V212, Raj72;89 अपनैं, probably the better reading for the obvious obl. sg. form.

[5] Śarmā, *KG*, p. 445, translates: जब मेरा सती होने का समय आया तो वास्तविकता समझ में आयी ।

[6] MS3190 ले कंले ले, with the last letter indistinct (erased?); the sequence of letters, transcribed in the *MKV*, S203, as ले कंले, is probably a scribal error. A258, V212, Raj72;89 have कंत ले, which appears to be the correct reading.

[7] तूर, in all Rājasthānī *MKV* manuscripts and also in Bījak whose *sabada* 54 (Ś. Sīha ed.) represents eastern variant of the poem. *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 770, records the word used in several *sākhīs* and *pads* of Dādū and Gorakhnāth, in one *pad* of Hardās and one *sākhī* of Sundardās. In all these occurrences except the last one तूर appears in the yogic context of the unstruck sound, the अनाहत नाद. Although both Gupta, *KG*, p. 281, and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 305, connect the sounding of the तूर with the performance of the *satī* ceremony, the interpreter would probably do well to keep in mind the yogic meaning too.

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माय़ा मोह मोहि हित[1] कीन्ह । ता तै मेरौ ग्यांन धन[2] हरि लीन्ह ॥टेक॥
सैंसार अैसा सुपिन जैसा । जीवन सुपिन समांन[3] ॥
साच करि नरि[4] गांठि बांध्यौ ॥ छाडि परंम निधांन ॥१॥
नैंण नेह पतंग[5] हुलसै ॥ पसू न पेषै आगि ॥
काल पासी मुग्ध बांध्यौ ॥ कनक कांमनि लागि ॥२॥
करि बिचार बिकार परहरि ॥ तिरंण तारंण[6] सोइ ।
कहि कबीर रघुनाथ भजि नर ॥ दुती नांहीं कोइ ॥३॥२८॥

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[1] A216, V203 मोहि मोहि हित; J66 मोह मोह हित; C104 मोह्य मोहि हित; Gop85;6 मोहि हित; AG482;27 मोह हितु. Śukadeva SĪHA, *Kabīr - Bījak*, p. 131, *śabda* 60, has मोहिहि मोहित, the Bhagatāhī version मोह मोहित. From very early times the text of this *pada* was not stabilized. The meaning of हित here is "passion", as in *pad* no. 224 (S173) of the *MKV*: हित चित की द्वै थूंणीं गिरांणीं. Different interpretation is supplied by VARMĀ, *Sãta Kabīra*, p. 344. In his Hindī translation of the Ādi Granth version of this song, he appears to take हित in the meaning "a favour", but used in ironical sense indicated by exclamation mark: माया और मोह ने मेरा यह भला (!) किया है कि उसने मुझे मेरा ज्ञान रूपी रतन छीन लिया है ।

[2] C104 ग्यांन ध्यान; AG482;27 गिआनु रतनु.

[3] In the Rājasthānī MSS collected by W. Callewaert this *caraṇa* has three variant readings: apart from the one supplied by S207 and followed by A216, V203 and AG482;27, we have also जामन मरन समान in J66 and C104; and माया सुपिन समांन in Gop85;6.

[4] Only MS3190/S207 and Gop85;6 have नरि, A216, V203, J66 and C104 read नर. AG482;27 has different variant हम गाठि दीनी. The expression नर/नरि गांठि बांध्यौ may be interpreted as "man entered into marriage".

[5] SĪHA, *KKK*, p. 382: पतंग – शलभ, विषय-वासना ।

[6] तिरन – उद्धार करने का साधन । तारन – तारने वाला, उद्धार करने वाला । *Ibid.*, pp. 128 and 127.

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मेरी मेरी करतां जनम गय़ौ ॥ जनम गय़ौ पनि[1] हरि न कह्यौ ॥टेक॥
बार बरस बालापणि षोय़ा ॥ बीस बरस कै तप न कीय़ौ ॥
तीस बरस कै रांम न जांन्यौ ॥ फिरि पछितानौ बिरथ भय़ौ रे ॥१॥
सूकै सरव़रि पालि बंधाव़ौ[2] ॥ लुणें[3] षेति हठि बाड़ि करै ॥
आय़े चोर तुरंग मुसि ले गय़े ॥ मौरी राषत मुग्ध फिरै ॥२॥
सीस चरंण कर कंपन लागे ॥ नैणां[4] नीर अस⟨रा⟩ल[5] बहै ॥
जिभ्या बचन सूध नहीं आव़ै ॥ तब सुक्रित की बात कहै ॥३॥
कहै कबीर सुनहुं रे संतौ ॥ धन सांच्यौ कछू संगि न गय़ौ ॥
आई तलब गुपाल राइ की ॥ तब मैरी मंदिर छाड़ि चल्यौ ॥४॥३४॥

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[1] MS3190/S213, J63, C101 पनि; A219 पै; V202 पुनि; Gop107;8 परि.

[2] The ending *-au* only in MS3190/S213. All other MSS. have *-ai*, ending of the 3rd pers. sg. pres.

[3] The ending *-ẽ* in MS3190/S213 and J63; in C101 *-e* without nasalization; A219, Gop107;8 and V202 have nasalited diphthong *-aĩ*.

[4] A219, V202, Gop107;8 नैंन; AG479;15 नैनी.

[5] असाल in MS3190/S213 seems to be a corruption due to omission of र in the original third syllable. असराल, probably better reading, is given by A219, V202 and Gop107;8. AG479;15 has असार, in J63 and C101 the whole verse is missing.

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प्रांणी काहे कै लोभि लागि । रतन जनम षोय़ा ॥
बाहुरि हीरौ हाथि नांहीं ॥ रांम बिना रोया ॥टेक॥
जल बूंद तैं जिनि प्यंड बांध्या ॥ अगनि कुंड रहाय़ा[1] ॥
दस मास माता उदरि राष्या । बहुरि लागी माय़ा ॥१॥
पल जीव़न की आस नांहीं ॥ जमं निहारै सासा ॥
बाजीगर संसार कबीरा ॥ जांनि डारौ पासा ॥२॥३७॥

[1] **रहाना** : *HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 4143, gives two equivalents – **होना** and **रहना**, the second supplemented by this quotation of Kabīr: **नीम करुवापन ना तजै जल में सदा रहाय** । Even here, the meaning of **रहाय** as "left" or "put" as a viable alternative to "remained" presents itself. In the context of the present *pad* the transitive/causative meaning is obvious, corresponding with **बांध्या** and relating to the same subject, **जिनि** [... **तिनि**]. Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 466, explains correctly the verb **रहाणो** by transitive and causative equivalents: **एक ही स्थिति में अवस्थित कराना, स्थित या स्थापित करना**, etc.

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ता तैं सेईय़े नारांइनां ॥ प्रभू मेरौ दीनदय़ाकरनां[1] ॥टेक॥
जौ तुम्ह पंडित पढि गुनि जांनौं ॥ बिद्या ब्याकुरणां ॥
तंत मंत सब व़ोषद जांनौं ॥ अंति तउ मरणां ॥१॥
राजपाट सींघासन आसंन ॥ बहु सूंदरि रव़नां ॥
चंदन चीर कपूर बिराजित[2] ॥ अंति तउ मरंणां ॥२॥
जोगी जती तपी सिन्यासी । बहु तीरथ भ्रंमनां ॥
लूंचित मूंडित मूनि जटाधर ॥ अंति तउ मरणां ॥३॥
सोचि बिचारि सबै जगु देष्या ॥ कहूं न उबरंणां ।
कहै कबीर सरणांई आय़ौ । मेटि जन्म मरंणां ॥४॥४०॥

[1] A193 reads: दीन दय़ाल दय़ा करणां. In this variant करणां is to be interpreted as agent noun ("doer"); the variant of MS3190/S219, found also in V207, Gop104;16 and Raj70;10 allows two interpretations: करणां can be understood either as agent noun, or as verbal substantive in the obl. case ("by performing of...")

[2] MS3190/S219 and Gop104;16 बिराजित; A193 विराजित; V207 and Raj70;10 बिराजत.

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अलह रांम जीउं तेरे नांई ॥ बंदे परि मिहरि करौ मेरे सांई ॥टेक॥
क्या मीटी ले भुइ स्यूं मारै[1] ॥ क्या जल देह न्हवांयें ॥
जोर करै मसकींन संतावै ॥ गुनहीं रहे लुकाऐं[2] ॥१॥
क्या उजू जप मंजन कीन्हां ॥ क्या मसीति सिरि[3] नांयें ॥
मन मैं कपट निवाज गुजारैं ॥ तौ क्या हज काबै जांहीं[4]॥२॥
बांभण ग्यारसि करहिं चौवीसौं । काजी मह रमदांनां ॥
ग्यारह मास कहौ क्यूं षाली ॥ ऐकहिं[5] मांहिं समांनां ॥३॥
जौ र षुदाइ मसती बस्त[6] है । तौ और मुलक किस केरा ॥
तीरथ मूरति रांम निवासा ॥ दुहु मैं कहूं[7] न हेरा ॥४॥
पूरब देस[8] हरी का बासा ॥ पछिम अलह मुकांमां ॥

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[1] A169 मारैं; V193 पटकीं; Gop54;4 and Raj76;11 पटकै; the interrogative pronominal adverb which occurs often – here in the same verse – with participial forms in phrases meaning "what is the use/point of ...", and also nasalized variants in other MSS suggest that in this particular case मारे is not to be understood as 2nd or 3rd pers. sg. pres. but as instr. sg. of perfective participle.

[2] A169 गुनहीं रहे छिपांयें; V193 गुनही रहै छिपांयें; Gop54;4 गुनहि रहै छिपांयैं; Raj76;11 गुनहीं रहै छिपाएं. The form गुनहीं can be interpreted either as obl. sg. in *-ahĩ*$_1$ of the noun गुन, or as dir. sg. of the noun गुनहीं "sinner" (from Persian گناہ *gunāh-* + Hind. suff. *-ī*$_2$-; cf. *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1305: गुनही = गुनहगार, अपराधी). Gupta, *KG*, p. 300-301, reads गुंन हीं रहैं छिपायें and translates वह गुण को छिपाए रहता है (उसके पीछे उसका त्रिगुण ही कार्य करता है).

[3] सिरि, here to be understood as instrumental, only in MS3190/S223. All other Rājasthānī MSS (A169, V193, Gop54;4 and Raj76;11) have सिर interpretable either as dir. or obl.; Pañjābī versions, M8 and AG1349;2, read सिरु.

[4] जांहीं only in MS3190/S223. A169, V193, Gop54;4 and Raj76;11 read जांयें, adverbial perfective participle in a phrase with क्या and rhyming with नांयें on the preceding line – probably the better reading. The scribe of MS3190 perhaps understood the form गुजारैं as 3rd pl. pres., inserted तौ and adapted the second verb on the line accordingly. But गुजारैं can still be understood as adverbial participle related to क्या on the preceding line. Compare similar phrase in the verse 312.3.

[5] MS3190/S223, Raj76;11 एकहिं; A169, Gop54;4, M8 एकहि; V193 एकैं; AG1349;2 एकै. This form has two possible interpretations: *ek-* + *-a*$_{14}$ + exclusive emphatic particle *-hĩ*$_2$, or *ek-* + *-ahĩ*$_2$, an ending of loc./instr.

[6] MS3190, V193, Gop54;4 बस्त (*MKV*, S223, p. 386, transcribed wrongly as बस्तू) which may also mean "thing" (from Skt. वस्तु); A169 वस्त which may mean "inside", Raj76;11 बसत, graphically correct verbal form meaning "dwells".

[7] MS3190/S223 कहूं, Raj76;11 कहू probably due to a scribal error for the correct काहू ? A169 किनहुं, V193, Gop54;4 किनहूं.

[8] MS3190/S223 and Raj76;11 देस; A169, V193 दिसा; Gop54;4 दिसैं; AG1349;2 दखन देसि.

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दिल ही षोजि दिलैं दिल षोजौं[9] । तौ इहीं[10] हीं रांम रहिमांनां ॥५॥
जेती औरत मरदां सिरजे ॥ ऐ सब रूप तुम्हारा ॥
कबीर पुंगरा अलह रांम का ॥ हरि गुर पीर हंमारा ॥६॥४४॥

[9] षोजौं with the nasalized ending only in MS3190/S223. The closest parallel to this reading presents Raj76;11 which has दिल हर षोजि दिलै दिल षोजौ; and also AG1349;2(M8) which read दिल महि खोजि दिलै (दिले) दिलि खोजहु (tr. by SANT SINGH KHALSA, *SGGS*, p. 5505: "So search in your heart – look deep into your heart of hearts"); these variants allow the conclusion that the nasalization in MS3190 (for which there is no apparent reason) does not debar us from considering the form as 2nd pl. imper. A169, V193, Gop54;4 omit the second verb: दिल ही षोजि दिलै दिल भीतरि.

[10] इहीं only in MS3190/S223: this form can be interpreted as emphatic obl. sg. of the near demonstrative (equivalent to MSH इसी: CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 33; *BBSK*, vol. I, p. 117). In the present context, however, this form is not followed by a noun in the obl. sg. as one would expect (and as is the case in all other occurrencies of this word in the *NBhS-DHL*: cf. the references to verses of Kabīr and Nāmdev in vol. II, p. 622: इहीं and इही), but by another, here clearly redundant emphatic particle हीं. The ending *-ĩ* may be interpreted as an error of the scribe due to his anticipation of the following particle हीं. Other Rāj. MSS have the probably better reading इहां: A169/Gop54;4 इहां राम रहिमांना/रहिमांनां; V193 इहां रहींम इहां रांमां. Raj76;11 has different version सोई हांर हीं मरु रांमां; AG1349;2(M8) also differ: एही ठउर (ठवरि) मुकामा. The collocation इहां ही in the sense appropriate in the present context is found e.g. in a *sākhī* of Dādū: तौ इहां ही आनंद है सदा निरंजन साथि. *NBhS-DHL*, vol. I, p. 158, *sākhī* 10.20b.

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मींय़ां तुम्ह स्यूं बोल्यां बनि नहीं आव़ै[1] ॥
हम मसकीन षुदाई बंदे । तुम्ह राजस मनि भाव़ै[2] ॥टेक॥
अलह अव़लि दीन के साहिब ॥ जोर नहीं फुरमाय़ा ॥
मुरसिद पीर तुम्हारै को है । कहौ कहां थी आय़ा ॥१॥
रोजा करैं निव़ाज गुजारैं ॥ कलमैं भिस्ति न होई ॥
सतरि काबा इक दिल ही भीतरि । जे करि जांनै कोई ॥२॥
षसम पिछांनि तरस करि दिल मैं ॥ माल मनीं करि फीकी ॥
आपा जांनि और कूं जांनैं ॥ तौ ह्वै भिस्ति निजी की[3] ॥३॥
माटी एक भेष धरि नांनां । ता मै ब्रह्म समांनां ॥
कहै कबीर भिस्ति छिटकाई । दोजगि हीं मंन मांनां ॥४॥४५॥

[1] For another similar construction of the phrase *ban$_1$-* + *-i$_{1L}$* + *ā$_1$-* with the adverbial perfective participle, see No. 127/S100 *ṭeka*: अब तौ जरैं बरैं बनि आवै.

[2] So read MS3190/S224, A189 and Raj78;2. V190 has तुम्हारा राजस मन भावै and Gop55;3 तुम्हा राजस मनि भावै. The latter variant may have induced SĪHA, *KV-S*, p. 290-291, to segment the words differently – तुम्हरा जस मनि भावै and translate तुम हम को चाहे जो समझो. In our variant the best solution seems to be to understand the phrase मनि भावै simply as "it seems [to me that ...]" rather than "the mind likes" which would require somewhat tortuous interpretations of the whole sentence. तुम्ह is either dir.-nom. (my solution), or obl.-gen. construed with मनि with the intervening obl. राजस in apposition; cf. e.g. 65.0 सो भगता मेरै मनि भावै; it can not be interpreted as dative which has the extended form तुम्हहीं (quotable from, e.g. MS3190, *pad* 2.3, but not included in the present corpus; in *MKV*, S2, p. 116, transcribed with an error as तुमहीं).

[3] निजी की only in MS3190/S224 (*MKV*, p. 389, has wrongly सरीकी); all other MSS have either सरीकी (A189, V190, Gop55;3, AG480;17) or सरीषी (Raj78;2) meaning "participating in".

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रे दिल षोजि दिल हर षोजि ॥ ना परि पिरेसांनी मांहि ॥
सहज मल आजीज है[1] । को दस्तगीरी नांहि ॥टेक॥
पीरां मुरीदां काजिय़ां । मुलां अरु दरवे़स ॥
कहां थे तुम्ह क्यनं[2] कीये़ ॥ अकलि है सब नेस ॥१॥
कुरांनां कतेबां असु[3] पढि पढि ॥ फिकरि य़ा[4] नहीं जाइ ॥
टुक दम करारी जे करै । हाजिरां षुसुर षुदाइ[5] ॥२॥
दरोगां बको बकि हूंहि षुसिय़ां[6] । बेअकलि बकहि पुवांहिं ॥

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[1] MS3190/S226 and V191 सहज मल आजीज है; A208 सहज मल अजीज है; Gop55;4 सहर माल आजीज औरत; AG727;1 इह जु दुनीआ सिहरु मेला; M50 एह जि दुनिआ सिहर माला. The exact meaning of this locus may have appeared unclear even to the singers and listeners in the 17th century – the variants may be due to their attempts to make the passage more comprehensible. The version of S226 is found in two other manuscripts, an indication that the readers or listeners were able to extract some meaning out of it. To the present interpreter, however, it is far from obvious.

[2] MS3190/S226 क्यनं; A208 किन; V191 and Gop55;4 किनि.

[3] MS3190/S226 and Gop55;4 असु; A208 and V191 अस; AG727;1 and M50 have *varia lectio* बेद कतेबं इफतरा भाई दिल का फिकरु न जाइ । The meaning of the word असु is not clear. Gupta, *KG*, p. 298-299 (reading अस) translates as असत but adds questionmark and a note saying that the word इफतरा (from the Arabic افتراء *iftirā* "falsehood", in *MHK*, vol. I, p. 309, explained as व्यर्थ की और निस्सार बात, with quotation of the present locus as example) might not be known in the Rājasthānī tradition and was replaced by अस. The variant असु/अस might point to pronominal adjective "such" (MSH ऐसा or ऐसे), segmented 0_1-+-as_2-+-u_4; still other possibility is to treat असु as an adverb with the basic meaning "quickly" (Skt. आशु; *MHK*, vol. I, p. 226), which in combination with पढ़ि पढ़ि might give the sense "to mutter", "to slur".

[4] Division in two words as suggested by Gupta, *KG*, p. 298; S226 spells as one word फिकरिया.

[5] A208 हाजरा सूर षुदाई; V191 हाजरां सूंर षूदाइ; Gop55;4 हाजिरां हजूर षुदाइ; AG727;1 हाजिर हजूरि खुदाइ; M50 हादरा हदूरि खुदाइ. The locution हाजिर हजूरि खुदाइ can be interpreted as "God is immediately present", or "finding oneself / staying in the presence of God". A verse containing similar expression is found in *pad* 379.0 of Dādū (Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. 1, p. 260): हाजरां हजूरि सांई, है हरि नेडा दूरि नांहीं, which M. Thiel-Horstmann, *Dādū: Lieder*, p. 314, translates "Unmittelbar zugegen ist der Herr, Hari ist nah, nicht fern."

[6] A208 दरोगां वको वकि होइ षुसिया; V191 दरोगां बको बकि हूंहि षुसियां; Gop55;4 दरोगां बके बकि हूंहि षुसियां; AG727;1 दरोगु पडि पड़ि खुसी होइ; M50 दरोग पड़ि पड़ि खुसी होवहि. The word दरोगां has been variously interpreted: Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 186, explain as निगरानी रखने वाला, दरोगा, quoting as example the present locus. Gupta, *KG*, translates as झूठ, "lie", a meaning corroborated by *HŚS*, vol. 4, p. 2223. Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. I, p. 636, and also *MHK*, on the other hand, describe the word as an adjective. According to Platts, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 514, the originally Persian دروغ can be used both as adjective and noun. The form बकिहूं in *MKV*, p. 392, is editor's error, the manuscript has only बकि. The following word हूंहि appears to be a variant form of 3rd pers. pl. of the substantive verb *ho-* (accoring to Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 419, where both हूंहि and हूंहिं have been explained as होते हैं). Interesting is also the variant बको (वको) in MS3190, V191(A208) versus बके in

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सचु साच षलक षालिक ॥ सैल सूरति मांहि ॥३॥
अला पाक तूं नांपाक क्यूं । अब दूसर नांहीं कोइ ॥
कबीर करंम करींम का । करंणी करै स[7] जांनै सोइ ॥४॥४७॥

Gop55;4: here the expression बके बकि seems to represent a construction similar to मुचे मुचि in 131.1. घुसियां, according to Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 92 (with the present locus quoted by way of example) means प्रसन्न; the form is Persian plural: see Part 2 of the present work, section 1.A.3.p. Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 296, has खुस्याळ (from the Persian خوش حال *k̲h̲wush-ḥāl*) as adjective प्रसन्न, ख़ुश, आनन्दित.

[7] Only in MS3190/S226.

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जौ मैं ग्यांन बिचार न पाय़ा । तौ मैं य़ुं हीं जनम गमाय़ा ॥टेक॥
य़हु संसार हाट करि जांनौं ॥ सब को बनिजन अय़ा[1] ॥
चेति सकै सो चेतौ रे भाई ॥ मूरिष मूल गमाय़ा ॥१॥
थाके नैंन बैंन भी थाके । थाकी सुंदर काय़ा ॥
जामन मरंणां एऊं दोइ थाके ॥ ऐक न थाकी माय़ा ॥२॥
चेति चेति मेरे मन चंचल । जब लग घट मै सासा ॥
भगति जाहु परि भाव़ न जइहौ[2] । हरि के चरंण निव़ासा ॥३॥
जे जन जानि जपैं जगजीव़ंन ॥ तिन का ग्यांन न नासा ॥
कहै कबीर ते कबहूं न हारै[3] । जे जांनि डारै[4] पासा ॥४॥

[1] V197 and Gop109;18 correctly आया.

[2] V197 भगति जाव पुनि भाव न जइयौ; Gop109;18 भगति जाव परि भाव न जइयौ; AG793;4 जे घटु जाइ त भाउ न जासी; M6 जे घटु जाइ ता भाऊ न जाइसी. According to Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 305, the word भगति can occur in two meanings: 1. as masculine, भक्त; and 2., feminine, ईश्वरानुराग. The first meaning could not be traced in any other dictionary, but the variant found in M6 and AG793;4 gives broadly this sense. The other possibility is to understand the word in the sense of a concrete, visible manifestantion of the *bhakṭi*-attitude: thus, e.g. *BBSK*, vol. 2, p. 1287, explains the first sense of the word as पूजा । अर्चना । Gupta, *KG*, p. 287, also inclines toward this solution, translating as भक्ति [का स्थूल रूप].

[3] MS3190/S228 and V197 हारै; Gop109;18 हारैं. AG793;4 and M6 have different variant of the verse.

[4] MS3190 डारै (*MKV*, p. 396, incorrectly with nasalization डारैं); V197 ढौरै; Gop109;18 ढारैं.

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हरि कौ नांऊ न लेहु[1] गव़ारा ॥ का सोचहि बारंबारा ॥टेक॥
पंच चोर गढ मंझा गढ लूटैं द्यौंस र संझा ।
जब गढपति सबला होई ॥ तब लूटै[2] न सकै कोई ॥१॥
अंधिय़ारे दीपक चहिय़ै । तब बस्त अगोचर लहिय़ै ॥
जब बस्त[3] अगोचर पाई ॥ तब दीपक रह्या समाई ॥२॥
जौ दरसन देष्या चहिय़े[4] ॥ तौ दरपन मंजन रहिय़ै ॥
जब दरपनि लाईगै कोई[5] ॥ तब दरसंन कीय़ा न जाई ॥३॥
का पढिय़े का गुंनिय़ैं ॥ का वेद पुरांणां सुंनिय़ैं ॥
पढें गुंने[6] मति होई ॥ मैं सहजै पाय़ा सोई ॥४॥
कहै कबीर मै जांनां ॥ मैं जांनां मन मतिय़ानां[7] ॥
पतिय़ांनां जौ न पतीजै ॥ न पतीजै तौ क्या कीजै ॥५॥१॥

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[1] Only MS3190/S237 has लेहु which can be explained either as 2nd pers. pl., or 2nd pers. pl. imper.; neither matches up with the verbal form सोचहि (2nd or 3rd pers. sg.) in the second part of the *ṭeka*. A259, V239, J163 and C108 लेहि, Gop47;1 लेहिं, 2nd pers. sg., is, in the given context, an unproblematic form.

[2] Only MS3190/S237 लूटै; A259, C108, Gop47;1 लूटि; V239 लूंटि; J163 लुटि; forms with the final *-i* are absolutives, expected with the verb सकना.

[3] In *MKV* misspelled as बस्तु.

[4] For the peculiar construction of perfective participle with the verb *cah-*, see the treatment of this locus in Part 2, section 5.E.7.b (perfective participle *-0_2-*) of the present work.

[5] Only in MS3190/S237. A259 and Gop47;1 have लागै काई, V239, J163 and C108 read लागी काई/काइ.

[6] Only in S237. MS3190 has strange combination गुंने. The reading गुंनि is uncertain; the adverbial construction here requires the form गुंने or गुंनें, attested in the other MSS: A259 पढे गुणें जौ होई; V239 पढें गुंनें का होई; J163 and C108 पढत गुनत सुष होइ; Gop47;1 पढें गुनें मति होई.

[7] Only in MS3190/S237. A259, V239 (and Gop47;1) (मैं) जांनां मन पतियांनां, J163 (and similarly C108) सु जाना मो मन मांनां.

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मन रे भज्यौ न रघपति राजा । ता तैं सर्यौ न ऐको काजा ॥टेक॥
बेद पुरांन सुम्रिति गुन[1] पढि पढि ॥ पढि गुंनि मरम न न[2] पाय़ा ॥
संझ्या गाव़त्री अरु षटकरमी । इन तैं दूरि बताय़ा ॥१॥
बनषंडि जाइ जोग तप कीन्हां । कंद मूल षणि षाय़ा ॥
ब्रह्म गिय़ांनी अधिक धियांनी ॥ जम कै पटै लिषाय़ा ॥२॥
रोजा करैं निव़ाज गुजारैं[3] । बंग दे लोग सुनाई ॥
हिरदै कपट मिलै क्यूं सांई ॥ का हज काबै जाई[4] ॥३॥
पहर्यौ[5] काल सबै जगु[6] उपरि ॥ माहि लिषे बड ग्यांनी ॥
कहै कबीर जन भय़े षलासै[7] ॥ रांम भगति ज्यांह[8] जांनी ॥४॥३॥

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[1] MS3190/S239 गुन, V241 गुंन, Gop47;3 गुण. In J165 and AG654-655;3 this verse is missing. Gupta, *KG*, p. 305, sees in the word an attribute characterizing the Vedas, *purāṇas* and *smṛti* – त्रिगुणात्मक वेदों, पुराणों और स्मृतियों को पढ़ पढ़कर. Sīha in his rather free retelling (*KV-S*, p. 279) omits this word altogether. Perhaps the possibility to interpret it as an absolutive of the verb *gun-* ("to meditate") should not be rejected out of hand.

[2] In MS3190 the negative particle is doubled, probably by mistake. In the *MKV*, S239 the second न has been left out; single negative is attested also in V241. J165 and AG654-655;3 do not include this verse. Interestingly, Gop47;3 reads पढि गुणि मन मन पावा.

[3] V241 रोजा किया निवाज गुजारी; Gop47;3 रोजा कीया निमाज गुजारी; in J165 this verse is missing.

[4] V241 and Gop47;3 have 3rd pers. sg. pres. जावा (in rhyme with सुनावा on the preceding line). Compare similar phrase in 280.2.

[5] Word of unclear meaning. Gupta, *KG*, p. 305, understands the nomino-verbal expression to mean "to blow, to strike" (काल ने समस्त जगत् के ऊपर प्रहार किया है) while Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 279, interprets the word as noun with the meaning of "posting, appointment" (यमराज का समस्त संसार पर पहरा है अर्थात् वह सभी के कर्मों का हिसाब रखते हैं). The formally unproblematic identification of पहर्- = पहन्- does not fit in the present context.

[6] Only in MS3190/S239; J165 जुग, Gop47;3 and AG654-655;3 have जग, V241 जगत.

[7] Only in MS3190/S239. V241 and Gop47;3 have षालसे, J165 षालिसे, AG654-655;3 खालसे. Both lexical variants are possible: खलास[1] – विशेषण [अ० खलास] १. छूटा हुआ । मुक्त । २. खतम । समाप्त । *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1142; and खालिस – विशेषण [अ० खालिस] जिसमें कोई दूसरी वस्तु न मिली हो । शुद्ध । मिलावट से रहित । *Ibid.*, p. 1147. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 370, have the variant षालसे = शुद्ध, quoting the present locus as example.

[8] V241, Gop47;3 जिनि; J165 जीन; AG654-655;3 जिह.

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इब मोहि नाचिबौ न आवै ॥ मेरौ मन मद्‌ला न ⟨ब⟩जावै[1] ॥टेक॥
उभर[2] था ते सूभर भरिय़ा ॥ त्रिश्ना गागरि फूटी ॥
हरि च्यंतत मेरौ मद्‌लौ भीनौं । भरंम भोय़न गय़े छूटी ॥१॥
ब्रह्म अग्नि मां जरी ज[3] ममिता ॥ पाषंड अरु अभिमांनां ॥
कांम चोलनां भया पूरांनां[4] ॥ मोपैं होइ न आंनां[5] ॥२॥
जे बहु रूप कीय़ा ते कीय़ा ॥ अब बहुरूप[6] न होई ॥

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[1] All MSS except MS3190/S242 which reads जावै, have either बजावै (V229, C113, Gop47;23, AG483;28) or its variants (A263 वजावै, J174 बजावे, Raj55;1 बजावौ).

[2] MS3190/S242, J174, C113 उभर; A263, Gop47;23 ऊभर; Raj55;1 has रीता (Skt. रिक्त, "empty"), an interesting variant, esp. when compared with Gorakhnāth's *sākhī* 61, first line (Baḍathvāla, *GB*, p. 22): अभरा था ते सूभर भरिया नीझर झरता रहिया; in Baḍathvāla's translation अभरा means "empty"; this rendition is corroborated by Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. I, p. 59, where अभर has among its equivalents i.a. खाली, रिक्त and अपूर्ण. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 45, follow this hint when they explain ऊभर (with the derivation from the Hindī verb उभरना and the present locus as example) as उभरा हुआ, खाली. However, neither *HŚS*, nor *MHK* enter among the equivalents of this verb anything that would even distantly relate to the idea of emptiness. With the standard meanings of this verb the sentence does not appear to make good sense. In the present context, the meaning of उभर as "empty" has been accepted with the possibility that the original initial अ- was by some later copyist mistaken for उ-. सूभर is *tadbhava* descendant of Skt. शुभ्र, "clear", "radiant", "shining"; it was rendered as भरपूर by Gupta's Hindī translation of this *pad*, in *KG*, p. 314, probably as a fitting opposite to a previous state of being: जो [चित्त का घट] पहले उभड़ा हुआ (छूछा होने के कारण जल पर उठा हुआ था), वह भरपूर भर गया है । The word can be found in similar contexts in verses of Dādū; e.g. in his *sākhī* 4.57a: सुष सागर सूभर भरया उजल नृमल नीर (similarly in *sākhī* 4.55b: *NBhS-DHL*, vol. I, p. 145), or *sākhī* 22.24a (*ibid.*, p. 182): सवद सरोवर सूभर भरिया हरिजन नृमल नीर । His *pad* 230 (*ibid.*, p. 236) begins with the words हास सरोवर तिहां रमैं । सूभर हरि जल नीर ।, translated by Thiel-Horstmann, *Crossing*, p. 74, as "The goose sports in the Lake, in the beautiful Water *harijal*." In the Glossary, p. 202, सूभर, *adj.* is translated as "beautiful".

[3] All other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* read जु, J174 जू, here probably with the force of conjunction "when".

[4] All MSS except MS3190/S242 have short *u* in the first syllable.

[5] मोपैं होइ न आंनां : AG483;28 substitutes this passage by different text – गइआ भरमु सभु छूटी ("all delusion ceased") – used by Ch. Vaudeville in her translation of this poem: Vaudeville, *A Weaver Named Kabir*, p. 287.

[6] S242 in the *MKV* divides in two words, बहु रूप, on the analogy with preceding जे बहु रूप कीया ते कीया (where the division into two words is undoubtedly correct); in the construction with the verbal form होई (3rd pers. sg. pres.) however, single word understood as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning "[a person] who takes on many forms or roles" appears to offer a more satisfactory solution. This interpretation is supported by *MHK*, vol. 4, p. 97, where बहुरूप, *adj.*, is explained as अनेक रूप धारण करनेवाला, and as a noun masc. वह रूप जो बहुरूपिया धारण करता है. See also the instructive explanations of बहुरूप and बहुरूपिया in *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3428. Meaning similar to that of the present verse may found in *sākhī* 10.44 of Dādū: बहुरूपी मन तब लगे जब लग माया रंग । जब मन लागा रांम सौं तब दादू एकै अंग ॥ Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. I, p. 159.

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थाकी सौंज संग बिछुरे[7] ॥ रांम नांम मसि धोई ॥३॥
जे था सचल अचल ह्वै थाके[8] ॥ करते बाद बिबादं ॥
कहै कबीर मैं पूरा पाय़ा ॥ भय़ा रांम परसादं ॥४॥६॥

[7] Only MS3190/S242 has **संग बिछुरे** without any intervening postposition; all other MSS (except AG483;28 which expresses the idea with different phrase) insert between the two words the postposition **के**; this led Gupta, *KG*, p. 314, to supplement the postposition with the noun **[लोग]**; alternatively, the locution could be interpreted as absolute construction (A263 has the nasalized form **बिछुरें**), similar to **भांण कै प्रगटे** in the verse 224.2.

[8] MS3190/S242 and Gop47;23 **जे था सचल अचल ह्वै थाके**; A263 (Raj55;1) **जे थे सचल अचल होइ (ह्वै) थाके**; V229 **जे था सचल अचल होइ थाका**; J174 and C113 **चंचल येक चले चलि थाका**; AG483;28 **तागा तंतु साजु सभु थाका** (Sant Singh Khalsa's tr. in *SGGS*, p. 2049: "The strings and wires of the musical instrument are worn out"). The exact status of words in this phrase in the MS3190 is uncertain: the perfective participle **थाके** can be interpreted either as m. pl. predicate to subject **अचल**, or adverbially, in which case **ह्वै** would be 3rd pers. sg., exceptional but possible form. However, variants in other MSS that read **थाका** suggest that in the present context the form has to be interpreted as predicate rather than adverbial. The problem is the sg. of **था** which does not correspond to the pl. of **थाके**. It is perhaps significant that majority of MSS have both verbs either in the sg. or in the pl. form. The forms **जे**, **सचल** and **अचल** are ambiguous as far as number is concerned.

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ऐ जीव़ आइ र कहां गय़ौ[1] ॥ ता तैं मोहि बैराग भय़ौ ॥टेक॥
पांच तत ले काय़ा कीन्हीं । तत कहा ले कीन्हां ॥
करंम बसि य़हु जीव कहत हैं ॥ जीव़ करंम किकी कीन्हां[2] ॥१॥
आकास गगन पाताल गगन ॥ दसौं दिसा गगन रहाई ॥
आनंद मूल परंम[3] परसोतम ॥ घट बिनसै गगन न जाई ॥२॥
तन मैं हरि है हरि मैं तन है ॥ है परि नांही सोई[4] ॥
कहै कबीर रांम न मन छाडूं ॥ सहजैं होइ सु होई[5] ॥३॥१६॥

[1] Only AG870;3 shows reading similar to MS3190/S252: इहु जीउ आइ कहा गइओ ("having come here where did this living being go?"). इहु is here obviously dir. sg. of demonstrative pronoun; ऐ in S252 should be interpreted in the same way, although the form is not a standard one. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 46, offer ए for both sg. and pl.: ए - सर्व० (सं० एष) - यह, ये । ऐ may be simply a scribal variant. In all other MSS (V231, J184, C123 and Gop63;42) the beginning of this *pad* reads differently – मन रे आइ र कहां गयो (or minor variants). कहां, as in MS3190, not कहा, as in *MKV*, S 252, is the correct form.

[2] The reading जीव करम किकी कीन्हां appears solely in MS3190/S253; किकी is probably scribal error. All other Rājasthānī *MKV* MSS have जीव करंम किंन दीन्हां or slightly different variants. AG870;3 reads similarly करमहि किनि जीउ दीनु रे, variant chosen by Tivārī in his *KG*, p. 91, and also by Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 308. The context suggests that this word should be best understood as erg. sg. – in conformity with other occurrences of this pronominal form in the present corpus किकी should be corrected to किनि.

[3] Only in MS3190/S252: all other MSS including AG870;3 read सदा.

[4] Different readings in different MSS: V231 है परि नांहीं सोई; J184 (C123) सतगुन हे (है) हरि सोई; है पुनि नांहीं सोई in Gop63;42 and also in Gupta's *KG*, p. 321 (who translates वह है भी और नहीं भी है); variant हरि है सरब निरंतरि सोई रे in AG870;3 and also Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 308, and Tivārī, *KG*, p. 91. परि can here be understood as an adverb with the meaning "above": Hari is immanent principle residing in all bodies, not a distant entity above and far removed from the beings of this world.

[5] This verse too, has several variants. Apart from the S252 whose रांम न मन छाडूं does not have parallel in any of the other MSS, three readings refer to God's name: V231 हरि नांव न छाडूं; Gop63;42 नांव न छाडूं; AG870;3 राम नामु न छोडउ. J184 and C123 have कहै कबीर राजा रांम जपहु रे । और न दुनिया कोई ॥

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काय़ा मंजिसि[1] कौंन गुंनां । जे घट भीतरि हैं[2] मलनां[3] ॥टेक॥
तूंबी अठसठि तीरथ न्हाई । करवापण तउ न जाई ॥१॥
जे रिदै सूध मन ग्यांनी ॥ तौ तूं कहा बिरोलै पांनी ॥२॥
कहै कबीर बिचारी । भौ सागर तारि[4] मुरारी ॥३॥२८॥

[1] MS3190/S264 and Gop13;29 मंजिसि, A284, J171 and Raj97;9 मंजसि, C110 मंजशि, AG656;8 मंजसि. For possible interpretations of this form, see Part 2 of the present work, sections 5.C.2 (sigmatic future, or present tense) and 5.B.3 (inflected perfect).

[2] Nasalized हैं solely in MS3190/S264. A284 has है; C110, Gop13;29, Raj97;9 and AG656;8 read है. Could the nasalization in our MS be due to meticulous recording of nasal pronunciation of the diphthong before nasal consonant? Plural is clearly not in place here: even if the following मलनां is understood to be a noun.

[3] मलनां can be read either as an adjective – see e.g. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 324 (अपवित्र, अस्वच्छ), with the quotation of the present locus, also *HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 3814 (दूषित, बुरा) – or a noun. So Gupta, *KG*, p. 312, who translates: घट शरीर के भीतर मलिनता हैं. Similarly Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 101, for whom मलनां = गन्दगी.

[4] तांरि only in *MKV*/S264. All other MSS included in that edition have तारि without nasalization. Closer inspection of the locus in MS3190 identifies the dot as a mirror imprint of an *anusvāra* on the opposite page.

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चलत कत टेढौ टेढौ रे ॥
नऊं दव़ार नरक धरि मूंदे ॥ तूं द्रुंगंधि कौ बेढौ रे ॥ टेक॥
जे जारैं तौ होइ भस्म तन । रहैं क्रिम जल षाई ॥
सूकर स्वांन काग कौ भछिन ॥ ता मैं कहा भलाई रे ॥१॥
फूटे नैंन हृदै नहीं सूझै ॥ मति ऐको नहीं जांनी ॥
माय़ा मोह ममिता कौ घाल्यौ[1] ॥ बूडि मूवो बिन पांनी रे ॥२॥
बालू के घरव़ा मै बैठौ ॥ चेतत नहीं अय़ांनां ॥
कहै कबीर ऐक रांम भगति बिन । बूडे बहुत सय़ांनां ॥३॥९॥

[1] घाल्यौ only in MS3190/S283; A305 वांध्यौ; V317 बाध्यौ; J198 बाध्यों; Gop10;31 बांध्यौ.

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प्रांणी लाल औसर चले[1] रे बजाइ ॥
मूठी ऐक कठिय़ां[2] मूंठी ऐक मंटिय़ा । हंसंगि काहू कै न जाइ[3] ॥टेक॥
देहरी लग तेरी सगी रे महेरी ॥ फलिसा लगी[4] समी इ इ[5] ॥
मरहट लग सब लोक सगौ रे ॥ हंस अकेलौ जाइ ॥१॥
कहां व़ै लोग कहां पुर पटंण । बहुरि न देषिसि[6] आइ ॥
कहै कबीर रांम नांम भजन बिन ॥ जनम अविरथा[7] जाइ ॥

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[1] चले solely MS3190/S286; A308, V322, Gop112;11, Raj70;1 चल्यौ; J203 चल्यो. This part of the *ṭeka* appears to be related to Kabīr's *sākhī* 3, *citāvanī kau āga* (MS3190, fol. 263a): कबीर ढोला दमांमां दुडबडी ॥ सहिनाई संगि भेरि ॥ औसर चले बजाइ करि ॥ हं को ल्यावै फेरि ॥ ("Kabīr, having played [his] *ḍholā*, *damāmā*, *duṛabaṛī*, *shahnāī* with *bherī* (various musical instruments) on [his] festive occasion(s), [man] has departed [from this world]; is there anybody who brings [him] back?") Here musical instruments are explicitly mentioned as objects of the absolutive बजाइ. GUPTA, *KG*, p. 38, in his translation of this *sākhī* understands the word औसरि (in his edition of *KG* in the obl. case) to mean अवसरों (समारोहों में). In the present *pad* (*ibid.*, p. 333) he offers similar interpretation: ऐ प्राणी, तू [अपना] लाल (रव-पूर्ण) अवसर (संगीत का कार्यक्रम) बजा कर अब [वापस] चल पड़ा है (संसार से विदा हो रहा है)। His ingenious explanation of the word लाल does not find support in dictionaries.

[2] All Rājasthānī MSS included in *MKV* retain this word (except of Raj70;1 which has मठीयां). CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 52, explain the word कठिया as एक प्रकार की भांग जो झेलम नदी के किनारे बहुत होती है, quoting as example the present locus. Similarly *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 756 (identical definition), and *MHK*, vol. 1, p. 437. GUPTA, *KG*, p. 333, on the other hand, understands the word कठिया as काठी (constitution of the body), i.e. शरीर की अस्थियां; by मटिया ("clay") is meant, according to this line of explanation, शरीर का मांस.

[3] VAUDEVILLE, *A Weaver Named Kabir*, p. 251, selected as the first stanza the lines from Ādi Granth (*Gu Kedār* 6, corresponding to *MKV*, No. 367/AG1124;6, pp. 474-475), which appears to be more comprehensible (still, two explanatory footnotes were necessary); all other manuscripts containing this poem – they are six in number – have the variant given here. The syllable हं before the word संगि (only in MS3190) is probably a scribal error.

[4] लगी MS3190/S286 only; A308, V322, Gop112;11 and Raj70;1 लग; J203 लगि. All these forms are variants of the postposition लग/लगि.

[5] Obviously corrupted passage. Other MSS have either सगी माई (A308, Gop112;11 and Raj70;1, accepted as correct reading here too) or तेरी माई (V322 and J203). AG1124;6 (variant reading) has संगि माई.

[6] Only in MS3190/S286; AG1124;6 has देखै, other MSS use the verb *mil-*: V322, Gop112;11, Raj70;1 मिलिबौ, A308 मिलिवौ, J203 मिलिबो. This line has its counterpart in another *sākhī*, *citāvanī kau āga*, no. 1 (MS3190, fol. 263a): कबीर नौबति आपणी ॥ दिन दस लेहु बजाइ ॥ ऐ पुर पाटण ऐ गलीं ॥ बहुरि न देषिसि आइ ॥

[7] Again solely in MS3190/S287: A308, Gop112;11, Raj70 have अक्यारथ; J203 अकारथ; V322 इक्यारथ and AG1124;6 अकारथु, with the same meaning.

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सार सुष पाइये रे रंगि रमहुं[1] आत्माराम ॥टेक॥
बंनह बसे का कीजीये रे । जौ मन नही तजै बिकार ।
घर बन दोउं समि करै[2] । ते बिरला संसार ॥१॥
का जटा भसम लेपंन कीयें । कहा गुफा मै बास ।
मन जीतें[3] जुग जीतिये । जौ बिषिया रहै उदास ॥२॥
कहै कबीर किरपा भई । गुरि[4] ग्यांन कह्यौ समझाइ ।
हृदै श्री हरि भेटियौ[5] । जे मन अनंतै[6] नही जाइ ॥३॥१६॥

[1] The form रमहुं/रमहु can be interpreted either as 2nd pers. pl. (a nasalized allomorph to -*ahu*$_2$), or as 2nd pers. pl. imper. (-*ahu*$_3$ /-*ahũ*).

[2] Only in *MKV*/S290. In the MS3190 the word वोउं can be read also as दोउं (व written without the dot and द are sometimes hard to distinguish). J188 has घर बन दोउ सम करै which is most probably the correct reading here as well. A294 घर वन तत् जिनि सम कीया; V312 घर बंन ततु जिन कीया; Gop47;7 घर बन तत सम जे कीया; Raj98;5 घर बन जे जन समि करैं; AG1103;2 जिह घरु बनु समसरि कीआ; M39 जह घरु बन समसरि कीआ. The pronoun of the 3rd pers. sg./ /demonstrative वो (plus a nasalized variant of the inclusive emphatic particle) in S290 does not fit well into the sentence.

[3] MS3190/S290 and 98;5 जीतें, A294 जीतैं, V312, J188 and Gop47;7 जीत्यां.

[4] MS3190/S290, Gop47;7, Raj98;5, AG1103;2 and M39 गुरि; A294 and V312 गुर.

[5] Only in MS3190/S290. A294, J188, Gop47;7, Raj98;5 have भेटिये, V312 भेटिए, AG1103;2 and M39 भेटिआ.

[6] MS3190/S290 अनंतै; V312 अनंतं with the possible meaning of "endless", "infinite" that can be approached by the heart but not by mind; on the other hand, Gop47;7 and Raj98;5 अनतैं, A294 अनतै, J188 अनते, AG1103;2 and M39 कतहू, all meaning "elsewhere" (अनतै < Skt. अन्यत्र; AG कतहू = MSH कहीं) and the verse could be translated: "when the mind does not wander elsewhere, Śrī Hari was/is (to be) found in the heart". For variants of this interpretation, see Gupta, *KG*, p. 325, and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 404.

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मना[1] रे राम सुमिरि ॥ रारां[2] सुमिरि ॥ रांम सुमिरि भाई ॥
रांम नांम सुमिरंण बिन । बूडत है अधिकाई ॥टेक॥
दारा सुत ग्रेह नेह ॥ संपति सुषदाई ॥
य़ा महि कछू नांहि तेरौ ॥ काल आव़धि आई ॥१॥
अजामेल गज गनिका ॥ पतित क्रंम कीन्हां ।
तेउ उतरि पारि गय़े ॥ रांम नांम लीन्हां[3] ॥२॥
श्वांन सूकर काग कीन्हौं॥ तौउ लाज न आई[4] ॥
रांम नांम अंम्रित छाडि । काहे बिष षाई ॥३॥
तजि भ्रम क्रंम बिध निषेध ॥ रांम नांम लेइ ॥
जन कबीर गुर प्रसाद । राम करि सनेही ॥४॥१॥

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[1] Variant readings: A314 मन रांम सुमिरि; V331, Gop8;21 मनां रे रांम सुमिरि; J209 मनां रांम सुमिरि; AG692;5 राम सुमरि. The form मना/मनां can be interpreted either as vocative or as instrumental/locative: "o mind!", or "with/in [your] mind". Similarly in the *pad* 410.0.

[2] Obvious scribal error – all other MSS have the correct spelling रांम.

[3] Cf. Tulsīdās, *Rāmacaritamānasa*, I.25.4. on Ajāmila and the greatness of the name of Rām.

[4] AG692;5 has a variant that helps clear the meaning of the passage as given by Rājasthānī MSS: सूकर कूकर जोनि भ्रमे तऊ लाज न आई ।

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दिव़ांनां तै दींन विसारयौ रे ।
पेट भरयौ पसुव़ा ज्यौ सोय़ौ । मंनिष जनम तंन हारयौ रे ॥टेक॥
कांमी क्रोधी चातुरी रे । बाजीगर बेकांम[1] ।
न्यंद्या करंतां जनंम गमायौ । कबहूं न सुमिरयौ राम ॥१॥
साध संगति कबहूं नहीं कीन्ही । रातौ झंझटि झूठि ।
सूकर स्वांन का⟨ग⟩ की नांई । चाल्यौ चेजै उठि[2] ॥२॥
आपण कूं मोटा गिणै रे । औरन कूं लघमात[3] ।
मनसा बाचा करमना । देषत[4] दोजगि जात ॥३॥
कहै कबीर चेत्यौ नही रे । मूरिष मूढ गंव़ार ।
राम नाम जांण्यौ नहीं । क्यूं उतरिबौ पार ॥४॥४॥

[1] MS3190 and AG1105;1 बाजीगर बेकांम (AG without nasalization); A313 and J208 बाजीगर के कांम. In Hindī dictionaries (*HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1506; Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 1, p. 391) the word चातुरी is explained correctly as *tatsama* noun meaning "cunning", "craftiness"; but the present context suggests that Old Hindī speakers might have understood it as an adjective (or a noun) "(the) cunning (one)", "(the) crafty (one)", thus mixing up the affixes *-ī₁-* (deriver of abstract nouns), and *-ī₂-* (deriver of possessives and nouns of relation or occupation) but matching in form and meaning the two preceding words. Among Sikh scholars the latter interpretation has received authority by its inclusion, as चतुराई वाला, चालाक with the present locus added as exemplum, in the *Guruśabad Ratanākar Mahān Koś*, p. 1647, by Bhai Kanh Singh Nabha; and this meaning has been chosen by Sant Singh Khalsa in his modern English translation of the AG (*SGGS*, p. 4524) where the line reads "The lustful, the angry, the clever, the deceitful and the lazy". However, at two other loci in the AG (400;10 and 848;3) the same word is used as abstract noun meaning "cunning", "trickery".

[2] A313 सूकर स्वांन काग की नांई । चाल्यौ चेजै ऊठि ॥; J208 reads the last *caraṇa* चाल्यौ बेजे उठि; AG1105;1 has सुआन सूकर बाइस जिवै भटकतु चालिओ ऊठि. The reading काकी in MS3190 does not give a good sense in the present context; other Rājasthānī MSS have the correct काग/कांग "crow", a word supported by its synonym बाइस used in the AG version of this *pad* (and also by identical lists of animals in verses 363.1 and 381.3 of the present MS). The word चेजै in MS3190 and A313 is more difficult to interpret. The noun चेजा is explained by Hindī dictionaries – *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1575, *BSSK*, vol. 1, p. 525, Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 126 – as छेद, सुराख "hole". *KK* also quotes Kabīr's *sākhī* in which this word occurs. Tivārī, *KG*, p. 199, has it as *sākhī* 16.9 (काल कौ अंग) and the reading accepted by him is सेजा "bed" and the *varia lectio* चेजा has been relegated, with a question mark, to a footnote. In the present context of comparing the villain to unclean animals the meaning may be "in the den", in the lair", but also with question mark. उठि चाल्- can be understood as modified verbal expression with the meaning "to depart", "to die": see, Shackle, *GNG*, p. 2.

[3] A313 and J208 लघुमात; AG1105;1 लग मात – another word absent in Hindī dictionaries and concordances. Closest in form and meaning in the present context is the adjective लघुमति "feeble-minded", "stupid" (*HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 4242). Bhai Kanh Singh Nabha, *Mahān Koś*, p. 3369, explains the phrase लग मात, quoted from the present verse of the AG, as लघु मात्रा.

[4] AG1105;1 मै देखे.

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इहि बिधि सेइय़े श्री नरहरी ॥ मन की दुबध्या मनि परहरी[1] ॥ टेक ॥
जहां नहीं जहां[2] नही तहां कछू जांनि ॥ जहां नहीं तहां लेहु पिछांनि ॥
नाही देषि न जइय़ै भाजि[3] ॥ जहां नहीं तहां रहिय़े लागि ॥ १ ॥
मंन मंजन करि दसवै द्वारि ॥ गंगा जमनां संधि बिचारि ॥
नादहि बिंद कि बिंदहि[4] नाद ॥ नादहि बिंद मिलै गोबिंद ॥ २ ॥
देव़ी न देव़ा पूजा न जाप ॥ भाई न बंध माइ नही बाप ॥
गुन अतीत जस त्रिगुन आप ॥ भ्रंम जेव़री जग कीय़ौ साप ॥ ३ ॥
तब कब नांही जब मन नांहि[5] ॥ मन प्रतीति व्रह्म मन मांहि ॥
परहरि बकुला गहि निज सार ॥ त्रिषि देषि निधि व़ार न पार ॥ ४ ॥
मन करि पूजा मन करि धूप ॥ मन करि सेव़ौ सहजि सरूप ॥
मन आव़ै मन दह दसि[6] जाइ ॥ उनमनि लागें काल न षाइ ॥ ५ ॥
कहै कबीर गुर परंम गिय़ांन ॥ सुनि मंडल मैं धरयौ[7] धिय़ांन ॥
पिंड परें जीव़ जइय़े है[8] जहां ॥ जीव़त हीं ले राषौ तहां ॥ ६ ॥ २ ॥

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[1] *parahar-* + *-0₂-* + *-ī₄* "abandoned", or *parahar-* + *-ī₁₃* "having abandoned / left behind".

[2] In MS3190 the word reads तहां, the first letter begins with a curious form looking like त which was corrected by the scribe to look more like ज. A322, V259, Raj42;4 read at this place जहां.

[3] MS3190/S299 भाजि, A322, V259, Raj42;4 भागि.

[4] MS3190/S299, V259, Raj42;4 नादहि and बिंदहि or ब्यंदहि; the *varia lectio* in A322 नादैं and ब्यंदैं indicates that *-ahi* should be understood as loc./instr. ending rather than emphatic particle *-hi* (as interpreted by Gupta, *KG*, p. 340).

[5] A322 तन नांहीं कव जव मन नांहि; V259 (Raj42;4) तंन झूठा कर जब मंन (मनि) नांहिं. In S299 तब seems to refer to the state when the mind mistakes the rope for the snake, described in the preceding verse. The question that follows – "when does this state of affairs come to an end?" (कब नांही) – is replied by the answer जब मन नांहि "when the mind ceases to exist", or, "when it is not (reflected) in the mind". In all other MSS the pair तब – जब is replaced by the opposition तन – मन : the question "when does the body cease to exist?" (तन नांहीं कव) – is answered "when there is no mind" (A322); or, in V259 and Raj42;4, "the body is proved to be (? कर) false when there is no mind" or, "when it is not (reflected) in the mind". It is also possible to interpret तब in S299 as a scribal error.

[6] Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 187, quote under the headword दह (१) similar phrase with numeral + दिसि in sg: काहे रे मन दह दिसि धावै (*pad* 87-1). In the present context too, the correct reading will be दिसि. In A322, V259, Raj42;4 this verse is missing.

[7] A322 धरैं, V259, Raj42;4 धरौ.

[8] A322, Raj42;4 जाइहै, V259 जैहै.

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है हजूरि क्या दूरि बतावै । दूंदर बांधौ तौ सूंदर पावै[1] ॥टेक॥
सो सुलितांन जु दोइ सुर तांनै ॥ बाहरि जाता भीतरि आंणै ॥
गंगन मंडल मैं लसकर करै । सो सुलितांन छत्र सिरि ⟨ध⟩रै[2] ॥१॥
सो काजी जो काया बिचारै । अह निसि ब्रह्म अगनि परजरै[3] ॥ [4]
सुपिनै बिंद न देई चरणां[5] । ता काजी कूं जुरा न मरंण ॥२॥
सो मुलनां जो मन स्यूं लरै ॥ अह निसि काल चक्र स्यूं भिरै ॥
काल पुरिस का मरदैं[6] मांन ॥ तां[7] मुलना कूं सदालंमां[8] ॥३॥
जोगी गोरष गोरष करै । हीदू रांम नांम उचरै ॥
मुसलमांन कहै मेरे एक षुदाइ ॥ कबीरै[9] कौ स्वांमी सब घटि रह्यौ समाइ ॥४॥५॥

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[1] बांधौ […] पावै as 2nd pers. pl. imper. and 2nd or 3rd pers. sg. do not fit together. Different manuscripts come up with different variants, all of them congruent: A319 वांधें […] पावै; V268 बांध्यां […] पावै; Gop55;8 बांधैं […] पावै; AG1159-1160;11 and M24 बाधहु […] पावहु.

[2] Only in S302. In the MS the word occurs at the end of the first line of the folio whose top right corner had been photographed bent inwards so that the last letter or two are not visible. In the present text the missing letter has been supplied from other MSS: A319, V268, Gop55;8, AG1159-1160;11 and M24 have धरै.

[3] Only in the MS3190. A319, V268, Gop55;8 and AG1159-1160;11 have transitive verb परजारै.

[4] In the *MKV* edition, p. 499, this half-verse is missing.

[5] MS3190/S302 चरणां; A319 करनां; V268 and Gop55;8 झरनां; AG1159-1160;11 and M24 झरना.

[6] Only MS3190/S302 मरदैं (final nasalization probably due to the contact with the following *m-*); A319, V268, Gop55;8 and AG1159-1160;11 मरदै and M24 मरदे.

[7] Nasalization only in MS3190/S302. In similar phrase in the preceding verse ता काजी कूं the pronominal ending is without nasal dot and so is the same pronoun in all other MSS edited in the *MKV*.

[8] A319, V268, Gop55;8 correctly सदा सलांम; similarly AG1159-1160;11 and M24 सदा सलामु.

[9] कबीरै only in MS3190/S302; Gop55;8 कबीरा; A319 कवीरा; V268 and AG1159-1160;11 कबीर; M24 कमीरै.

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मन न डिगै ता तैं तन न डराइ ॥ केवल राम रहे ल्यौ लाइ ॥टेक॥
अति अथाह जल गहर गंभीरा ॥ बांधि जंजीर जलि बोरे है[1] कबीरा ॥१॥
जल की तरंग उठि कटै हैं[2] जंजीर । हरि सुमिर[3] तटि बैठे हैं कबीर ॥२॥
कहै कबीर मेरे संग ⟨न⟩ साथ[4] । जल थल मांहि[5] राषै रघुनाथ ॥३॥११॥

[1] *MKV* S308 by mistake जल बौरे है; A332 (Gop60;4) read जल वोरे (बोरे) हैं; V277 जल बोरे है; J9 has गहि बोरे हें; the better reading seems to be to identify the form बोरे as dir. pl. m. of perfective participle and to emend the following है to हैं (analogically to बैठे हैं on the next line).

[2] Only in MS3190/S308. A332 रांम के नांमैं टूटे जंजीर; V277 जल की तरंग उठि कटे हैं जंजीर; J9 रांम के नांम तें छुटे हे जंजीर; Gop60;4 रांम के नांमैं छूटें हैं जंजीर; AG1162;18 गंगा की लहरि मेरी टूटी जंजीर. The NPS *KG* (ed. Śyāmasundaradāsa), p. 203, *pad* 341, reads जल की तरंग उठि कटिं हैं जंजीर. The verbal form should be probably understood as perfective participle although its identification as part of Rājasthānī compound present tense is also possible. See Part 2 of the present work, section 5.A.1.d.

[3] Only in MS3190/S308. A322 and Gop60;4 have सुमिरण; V277 सुमिरंन; J9 सुमिरन बिन; AG1162;18 भ्रिगछाला पर. The form सुमिर can be understood as absolutive. The noun सुमिरण in the other MSS is to be understood as obl. sg.

[4] In MS3190 the negative न is missing or perhaps written over the letter स of the following word. *MKV*, p. 508, inserts न, reproducing the phrase in the form attested by all other MSS.

[5] In MS3190, हि as the second syllable of the postposition was inserted by means of a small insertion mark.

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जौ मै बौरा तौ रांम तोरा ॥ लोक मरंम का जांनै मोरा ॥टेक॥
माला तिलक पहरि मन मांन्यां ॥ लोगनि राम षिलूंनां जान्यां ॥१॥
थोरी भगति बहुत अहंकारा ॥ अैसे भगता मिलैं अपारा ॥२॥
लोग कहैं कबीरा बौरांनां ॥ कबीरै[1] का मरंम रांम भलैं जांनां ३॥१३॥

[1] कबीरै only in MS3190/S310; A328 कवीरा; V279, C128 and Gop15;19 कबीरा; AG1158;6 कबीर; M32 कमीर. कबीरै is obl.- gen. sg. with the ending -*ai*$_4$, regular form for a noun with the dir. sg. extended ending -*ā*$_5$, as here in कबीरा.

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सति रांम सतगुर की सेव़ा ॥ पूजौ रांम निरंजन देव़ा ॥टेक॥
जल कै मजनि जौ गति होई ॥ तौ मींनां नित न्हाव़ै ।
जैसा मीनां तैसा नरा[1] ॥ फिरि फिरि जोनी आव़ै ॥१॥
मन मै मैला तीरथ न्हाव़ै ॥ तिनि बैकुंठ न जांनां ॥
पाषंड करिक[2] जगत भुलांनां ॥ नांहिन रांम अय़ांनां ॥२॥
हृदै कठोर मरै बांनांरसी । नरक न बांच्या जाई ।
हरि कौ दास मरै जे मगहरि ॥ तौ सन्यां सकल[3] तिराई ॥३॥
पाठ पुरांन बेद नहीं सुम्रिति[4] ॥ तहां बसै निरकारा ॥
कहै कबीर हेक हीं[5] ध्याव़ो ॥ बाव़लिय़ा[6] संसारा ॥४॥१५॥

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[1] MS3190/S312, A342, Gop2;1 नरा; V275 नंरा; J30, C130, AG484;3 नर.

[2] MS3190 has करिक where the final -क is suffix strengthening the absolutive; S312 gives wrongly करि करि, perhaps under the influence of readings of other MSS edited in *MKV*, p. 515-516 (A342, V275, J30, C130, Gop2;1).

[3] Correctness of this segmentation (and not as सन्यांस कल) is confirmed by other variants, e.g. सन्या सबे or संन्यां सबे in J30 and C130 respectively. AG484;37 reads सगली सैन.

[4] In the Rājasthānī *MKV* MSS the first part of this line has several variant readings, none of them identical with that of the MS3190: the closest to it seems to be Gop2;1 with पाव पुरांन वेद नहीं सुमृत (with possible misreading of व for the correct ठ in पाव); A342 (and with small variance in the spelling also V275) has जहां पाठ पुरांण वेद नहि सुंम्रिति; J30 जहां दिवस न रैनि बेद नहि सम्रंत (and ident. C130 with सुमृत for सम्रंत); AG484;37 दिवसु न रैनि बदु नही सासत्र तहा निरंकारा. The relative pronoun at the beginning of the verse in the majority of MSS suggests that the nouns following it should be understood as nominatives rather than locatives (as suggested by the translation of Gupta, *KG*, p. 352: पुराणों, वेदों, स्मृतियों के पाठ में निराकार निवास नहीं करता हैं ।) With its structure and meaning the sentence appears to have an affinity with descriptions of transcendence found e.g. in KaṭhUp V.15. and elsewhere in the classical philosophical texts.

[5] In MS3190 and in Gop2;1 the particle is nasalized, meaning is the same as in the other non-nasalized readings.

[6] MS3190/S312, Gop2;1 बावलिया; A342 वावलिया; V275, J30, C130 बावरिया; AG484 has बावरिआ, reading adopted also by Tivārī in his edition of *KG*, *pad* 84.4. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 271, explain बावलिया as पागल ("mad", "insane"). Similarly, Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. II., p. 211, adding as equivalents मदोन्मत्त, नासमझ, मूर्ख, अज्ञानी ("intoxicated", "silly", "ignorant"). Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 890, record single incidence of this word in their entire corpus, in Nāmdev's *pad* 165.2. This *pad* has been critically edited and translated by Callewaert and Lath, *The Hindī Padavalī of Nāmdev*, p. 352; on p. 230-231 (tr.) बावलिया is translated as "madman". Etymological footnote points to Skt. वातुल. *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3474, does not know the word बावलिया, but has बाव्रि, fem., with the meaning जाल ("net"), and also adj. बावरिया, explained as जालवाला । अहेरी । (i.e. hunter who uses nets). In the Kabīrian context, the world as संसार can be understood to be both these things.

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भजि गोब्यंद भूलि जिनि जाइह[1] ॥ मनिषां[2] जनम कौ य़ौ ही लाह ॥टेक॥
गुर सेव़ा करि भगति कमाई जे तैं मनिषा देही पाई ॥
य़ा देही कूं लोचै देव़ा[3] ॥ य़ा देही[4] करि हरि की सेव़ा ॥१॥
जब लग जुरा रोग नहीं आय़ा ॥ जब लग काल न ग्रासै काय़ा
जब लग हीन पड़ै नहीं बांनी ॥ तब लग भजि मन सारगप्रांणी ॥२॥
अब नहीं भजिसि भजिसि कब भाई ॥ आव़ैगा अंत भज्यौ नही जाई ॥
जे कुछ कीय़ौ[5] सोई सब सार ॥ फिरि पछिताव़ैगा वार न पार ॥३॥
सेव़ग सो जो लागौ[6] सेव़ा ॥ तिन हीं पाय़ौ निरंजन देव़ा ॥
गुर मिलि जा के षुले कपाट ॥ बहुरि न आव़ै जोनी पास[7] ॥४॥
य़हु तेरौ औसर य़ा तेरी बार ॥ घटहीं भीतरि सोचि बिचारि ॥
कहै कबीर जीति भाव़ै हारि ॥ बहु बिधि कह्यौ पुकारि पुकारि ॥५॥१६॥

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[1] जाइह only in MS3190/S313. In the MS the word occurs at the end of the line and is divided: जाइ at the end of the upper line and ह at the beginning of the next one: possibly a scribal device for dividing word in the middle of a syllable? If so, we would have the correct form of 2nd pers. sg. imper. जाहि. A323 has जाह; V282, J3, C132, Gop111;18, Raj69;20, AG1159;9 and M30 have the standard imperative 2nd pl. जाहु.

[2] All other Rājasthānī MSS edited in *MKV* have the last vowel without nasalization; the variant मंनिषा in V282 occurs also in *pads* of Dādū; for references see Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 927. In the next verse the word has the correct form.

[3] MS3190/S313 and C132 लोचे देवा; J3 लोचे देवा; A323, V282, Gop111;18 and Raj69;20 लोचैं देवा is probably the better reading. AG1159;9 and M30 have सिमरहि देव and सिमरहि देवा respectively.

[4] Repetition of the near demonstrative solely in MS3190/S313. All other MSS use some form of far demonstrative/correlative pronoun: A323, V282, Gop111;18 and AG1159;9 सो; J3, Raj69;20 ता; C132 and M30 सा.

[5] MS3190/S313 जे कुछ कीयौ; A323 जे कछु करै; V282 जो कछू करै; J3 जोइ भजे; C132 जो कछू भजै; Gop111;18 जे कछ करे; Raj 69;20 जोई कछु कीया; AG1159;9 and M30 जो किछु करहि.

[6] लागौ only in MS3190/S313, all other MSS (with the exception of J3 which has भाय) read लागै. The corrrelative pronoun which follows is here understood as emphasized by the particle हीं and therefore transcribed as separate word.

[7] पास only in MS3190/S313, all other MSS have बाट or वाट ("way", "path").

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ऐसा ग्यांन बिचारि रे मना[1] ॥ रांम न सुमिरै[2] दुष भंजनां ॥टेक॥
जब लग मै मै मेरी करै ॥ तब लग काज ऐक नहीं सरै ॥
जब य़हु मै मेरी मिटि जाइ ॥ तब प्रभू काज सव़ारै आइ ॥१॥
जब लग स्यंघ रहै बन माहि । तब लग य़हु बन फूलै नांहि ॥
जब य़हु स्याल स्यंघ कूं षाइ ॥ तब फूलैगी य़ा बनराइ ॥२॥
जीत्यौ बूडै हार्यौ तिरै ॥ गुर प्रसादि जीव़त हीं मरैं[3] ॥
दास कबीर कहै समझाइ ॥ केव़ल रांम रहे ल्यौ लाइ ॥३॥१७॥

[1] Variant readings: A324 विचारि रे मनां; V261, J5 बिचारि मनां; C134 बिचारि रै मनां; Gop76;6 बिचारी मनां; AG1160-1161;14 बिचारु मना. Both Gupta, *KG*, p. 352, and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 72, translate by vocative ऐ मन, and हे मन ! respectively. But the long ending can be interpreted also as instrumental/locative and translated "with/in [your] mind". Similarly in the *pad* 381.0.

[2] MS3190/S314, A324, Gop76;6 रांम न सुमिरै; V261 हरि की न सुंमिरै; J5 राज रांम सुमिरो; C134 रांम कि न सुमिरै; AG1160-1161;14 हरि की न सुमिरहु; M35 केवल नामु जपहु.

[3] जीवत हीं मरैं : this phrase or small variants of it are found in all Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV*. M35 still keeps this reading (गुर परसाची जीवतु मोरे), but AG1160-1161;14 changes the phrase for a more explicit wording: गुर परसादी पारि उतरे. The true *bhakta* dies to the affairs of this world while still alive.

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जागौ रे नर सोवै कहा ॥ जम बटपारनि[1] रोके पहा ॥टेक॥
जागि चेति कछू करौ उपाइ ॥ मोटा बैरी है जमराइ ॥१॥
सेत काग आये बन मांहि ॥ अजहूं रे नर चेतौ नांहि ॥२॥
कहै कबीर तबैं नर जागै जम का डंड मूंड मैं लागै ॥३॥१८॥

[1] MS3190/S316 and Raj69;5 बटपारनि; V272 and Gop111;12 बटपारे; A335 बटपारें; C136 बटवारै. The ending of obl. pl. *-ani*$_1$ in S316 and Raj69;5 can be interpreted as "by henchmen (of Yama the ways have been blocked)".

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हरि कौ बीलोव़नौ बीलोइ मेरी माई ॥ अैसैं बिलोइ जैसैं तत न जाई ॥टेक॥
तन करि मटकी मनहि बिलोइ ॥ य़ा मटकी मै पव़न[1] समोइ ॥१॥
अला पिगुला सुष्मन नारी ॥ बेलि[2] बिलोइ ठाढी[3] छछिहारी[4] ॥२॥
कहै कबीर गुजरी बौरांनी ॥ मटकी फूटी जोति समांनी ॥३॥२१॥

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[1] All *MKV* MSS (S319, A329, V281, J28, C141, Gop20;43) have the expression पवन समोइ or its variants; only AG478;10 reads इसु मटुकी महि सबदु संजोई ("gather the [curds of the] shabad in this churning jar"), erasing the *tāntrika* connotations of the poem and bringing it closer to the spirit of Sikh devotional tradition. VAUDEVILLE, *A Weaver Named Kabir*, p. 258, follows the AG reading.

[2] Only in MS3190/S319, perhaps with the meaning "creeper", a plant which stands for a symbol of true *bhakti*: see *pad* 186 in the present collection. It is probably no accident that in the present *pad* the verb बिलो-/बीलो- which represents the process of spiritual refinement is associated with three objects: हरि, तत and बेलि. *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3227, knows also the noun बील[3] – संज्ञा पु० [सं० विल्व] १. बेल […] २. एक औषधि का नाम; in the present context this may be seen as possible (false) etymological allusion to the verb बीलोना. Other MSS read either बेगि (V281, J28, C141, Gop20;43) or वेगि (A329) with the meaning "quickly", "instantly". AG version differs significantly from all other Rājasthānī MSS.

[3] S319 reads ठाठी where the letter *ḍha* (ढ) of the MS3190 has been read by mistake as *ṭha* (ठ); all other MSS (except AG with diffrent version of the poem) have ठाढ़ी "having become visible", arisen", "standing".

[4] Word, recorded as hapax in the corpus of devotional literature ed. by CALLEWAERT and OP DE BEECK, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 714, found in the present *pad*; in Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* it appears also in *pad* no. 82 (S60): मकरी घरि माषी छछिहारी. Quoting this sentence, CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 129, explain this word as मट्ठवाली. As the *pad* no. 82 is an *ulaṭabāsī*, we should perhaps imagine a small fly straining butter-milk through the spider's net. In the present *pad*, the word छछिहारी is translated by GUPTA, *KG*, p. 357, as छाछ लेने वाली and is understood as predicate to the subject नाड़ियां/नारियां : इड़ा, पिंगला, और सुषुम्ना नाड़ियां – ये छाछ लेने वाली नारियाँ खड़ी हैं, इनके लिए बिलो । *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1610, explains: छछिहारी – संज्ञा स्त्री० [हिं० छाँछ + हारी (प्रत्य०)] दही बिलोनेवाली । अहीरिन । उ० – इला च्यंगुला सुषमन नारी । बेगि बिलोइ ठाढ़ी छछिहारी । When interpreting the meaning of this difficult word in the context of the present *pad*, one has to take into account the variant readings बेलि and बेगि.

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आसन पवन कीये दिढ रहु रे[1] ॥ मन का मैल छाडि दे बौरे ॥टेक॥
का सींगी मुद्रा चंमकांयें । का बिभूति सब अंगि लगाय़ैं ॥१॥
सो हींदू सो मुसलमांन ॥ जा का दुरस है इमांन ॥२॥
ब्रह्मा सो जो कथै ब्रह्म गिय़ांन ॥ काजी सो जांनै रहिमांन[2] ॥३॥
कहै कबीर कछू आंन न कीजै ॥ रांम नांम जपि लाहा लीजै ॥४॥२२॥

[1] V266 and Raj98;4 have *varia lectio* आसन पवन दूरि करि रौरा which fits well into the context of the whole *pad.*

[2] काजी and रहिमान as counterparts of ब्रह्मा (ब्राह्मण)and ब्रह्म are introduced only in the MS3190/S320; of the other MSS included in the *MKV* each has a different version: V266 सो जोगी धरै उंनमनी ध्यांन । सो ब्रह्मां जो कथै ब्रह्म गियांन; Gop47;6 क्या जौ पढ़िया बेद पुरांन । सोई ब्रह्मा जो बूझै ब्रह्म गियांन; Raj98;4 ऊंधा लटकि धोम का पीयें । का यंद्री हठनि ग्रह कीयें । In A337 this verse is missing.

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क्यूं लीजै गढ बंका रे भाई । दोव़र कोट तेव़र षाई ॥टेक॥
कांम किवारी दुष सुष दरवांनी ॥ पाप पुंनि दरव़ाजा ॥
क्रोध परधांन लोभ बलि दूंदर ॥ मन मैव़ासी राजा ॥१॥
स्वाद सनाह कोट ममिता कौ ॥ कुबधि कमाण चढाई ॥
त्रिश्नां तीर रहै तन भीतरि ॥ सुबधि हाथि नहीं आई ॥२॥
प्रेम पलीता सुरति हव़ाई ॥ गोला ग्यांन चलाय़ा ॥
ब्रह्म अग्नि ले सहजैं फूकी ॥ ऐकै[1] चोट ढहाय़ा ॥३॥
सत संतोष ले लरनै लागा ॥ तोरे दोइ दरव़ाजा ॥
साध संगति अरु गुर की क्रिपा तैं ॥ पकरय़ा गढ का राजा ॥४॥
भगव़ंत भीर[2] सक्ति सुमिरंण करि । काटी काल की पासी ॥
दास कबीर चढ्या गढ ऊपरि । राज दिय़ौ अविनासी ॥५॥२३॥

[1] Gop58;12 एकैं; AG1161-1162;17 एकहि. In the present context the form has been understood as loc./instr., rather than general obl. followed by exclusive emphatic particle (also possible interpretation).

[2] *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3665, marks the fem. noun भीर as poetic and archaic, with meanings "trouble", "suffering"; "calamity", "crisis". भीर as adjective (a *semi-tatsama*, homonymous with the former) is explained as "timid", "cowardly". MS3190/S321 and Gop58;12 read भीर (interpreted by Gupta, *KG*, p. 359, as भय […] से); AG1161-1162;17 has भगवत भीरि, translated by Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 4755 "with the army of God's devotees". Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 116, understands the word as कर्मों के पुंज/समूह, भीर being taken as a variant of the noun भीड़ "accumulation", "heap", "crowd".

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अजहूं बीच कैसैं दरसंन तोरा ॥ बिन दरसंनि[1] क्यूं मन मांनैं[2] मोरा ॥टेक॥
हम हि कुसेवग कि तुम्ह हि अजांनां । दुहु मैं दोस कहौ कि न[3] रांमा ॥१॥
तुम्ह कहित[4] त्रिभुवन के राजा । संत जनन के पुरवन काजा[5] ॥२॥
कहि कबीर हरि दरस दिषाव़ो ॥ हमहि बुलाव़ो कि तुम्ह चलि आव़ो ॥३॥२९॥

[1] दरसंनि only in MS3190/S327; J116, Gop61;10, A334, V283 and C127 read दरसन.
[2] Although all MSS have the final nasal (मांनैं/मानं), the form is to be understood as 3rd pers. sg., predicate to the sg. of मन.
[3] MS3190/S327, J116, Gop61;10 किन; A334 किंहि; V283, C127 किनि.
[4] A334, J16, C127, Gop61;10 कहियत, V283 कहियतु.
[5] A334 मन वंछित पुरवन सव काजा; V283 संब सतंन के पुरवन काजा; J16 मन बंछित पुरवो किन काजा; C127 मन बांछित पुरवो किन काजा; Gop61;10 मन बांछित पुरहु सब काजा. Cf. Nāmdev, *pad* 41.3 and 195.0: संत जनन/जननि के पुरवन कांमां, translated by Callewaert and Lath, *The Hindi Padavalī of Nāmdev*, p. 167, as "Fulfiller of the desires of Sants". Similar phrase, *ibid.*, *pad* 42.3: जहां सुरति तहां पुरवनकांमां, this time translated "where there is remembrance, desires are fulfilled."

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आतम तत बिचारि सयांनी । भरिये सरवर दीसै पांनी ॥टेक॥
छोति कहै हूं त्रिभवन रांणी । छोति की छोति उतारै पांणीं ॥१॥
पांणी छोति उतारै पवंन । पवंन की छोति उतारै कवंन ॥२॥
पांणी पवंन दोइ धरणि समाना । पांणी हींदू कि मुसलमांना ॥३॥
पांणी आवंण पांणीं जांणां ॥ पांणी मै संसार समाना ॥४॥
आदि अंति का मरम न जांना । कहि कबीर संतनि पहिचांना ॥५॥३३॥

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कुसल षेम अरु सही सलांमति ॥ ऐ दोइ का कूं दीन्हां रे ॥
आव़त जात दुहुं घां[1] लूटे ॥ श्रब तत हरि लीन्हां रे ॥टेक॥
माय़ा मोह मद मै पीय़ा ॥ मुग्ध कहै य़ा मेरी रे ॥
द्यौंस चारि भलैं मन रंजै ॥ य़ा नहीं किस केरी रे ॥१॥
सुर नर मुनिजन पीर अव़लिय़ा ॥ मीरां पैदा कीन्हां रे ।
कोटिक भय़े कहां लौं बरंणौं ॥ सबनि पय़ांनां दीन्हां रे ॥२॥
धरती पव़न अकास जाइगा ॥ चंद जाइगा सूरा रे ॥
हंम नांही तुम्ह नांहीं रे भाई । रहे रांम भरपूरा रे ॥३॥
कुसलहीं कुसल करत जगु षीणां ॥ पड़ी काल भौ पासी रे[2] ॥
कहै कबीर सबै जगु बिनस्या ॥ रहे राम अबिनासी रे ॥४॥४॥

[1] MS3190/S 336, A350, V291, and C150 read nasalized घां; J36, Gop104;7, and Raj70;11 have घा; M5 has पद. The editors of the *MKV* treat it as independent word separated by a space from the preceeding numeral which is given by different MSS variously as दुहुं, दुहूं, दुहु, or दोउ. But both Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 196, and Sīha, *KKK*, p. 144, quote the word as दुहूंघां, and explain it as दोनों ओर, resp. दोनों ओर से. *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1396, however, has both घां and घा, fem., with meanings १. दिशा । दिक । २. ओर । तरफ़ । Both forms घां and घा are included in the *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 450, and illustrated with several examples, e.g. किहिं घां के तुम बीर, or दुख मेट्यौ दुंहुं घां कौ. The final nasal in घां thus seems to be part of the stem rather than an ending. The etymology of this word remains obscure.

[2] This line has two other readings in other *MKV* MSS: परे काल भै पासी रे (A350, V291, Gop104;7, Raj70;11), परचा काल की पासि रे (J36, C150) and its variant पड़िओ काल की फासी in M5. *Bījaka*, *kaharā* 8 (ed. Vicāradāsa Śāstrī, p. 313) has still other version, कुसल काल की फांसी हो, chosen by Ch. Vaudeville for her translation "that 'welfare' is but a noose of Kal!" Vaudeville, *A Weaver Named Kabīr*, p. 236.

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अहो मेरे गोबिंद तुम्हारा जोर । हस्ती[1] बकिबा[2] हस्ती तोर ॥टेक॥
बांधि भुजा भलैं[3] करि डारयौ ॥ हस्ती कोपि मूंड मैं मारयौ[4] ॥
भागौ हस्ती चीसां मारी ॥ व़ा मूरति की हूं बलिहारी ॥१॥
महाव़त तो कूं[5] मारूं साटी । इसहि मरांउ मारूं काटी[6] ।
हस्ती न तोरै धरै धिय़ांन । वा कै ह्रिदै[7] बसै भगव़ांन ॥२॥
कहा अपराध संत हौ[8] कीन्हां ॥ बांधि पोट कुंजर कूं दीन्हां ॥
कुंजर पोट बहु बंदन करै ॥ अजहूं न चेतै काजी अंधरे ॥३॥
तीनि बार पतिय़ारा लीय़ां[9] ॥ मन कठोर अंजहूं न पतीनां ॥
कहै कबीर हमारे गोबिंद ॥ चौथा पद मो जन की ज्यंद ॥४॥५॥

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[1] हस्ती occuring only in MS3190/S337, probably scribal error: all other MSS have in this place the word काजी, i.e. *qāzī*, the Muslim judge, subject of the predicate verb बक्-.

[2] बकिबा in MS3190/S338, V290, C149 and Gop60;3; J35 वकीवा; A353 वकि वकि; AG870;4 reads बकिबो. Both Kabīr dictionaries quote this passage as illustration of use and interpret this form as past tense: Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 288, as प्रलाप किया, बड़बड़ाया; Sīha, *KKK*, p. 202, as आदेश दिया. But from the grammatical point of view it is difficult to explain बकिबा as past participle (no verbal stem बकिब- seems to exist); the sequence *-i- + -b-* is used in verbal nouns and gerundives. Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 876, record this form as hapax (spelled बकिबो, as in Tivārī's ed. of *KG*) in the whole corpus. The only other form resembling the present one is बकिबै, in *pad* 262.4 of Dādū, मूल न छाडी दादू बौरे । जिनि भूलै तू बकिबै औरे ॥ ("Dādū, sei nicht so verrückt und gib dein Kapital dran, Verlier dich nicht in weiterem Geschwätz!", transl. by Thiel-Horstmann, *Dādū*, p. 227) where the word appears to be a verbal noun in obl. (loc.) case. Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 161, has as one of the meanings of the verb बकणौ (बौ) also हल्ला करना, चिल्लाना "to make noise", "to shout", fitting better to the present context (and the variant with काजी rather than हस्ती).

[3] MS3190/S337, A353, V290, C149, Gop60;3 भलैं करि; J35 भलें करि; AG870;4 भिला करि. Gupta, *KG*, p. 363, comments: पं[जाबी] में यह है : 'भिला करि' । 'भिला' है 'भेला' – पिंड, जोकि संगत है । लगता है कि इस शब्द से अपरिचय के कारण ही राज[स्थानी] परंपरा में पाठ 'भलैं करि' हो गया ।

[4] Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 331, explain this form, with the present locus as example, as 2nd pers. pl. imper. However, the semivowel *-y-* inserted between verbal stem and ending is rather untypical in the imperative. The form मारयौ can be best explained as past participle, a more or less standard variant of the form मारया or मारा.

[5] Rājasthānī MSS show two alternative forms: तोकूं (MS3190/S337, V290) and तोहि (A353, J35, C149, Gop60;3). AG870;4 has तुझु.

[6] *MKV* MSS offer several different readings: A353 इसैहि मरांऊं डारूं काटी; V290 इसहि मरांऊं मारुं काटी; J35(C149) इसहि मराउंगां (मराउंगा) अब काटि; Gop60;3 इसहि मरांऊं घालूं काटी; AG870;4 इसहि तुरावहु घालहु साटि.

[7] In MS3190 the initial *h-* is written with both vocalic *ṛ* and short *i*: हिदै.

[8] MS3190/S337, A353, V290 हौ कीन्हां; Gop60;3 हौं कीन्हां; J35 and C149 हो कीनां; AG870;4 है कीन्हा. The form हौं in the present context can be explained only as past participle of the verb *h_1-* (see the section 5.A.1.d in Part 2 of the present work), used as auxiliary in forming pluperfect tense together with the past participle कीन्हां. Gupta, *KG*, p. 363, translates accordingly इस संत ने क्या अपराध किया था.

[9] A353, Gop60;3 लीन्हां; V290 लींन्हां; J35 लींना; C149 लीनां; AG870;4 लीना.

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ऐक सुहागनि जगत पिय़ारी । सकल जीव़जंत की नारी ॥टेक॥
षसम मरै य़हु[1] नारि न रोवै । उस रषव़ाला औरै[2] होव़ै ॥
रषव़ालै[3] का होइ विनास । उतहि नरक इत भोग बिलास ॥१॥
सुहागनि गलि सोहै हार । संतनि बिष बिगसै[4] संसार ।
पीछैं लागी फिरै पचि हारी[5] । संत की ठठकी[6] फिरै बिचारी ॥२॥
संत भजै[7] वो पाछी[8] परै ॥ गुर के सबदां मारयौ[9] डरै ॥

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[1] य़हु, form normally reserved for the masculine gender in the MS3190, is not repeated in any other MS reproduced in the *MKV*: A352 and C155 वो नारि न रोवै; V296 औ नारि न रोवै; J41 नारी न रोवै; Gop85;19 वहु नारि न रोवै; AG871;7 तौ नारि न रोवै.

[2] *MKV* S341 औरैं probably by a mistake: the dot understood by the editors as nasalization in fact belongs to the letter व़ on the upper line.

[3] Diphthong ending solely in MS3190/S341. A352, Gop85;19 रषवाले; V296, J41, C155 रषवाला; AG871;7 रखवारे.

[4] MS3190/S341 and AG871;7 बिगसै; A352 विगसै ("to thrive"); V296, C155, Gop85;19 बिलसै; J41 बिलसें ("to enjoy").

[5] Editors of MKV understand पचिहारी as single word, perhaps inspired by AG871;7 which has, in a variant reading of the present verse, करि सीगारु बहै पखिआरी (in the tr. of Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 3547, "Adorning herself, she sits like a prostitute"). Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 66, whose reading follows that of the AG translates the word पखिआरी by phrase पीछे लगी रहती है. Neither पचिहारी, nor पखिआरी appear in *HŚS,* Lālasa's *RHSŚ*, or in *MHK*. Gupta, *KG*, p. 366, explains the word as आभरण-विशेष, but at the same time expresses doubts whether this is the better reading – embellishments (हार) have been dealt with already in the previous half-verse. He himself understands पचिहारी to mean हार कर थक गई. Similarly Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 227, explain the word as थकी-हारी, quoting the present locus as example. As far as other works of *bhakti* literature are concerned, the word can be found as hapax in the whole corpus of *NBhS-DHL*, p. 454, in *pad* 11 of Hardās, with a meaning similar to that suggested by P. Caturvedī: गाफिल अकलि बहुत गुर कीए पूछि पूछि पचिहारे । दूरि दिषाइ बहुत दुष देतं मुगध सकल सिरि मारे ॥. The problem will be solved, and more examples found, if the string of letters is segmented as *paci*, absolutive of *pac-* "to become exhausted", in collocation with the participle of the verb *hār*$_2$- "to lose", with the meaning "to try hard and fail", "to try in vain". This expression and its meaning is attested, of Hindī dictionaries available to me, by *MHK*, vol. 3, p. 357. Interpreted in this way, the locution fits well in the context of the present *pad* as well as the *pad* of Hardās quoted above. Other instances corroborating the present interpretation can be found in the corpus of Dādū, *sākhī* 12.25, *pad* 22.3 and 45.2, in *pad* 118.1 of Nāmdev (all in the *NBhS-DHL* ed.), and also in verse 1 of Kabīr's *pad* no. 474, *MKV*, p. 580.

[6] MS3190/S341, C155, Gop85;19 ठठकी; A352 ठिटकी; V296 ठटकी; J41 ठाका; AG871;7 ठिठकी. Gupta, *KG*, p. 366, translates as ठिठकी (रोकी) हुई; Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 66, explains it as डरी हुई, त्रस्त, and in the verse translates as त्रस्त होकर. *HŚS*, vol. 4, p. 1610, defines the verb ठठकना as एकबारगी रुक या ठहर जाना.

[7] MS3190/S341, V296, C155, Gop85;19 भजै (1. "to worship"; 2. "to run away", "to flee"); J41 भजे; A352 भाजे ("flees", "runs away"); AG871;7 भागि.

[8] All Rājasthānī MSS read पाछी; AG871;7 पाछै.

[9] MS3190/S341, Gop85;19 मारयौ; A352, V296 मारया; J41, C155 मारयो; AG871;7 मारहु. The

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साषित कै य़हु पिंड परांइणि[10] ॥ हमारी दृस्टि परै जैसी डांइणिं ॥३॥
अब हंम इसका पाय़ा भेव़ ॥ होइ कृपाल मिले गुरदेव़ ॥
कहै कबीर अब बाहरि परी ॥ संसारी कै आंचलि टिरी ॥४॥९॥

interpretation of this form as sg. m. of the perfective participle raises the question of its relation to the following डरै. V. Sīha tries to solve it by translating मार्यो as के कारण, M. P. Gupta by understanding it as a form of passive: गुरु के शब्दों से मारे जाने को डरती है – the masculine gender of the participle remaining unexplained. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 331, offer still another, ingenious explanation – the noun कामदेव quoting the present locus as example.

10 पिंड परांइनि : according to Gupta, *KG*, p. 366, शाक्त के यहां [उसका] परायण होने वाला पिंड है (वह नारी जिसके माध्यम से वह वामाचार की साधना करता है); similarly Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 66: शाक्तों के पिंड पड़ी रहती है अर्थात् वाममार्गी शाक्तों की वह सुंदर साधन बन जाती है.

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राम चरंण जा कै ह्रिदै बस्त है । ता जंन कौ मन क्यूं डोलै ।
मानूं अठ सिधि नव नि⟨धि⟩[1] ता कै[2] । हर्षि हरषि जस बोलै ॥टेक॥
जहां जहां जाइ तहां सचु पावै । माया ताहि न झोलै ।
बारंबार बरजि बिषिया तैं । लै नर जौ मंन तोलै ॥१॥
अैसी जे उपजै या जीय कै । कुटिल गांठि सब षोलै ।
कहै कबीर जब[3] मन परचौ भय़ौ । रहै राम कै व़ोलै ॥२॥११॥

[1] नवनि in MS3190 is obvious scribal error. Correct spelling is नौ or नव निधि, as attested by all other Rājasthānī *MKV* MSS as well as AG857;12.

[2] जा कै […] ता कै in *ṭeka* only in MS3190/S343; but the postposition कै in this verse is found also in V279, Gop16;20, and also in AG857;12. C146 reads जा कै […] जा कौं; J32 reads जा के […] जा कें, also in verse 2 जीय के […] राम कें; all other MSS which contain this phrase, use the form कैं.

[3] The handwriting in MS3190 in the upper right corner of the page is partly illegible. Readings in the other Rājasthānī MSS (J32, C146, Gop16;20) have been taken into account in the reconstruction of the word.

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नहीं छाडौं बाबा रांम नाम ॥ मोहि और पढन स्यूं कौंन कांम ॥टेक॥
प्रहिलाद पधारे पढणसाल ॥ संगि सषा लीय़ें लीय़ें बाल[1] ॥
मोहि कहा पढाव़ै आलजाल ॥ मेरी पाटी मंझि लिषि श्री गोपाल ॥१॥
तब सांडा[2] मुरगां कह्या जाइ ॥ प्रहिलाद बंधाय़ौ बेगि आइ ।
रांम कहंन की छाडि बांनि । बेगि छुडांव़ौ[3] मेरौ कह्यौ मांनि ॥२॥
मोहि कहा डराव़ै बार बार ॥ जिनि जल थल गिर कौ कीय़ौ प्रहार[4] ॥
रांम छांडू तौ मेरे गुरहि गारि । जारि बारि भाव़ै मारि डारि ॥३॥
काढि षड़ग कोप्यो रिसाइ ॥ थारौ राषणहारौ मोहि बताइ ॥
षंभ मांहि प्रगट्यौ गलारि ॥ हिरणाकस मारयौ नष बिदारि ॥४॥
महापुरिष देव़ाधिदेव़ ॥ भगति हेत धरयौ नरस्यंघ भेष ।
कहै कबीर कोई लहै न पार ॥ प्रहिलाद उबारयौ अनेक बार ॥५॥३॥

[1] Only in MS3190/S347. A363, V311, J215, C161, Gop59;3 have संगि/संग सषा लीये/लीयें बहुत बाल. AG1194;4 संगि सखा बहु किये बाल. M22 संगि साथि बहु लीये नालि.

[2] MS3190/S347, C161, Gop59;3 सांडा; A363, V311, J215 सांडां; AG 1194;4 संडै; M22 संडा.

[3] A363, V311 छुडाऊं; J215 छुडाउं; C161 छुडांउं; Gop59;3 छूडांऊं. The absence of the final nasalization in MS3190 may be due to an inadvertent scribal omission. The context requires 1st pers. sg., a regularly nasalized form, marked in the present Morphemicon as *-aũ*$_4$.

[4] MS3190/S347, A363, V311, J215, C161 प्रहार; Gop59;3 प्रहर. The global index of Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II., does not record a single occurence of the form प्रहार in the whole corpus of NBhS texts. None of the four meanings given in *HŚS*, vol. 6, p. 3213 (1. blow, stroke; 2. killing, murder; 3. fight, battle; 4. necklace), fits in the present context. If the reading पहार in AG1194;4 and M22 is interpreted as a variant of the word प्रहार of Rājasthānī MSS, it supplies probably the best possible meaning. Cf. the translation of the AG line प्रभि जल थल गिरि कीए पहार by Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 4903: "God created the water, land, hills and mountains."

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कहा करूं कैसैं तिरौं ॥ भौ जल अति भारी ।
तुम्ह सरणागति केसवा ॥ राषि राषि मुरारी ॥टेक॥
घर तजि बनषंडि जाइयै ॥ षणि षइयै कंदा ॥
बिषै बिकार न छूटई[1] ॥ अैसा मंन मंदा ॥१॥
बिष बिषया की बासनां ॥ तजौं तजी न जाई ॥
अनेक जतन करि सुरझिहूं[2] ॥ फिरि फिरि उरझाई[3] ॥२॥
जीव अछत जोबन गयौ । कछू कीया न नीका ॥
यहु हीरा त्रिमोलिका । कौडी बरै[4] बीका ॥
कहै कबीर सुनि केसवा । तूं सकंलव्रियापी ।
तुम्ह समांन दाता नहीं । हम से नहीं पापी ॥३॥१॥

[1] MS3190/S353, Gop78;7 न छूटई; V337, F14 न छाडई; AG855-856;3 न छोडई; C88 न तजि सकै. (J47 reading मन तजं is probably scribal error). The ending *-aī* can be probably best explained as combination of 3rd pers. sg. *-ai*$_{8}$ or *-a*$_{15}$ with the exclusive emphatic particle *-i*$_{14}$ /*-ī*$_{14}$ (cf. MSH: विषयों का विकार छूटता ही नहीं).

[2] MS3190/S473, V337, Gop78;7 अनेक जतन सुरझिहूं; J47, C88 जतन जतन करि टारिये; AG855-856;3 अनिक जतन करि राखीअे; F14 अनक जतन करि राषीयें. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 401, explain the lemma सुरझिहौं as सुलझता हूं and quote the present locus as example. However, the form सुरझिहूं can be best interpreted as 1st pers. sg. of the of the *h*-future (cf. e.g. analogous forms करिहूं in *MKV*, *pad* no. 1 and 178, and मरिहूं in *MKV*, *pad* no. 257), with the sense "with a lot of effort I shall/may extricate myself".

[3] उरझाई, is reflexive or potential passive, here with the meaning "[but still the mind] allows to be entangled". For the explanation of this form, see Tessitori, *OWR*, §140, and section 5.H.2. in Part 2 of the present work.

[4] Only MS3190/S353 बरै, all other Rājasthānī MSS in the *MKV* read बर; AG855-856;3 and F14 use the postposition लगि.

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यहु ठग ठगत सकल जगु डोलै । गव़न करै तब मुषां[1] न बोलै ॥टेक॥
तूं मेरा पुरीषा हूं तेरी नारी ॥ तुम्ह चलतां[2] पाथर तैं भारी ॥१॥
बालपनां[3] के मीत हमारे ॥ हमहि छाडि कत चले[4] निनारे ॥२॥
हंम स्यूं प्रीति न करि री बौरी ॥ तुम्ह से केते लाइयै[5] ढौरी ॥३॥
हम काहू संगि गये न आयै[6] । तुम्ह से गढ हंम बहुत बसाये ॥४॥
माटी की देही पवन सरीरा ॥ ता ठग स्यूं जन डरै कबीरा ॥५॥१॥

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[1] मुषां only in MS3190; A381, V341, J80, Gop108;1 मुषहि; C174 मुषिहि. Cf. the identical locution in the *pad* 95.4, included in the present anthology.

[2] MS3190 चलतां (S357 by an oversight चलता); A381, V341, Gop108;1 चलतैं; J80 चलतें; C174 चलतै – all these forms are interpretable as adverbial participles.

[3] MS3190/S357, C174, Gop108;1 बालपनां; A381, V341 बालपना; only J80 बालापन with the nominal thematic vowel long and the ending short.

[4] Only MS3190/S357 has चले; A381, V341, J80, C174, Gop108;1 read चले हो, which can be understood either as perfective participle in dir. pl. m. with 2nd pl of the auxiliary verb, or 2nd pers. sg. of the present tense used in several Hindī dialects (Kellogg, §490a, p. 291) and occurring also in the present anthology: cf. the forms बोरे है and कटै हैं in the *pad* 398, v. 1 and 2. Both Gupta, *KG*, p. 379, and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 311 understand the form चले हो as present, translating by plural तुम […] जा रहे हो). Present tense fits better in the context of the dialogue.

[5] A381, V341, Gop108;1 लाए; J80 लाये; C174 लाया.

[6] A381, V341, आए; J80, C174, Gop108;1 आये.

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लोका रे मति भोरा[1] रे ॥
जौ कासी तन जैजै[2] कबीरा । तौ रांमहि कौन निहोरा रे ॥टेक॥
जौ पैं भगति[3] भगति हरि जांनै ॥ मिलै त अचिरज काहा रे ॥
जैसैं जलैहि जलहि ढुरि मिलिय़ौ[4] ॥ य़ूं ढूरि मिल्यौ जुलाहा रे ॥१॥
कहै कबीर रांम मै जांन्यां ॥ भ्रंमि भूलै जिनि कोई रे ॥
जस कासी जस[5] मगहर उसर ॥ हृदै रांम न[6] जौ होई रे ॥२॥३॥

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[1] Other Rājasthānī *MKV* MSS (A386, V345, J76, C184 and Gop17;30) and also Gupta, *KG*, p. 382, read लोका मति के भोरा रे (or only minor variants) where the posposition clearly points to people as fools. Both Gupta and Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 358-359, translate accordingly ऐ लोगो, तुम मति के भोले (भ्रमित) हो, resp. हे लोगो ! तुम बहुत भोली मति के हो. The present variant without postposition allows another interpretation: "O people, the mind [of Kabīr] is [so] foolish!", ironical exclamation introducing the solution of the more "clever" ones who believe to be able to attain salvation by dying in Banāras and so do not feel any need for the mercy of God. This alternative, perhaps in a better way reflecting Kabīr's ironic way of speaking, was selected by M15 and AG692;3 which state unambiguously हरि के लोगा मैं तउ मति का भोरा ॥

[2] Evidently scribal error, occurring only in MS3190/S365. Other MSS have either तजै (A386, V345, J76, C184, Gop17;30), or similar form: AG692;3 तजहि, M15 तजाहि. This *pad* has been preserved in the eastern tradition as well: it is represented in Bījak as *Śabda* 103 (Ś. Sīha, *Kabīra - Bījaka*. p. 145) and shows the form तजै too.

[3] A386 and V345 read जौ पै भगत् भगति हरि जांनौं; other MSS have different readings: J76 (and C184) राम भगति परि जाको (जाकौ) हित; Gop17;30 similar variant रांम भगति परि जाकौ हित चित; AG692;3 reads जो जनु भाऊ भगति कछु जानै.

[4] Readings in A386 and V345 जल जलहि ढुरि मिलियो suggest that in the present case too one instance of जल should be taken as dir. and the other as obl., meaning "just as water flows into water". Gop17;30, C184 (and with minor variants also J76), have slightly different reading giving the same meaning: ज्यूं जल मैं जल पैसि न निकसै, "just as water having flown into water does not come out [again]". Similarly AG692;3: जिऊ जलु जल महि पैसि न निकसिऊ and also M15. *Bījaka*, *Śabda* 103, reads पानी पानी मिलि गयऊ.

[5] A386, V345, J76, C184 and Gop17;30 have तस, probably the better reading. AG692;3 and M15 read किआ कासी किआ ऊखरु मगहरु, echoing *Bījaka*, *Śabda* 103 with its क्या कासी क्या मगहर ऊसर.

[6] In the MS are two short vertical lines touching the upper part of the letter न – perhaps indicating that this letter is to be understood as crossed out. *MKV*, p. 591, ignores this letter altogether, other *MKV* MSS do not show it either.

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Concordance of the *pads*

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p.	*first line*	*Sanjay Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya, Jaipur, MS No. 3190, fol.*
25	दुलहंनी गावहु मंगलचार	189b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 1
26	मन रे मनहीं उलटि समांनां	190b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 7
27	हरि के षारे बडे पकाऐ	190b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 9
28	ऐक अंचा देष्या रे भाई	191a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 11
29	अवधू मेरा मन मतिवाला	191b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 15
30	बोलौ भाई राम की दुहाई	191b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 16
31	अब हंम सकल कुसल करि मांनां	192a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 18
32	तांननां बुननां तज्या कबीर्य	192b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 22
33	अपणै बिचारि असवारी कीजै	192b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 24
34	झंगरा ऐक नबेरौ राम	192b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 25
35	संतौ धागा तूटा गगन बिनसिगा	193a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 28
37	हंम न मरै मरिहै संसारा	193b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 33
38	रांम मोहि तारि कहां लै जैहौ	194a-b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 39
39	त्रिमल त्रिमल रांम गुंन गावै	195b-196a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 51
40	मैं सबनन मैं अर मैं न हूं सब	196a-b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 55
41	अैसा भेद बिगूचनि भारी	196b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 56
42	मुलां करि ल्यौ न्यांव षुदाई	196b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 57
44	कैसैं नगरि करौं कुटवारी	196b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 59
45	रांम रस पाईया रे	198a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 68
46	मन रे जागत रहिये भाई	198a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 70
47	बोलणां का कहिये रे भाई	198a-b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 71
48	जीवरा तूं जाइगौ मैं जांनां	198b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 72
49	हरि ठगि जग कूं ठगौरी लाई	198b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 73
50	झूठे तन कूं का ग्रबईये	198b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 76
51	जौ पै रसना राम न कहिबौ	199b-200a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 86
52	चलन चलन सब लोग कहत हैं	200a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 87
53	मन रे कागद कीरि पराया	200a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 88
54	हरि जननी मै बालिक तोरा	200b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 94
55	राम बिन तन की ताप न जाई	200b-201a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 95
56	रांम बांण अंणियाले तीर	201a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 98
57	डगमग छाडि देहु मन बौरा	201a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 99
58	गोबिंदा गुंन गाइये रे	201b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 101
60	जा नरि रांम भगति नहीं सांधी	201b-202a: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 103
61	का नागौं का बांधै चांम	202b: RĀGA GAURĪ, pad 108

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Callewaert, MKV, pad no.	*Gupta, KG, p., pad no.*	*Sikh AG 1604*	*Bījak Ś.Sinh*
1** : S1	p. 140, No. 1.1	482;24	
8** : S7	p. 147, No. 1.8	333;47	
12*** : S9	p. 150, No. 1.12	477;6	
15*** : S11	p. 149, No. 1.11	481;22	
19** : S15	p. 187, No. 1.72	969;2	
20** : S16	p. 188-189, No. 1.74	1123;3	
23** : S18	p. 153, No. 1.15	326;17	
27*** : S22	p. 157, No. 1.21	524;2	
29*** : S24	p. 160, No. 1.25	329;31	
30*** : S25	p. 161, No. 1.27	331;42	
34*** : S28	p. 164, No. 1.32	334;52	
41*** : S33	p. 172, No. 1.43	325;12/13	
47** : S39	p. 177, No. 1.52	1104;5	
65*** : S52	p. 217, No. 1.123	328;26	
76** : S56	p. 175, No. 1.50	–	Kaharā 10
77** : S57	p. 179, No. 1.57	–	75
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82** : S60*	p. 193, No. 1.80	–	95
92***: S69	p. 189, No. 1.75	337;64	
94 : S71	p. 158-159, No. 1.23	339;73	
95*** : S72	p. 184, No. 1.67	870;1	
96** : S73	p. 197, No. 1.88	338;67	
97***: S74	p. 198, No. 1.89	331;39	36
102: S77	p. 200, No. 1.93	[330;35]	99
113** : S87	p. 220, No. 1.130	325;8	
114*** : S88	p. 159-160, No. 1.24	325;10/1161;16	
115** : S89	p. 208, No. 1.107	–	
121*** : S95	p. 209, No. 1.110	478;12	
123** : S96	p. 214, No. 1.119	323;2	
126** : S99	p. 213, No. 1.117	327;21	
127***: S100	p. 219, No. 1.128	338;68	
129** : S102	p. 214-215, No. 1.120	337;63	
131** : S104	p. 217, No. 1.122	328;25	
138** : S109	p. 221, No. 1.131	324;4	

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62	हरि बिन भ्रंमि बिगूते गंदा	202b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 109
63	पांडे कौंन कुमति तोहि लागी	203a-b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 115
64	कहौ भाई अंबर का स्यूं लागा	203b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 116
65	सब दुनी सय़ांनी मैं बौरा	203b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 117
66	है हरिजन स्यूं जगत स्यूं लरत है	203b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 118
67	अैसे लोगनि स्यूं का कहिय़े	203b-204a: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 119
68	लोका तुम ज कहत हौ नंद कौ नंदन	204b: RĀGA GAURṆĪ, pad 126
69	अैसा ग्यांन बिचारि लै	205a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 2
70	है कोई संत सहजि सुष उपजै	205a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 3
71	जाइ पूछौ गोबिंद पढिय़ा पंडित	205b-206a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 6
72	अव़धू जागत नीद न कीजै	206a-b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 8
74	रांम गुंन बेलड़ी रे अव़धू	206b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 9
75	अव़धू सो जोगी गुर मेरा	206b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 10
76	अव मै जांणिबौ रे	206b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 11
77	अैसा अदबुद मेरे गुरि कथ्या	207b: RĀGA RĀMAGARĪ, pad 18
78	बाबा करहु कृपा जन मारगि लोव़ो	208b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 23
79	तेरौ जन ऐक आध है कोई	209a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 26
80	माधौ चले बुनांव़ंन माहा	209a-b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 28
82	भोली मालनी हे गोंबिंदौ जागतौ	210a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 34
83	माधौ मै अैसा अपराधी	211a: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 40
84	संतौ आई ग्यांन की आंधी	211b: RĀGA RĀMAGRĪ, pad 43
85	गोबिंदे तुम्हारे बन कंदलि	213a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 6
86	मेरी जिभ्या बिश्न नैंण नाराइण	214b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 18
87	रांम राम रांम रांम राम रमि रहिय़ै	214b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 19
88	हरि मेरा पीव़ माई हरि मेरा पी	214b-215a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 21
89	मन मेरौ रहंटा रसन पुव़रिय़ा	215a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 23
90	मै सासुरि पीव़ गुंहुनैं आई	215a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 24
91	माय़ा मोह मोहि हित कीन्ह	215b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 28
92	मेरी मेरी करतां जनम गय़ौ	216a-b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 34
93	प्रांणी काहे कै लोभि लागि	216b-217a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 37
94	ता तैं सेईय़े नारांइनां	217a-b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 40
95	अलह रांम जीउं तेरे नांई	217b-218a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 44
97	मींय़ां तुम्ह स्यूं बोल्यां बनि नहीं आव़ै	218a: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 45
98	रे दिल षोजि दिल हर षोजि	218a-b: RĀGA ĀSĀVARĪ, pad 47

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139** : S110	p. 221-222 , No. 1.132	334;51	38
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147** : S118	p. 228, No. 1.146	855;2	
148** : S119	p. 227-228, No. 1.144	–	39
149** : S120	p. 227, No. 1.143	332;44	
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186** : S139	p. 241, No. 2.11	–	
187 : S140	p. 243, No. 2.13	–	24
188** : S141	p. 244, No. 2.14	970;6	
195 : S148	p. 239, No. 2.9	–	
200***: S153	p. 253, No. 2.27	475;1	
204***: S156	p. 256, No. 2.31	1123;1	
206** : S158	p. 261, No. 2.39	335;54	15
212** : S164	p. 265-266, No. 2.44	479;14	
221***: S170	p. 259-260, No. 2.37	970;8	
224***: S173	p. 154, No. 1.16	331;43	
236** : S185	p. 271, No. 3.8	–	87
249** : S197	p. 294, No. 3.44	482;26	
251** : S198	p. 277, No. 3.19	481;20	
253***: S200	p. 212, No. 1.116	483;30	35
256: S202	p. 281, No. 3.26	–	35
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PART TWO

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

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INTRODUCTION

The following pages present a morphological analysis of texts of *pads* edited and published in the first part of the book. It should be stressed that this total of one hundred of analysed *pads* represents only a small part of a larger literary corpus of *pads*, *sākhīs*, and *ramainīs* that are, by a common tradition, attributed to the medieval poet and *sant* Kabīr. The text chosen for the present edition has come down to us in a Dādūpanthī manuscript, now in the holdings of Śrī Sañjaya Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya evaṃ Śodha Saṃsthāna, Jaipur, Rājasthān (in the present study, the manuscript, bearing the library signature no. 3190, is quoted in abbreviated form, as MS 3190). The catalogue entry gives as its date the years 1614 to 1619 CE, the place of origin the locality Kaḍela and the scribe Rām Dās Dādūpanthī. The textual corpus reflects a predominantly oral tradition transmitted in the written form in a mix of Old Hindī dialects in which the eastern Rājasthānī component appears to be the most prominent. Main purpose of the present analysis and description has been to create a tool for the correct (or, at least, the most probable) interpretation of the grammatical meaning of the often difficult text.

It will be obvious to every student of this type of literature that for the correct understanding of its messages the grammatical analysis alone does not suffice. Particularly the so called *ulaṭabāṃsī* and *sandhyābhāṣā pads*, as well as creations in the *nāthapanthī* spirit, imbued with symbolic, sometimes enigmatic, expressions and imagery, have to be interpreted in a broader cultural context of medieval spiritual traditions. This is a theme for a separate monograph; in the present work explanatory notes deemed immediately relevant or necessary for the correct interpretation (often for a grammatical disambiguation) of difficult *loci* have been kept to the minimum, and can be found in the footnotes under the respective *pads* in the first part of the book.

The aim and scope of the present exposition is primarily philological; theoretical approaches to specific themes and topics as pursued in the field of general and comparative linguistics (typological universals, the so-called split ergativity, etc.) are generally beyond its bounds. The theoretical basis of the present "pedestrian" approach has been inspired by methods of descriptive linguistics as presented by Nida, Gleason and Hockett. Treatment of several specific topics of morphology and syntax (pronouns, converbs, complex verbal expressions) has benefitted from monographs of Haspelmath, Pořízka, Nespital and other contemporary linguists. For the analysis of genesis and meaning of specific forms and syntactic constructions occurring in the text,

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it was particularly the old classical approach of Chatterji, Bloch and Saksena that has been found most valuable.

The order of grammatical notes and explanations follows a general plan that can be found in most grammars of the Hindī language, with one major difference: in the present work, attention is centred on descriptions of particular grammatical morphs occurring in the text rather than on paradigms and general rules. The composite character of the analysed textual corpus, with grammatical forms specific to different dialects often found in the same *pad* and not seldom in the same verse, perhaps justifies this approach. The morphs described in the present study have been identified by the standard technique of morphological analysis. Each decision to identify and isolate in the process of analysis a particular segment of the text as a morphological unit has been explained with view to its historical development from the OIA through the NIA period. Description of its function takes into account specific contexts in which the morph in question occurs.

Numbering of each explanatory section corresponds to numbers in square brackets attached to each grammatical morph included as a separate lemma in the Morphemicon. Within each section, introductory historical exposition takes into account, as far as possible, opinions and hypotheses of the most important scholarly voices in the field of NIA linguistics; it is followed by a discussion of main functions the respective morphs carry in the structure of a word and sentence. Special attention has been paid to difficult or ambiguous forms. The explanation is illustrated by selected examples of verses that contain the word and the morphological unit in question. Sometimes few examples suffice to illustrate in a satisfactory way the usage; but at other places (e.g. in the discussion of possible modal functions of verbal forms, or functions of the oblique case) greater number of examples has been considered necessary to show the nuances and – at least for the modern reader or translator – difficult, sometimes elusive aspects or shades of possible meanings. English translations of Hindī *exempla* are as literal as possible; relatively copious use of square brackets should make for a smoother reading of often terse and pithy sentences and help the user identify the English equivalents of the original Hindī words and phrases. The transliterated text is set in italics with wordforms relevant to the topic in question highlighted in the roman font. It should be stressed that the present work is not a systematic grammar of a particular dialect (the text itself is a mixture of several dialects) – its perspective is limited to descriptive morphology and related syntax with only minimal excursions into the field of phonology.

Examining the same morphological material from both the diachronic and synchronic perspectives may result in two different, sometimes con-

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flicting approaches to segmentation and description: in such cases preference has been given to the synchronic point of view. During the process of morphological analysis two legitimate demands put forward by linguistic theory had to be constantly kept in mind. The first is the principle of total accountability formulated more than sixty years ago by HOCKETT (*Language*, vol. 23, 1947, p. 332): "Every morph, and every bit of phonemic material, must be determined by (i.e. predictable from) the morphemes and the tagmemes (if any) of which the utterance is composed." The second, ensuing from the first, insists that "morphological patterns ... should be described in an elegant and intuitively satisfactory way" (HASPELMATH, *Understanding Morphology*, p. 6). In this difficult task the work already done by the late Vladimír Miltner, particularly his *Old Hindī Reader* (*OHR*), was of great help. Most of the basic decisions and solutions concerning the analysis of particular nominal and verbal forms are his; points at which the solutions of the present author differ from Miltner's have been noted in the text.

A note on the logic of the ordering of numerical indices used to distinguish the homonymous forms is in order. The system is basically identical with that used by Miltner in his *OHR*: first – i.e. marked with the lowest index numbers – are ordered morphs standing in the initial position of a word, most often lexical morphs (e.g. 0_{1}- near demonstrative). Next follow morphs occurring in other than final position within a word (e.g. -0_{2}- perfective participle); last in the order are morphs found in the final position of a word. In the nominal inflection the direct case precedes the oblique; within these two categories the singular number precedes the plural, and within these in turn, the masculine gender precedes the feminine. Thus, we have e.g. the sequence -0_{3} dir. sg. m., -0_{4} dir sg. f., -0_{5} dir. pl. m., -0_{6} dir. pl. f., -0_{7} obl. sg. m., -0_{8} obl. sg. f., -0_{9} obl. pl. m., -0_{10} obl. pl. f. Great majority of inflectional morphs are cumulative markers; in the present ordering those that cumulate higher number of categories are ordered before those containing a lower number; thus, e.g. -0_{10} obl. pl. f. of nouns precedes -0_{11} dir. and -0_{12} obl., endings of numerals in which the category of number is understood as absent.

As each series of homonyms (e.g. the zero, *-a*, *-ā*, *-ī*, etc.), has a different number of members (with each representing specific combinations of categories), it is impossible to devise a system in which, e.g. the index number 4 would in all instances represent the same category (or the same combination of categories). The indexing of each series is contingent on the number of its members and on the system of ordering described above. The numbering within each series is contingent in still another sense: a more extensive analysis that would include a greater quantity of texts might bring to light further homonyms, both lexemes and grammemes, that would have to be

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inserted in their proper places within the respective series; the series then would have to be reindexed. This, in fact, had to be done several times during the compilation of the present Morphemicon; and this is also the reason why the exact index numbering does not coincide with that used by Miltner in his *OHR*, although the basic ordering system of both Morphemicons is the same.

At first sight, the proliferation of zero morphs, particularly in the nominal inflection, may seem superfluous and unnecessary; but nouns ending in the dir. sg. m. in -*ā* or -*ã̃* (the morphs -$\bar{a}_5$ and -$\tilde{\bar{a}}_4$ of the third declensional type) regularly show distinct forms for the oblique case. Obviously, here the inflectional scheme cannot be simplified – and the overtly marked oblique case must be retained as a separate category throughout the whole field of the nominal inflection. And once the inflectional category of the oblique case has been established for one declensional paradigm, it would be unsystemic to deny it to a parallel nominal paradigm which shows no formal difference between the direct and oblique cases: here the oblique, understood as unmarked, has to be formally represented by a separate index number. The same principle applies to feminine gender and to plural forms.

It has to be be admitted that several conclusions formulated in the following sections have been reached after inspection of a very small number of relevant occurrences; it is quite possible that further research and gradual expansion of the textual corpus will bring new insights with subsequent need for revisions. Here, the researcher should always keep in mind the maxim formulated by a famous medieval surgeon Guy de Chauliac and selected by Miltner as a motto for his *Theory of Hindi Syntax*: "Scientiae enim per additamenta fiunt, non enim est possibile eundem incipere et finire." Still, the author believes that even in its present form this study can serve as a useful tool for all those who look for a grammatical introduction into the diffucult language of the beautiful and profound literary creations of medieval Hindī *sants*.

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CHAPTER ONE

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

The variant of Old Hindī represented by Kabīrian *pads* included in the Sañjay Śarmā Saṅgrahālaya manuscript, dated to 1614 CE, is still relatively rich in nominal endings inherited, albeit in a changed, reduced and simplified forms, form the case systems of the MIA period, particularly of the Apabhraṃśa. As the tables of endings below clearly shows, most of these endings had already undergone significant phonological reduction. The need to specify their syntactic functions in particular sentence contexts led to two main innovations: the first was the use of agglutinative affixes added to these original endings; the second was the use of postpositions or postpositionally used words that were added to a word form with highly non-specific overt case marker, the so called general oblique case, in order to clarify its exact syntactic function. In the analysed texts we can see both these methods coexist, sometimes in one and the same sentence.

Following MASICA, *IAL*, p. 230-248 (i.e. his modified model developed originally by ZOGRAF, 1976), we may classify these case markers as belonging to three distinct layers: the primary case affixes attached directly to the nominal stem or base (Layer I), secondary affixes of Layer II attached to the stem through the mediation of a Layer I element (or through a "support vowel", to use Masica's term), and finally the postpositions following the general oblique case of the noun in question (separate Level III units). The present chapter deals only with the affixes of the first and second layer; postpositions as markers of the periphrastic declension are described in a separate chapter. In the language of the present corpus the affixes of the second layer are relatively infrequent; the most prominent appears the agglutinative affix -(*a*)*hi* denoting the indirect case in nouns and direct as well as indirect object in the pronominal inflection.

Few general notes on some characteristic features of grammatical morphs used in the nominal inflection are in order. Morphs belonging in the Layer I inherited the property of expressing cumulatively the gender, number and case from the OIA and MIA stages; but due to phonological reduction and simplification of gramemes this cumulation has little or no counterpart on their surface form. This lack of formal distinctness is further intensified by two additional factors: first, by a merger of different case functions into a single morphological unit (most typically, by the merger of the instrumental

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and locative cases, a process completed already in the Apabhraṃśa); and second, by the extensive homonymy which may have produced a great number of ambiguous (at least for the modern interpreter) forms and meanings.

Allomorphy is conditioned both phonetically – many allomorphs are products of contact nasalization – and morphologically – e.g. the distribution of allomorphs of the oblique case of sg. -a_8 /-$\tilde{a}_3$ versus -ai_4 /-$\tilde{ai}_1$ is determined by inclusion of the respective lexical unit in a particular declensional class. However, in our texts such classification is by no means clear-cut and unambiguous: at different places, sometimes in one and the same *pad*, the same lexical units occur with different class endings (e.g. as dir. sg. m. we have both *upadesa* and *upadesā*, *kāja* and *kājā*, *julāha* and *julāhā*, etc.). This variability may be due in part to the compulsion of the rhythm of the verse, but in many cases the reason is to be sought in the dialectal heterogeneity of the textual corpus. This disparateness affects the endings too: e.g. the distribution of dir. sg. m. endings -$\bar{a}_5$ on the one hand, and -o_1 and -au_1 on the other, can be explained neither by phonetical nor morphological rules, but by the simple fact that these two sets of terminations belong to two different dialects, Khaṛī bolī, and Braj, respectively.

In the tables below only those endings have been included that occur in the texts of the present corpus. Division into three declensional groups appears to be the best arrangement of the existing data; no external grammatical system has been imposed on them. The analysis of available material has brought to light the lingering existence, in the sg. number, of distinct loc./instr. endings. The functions of locative and instrumental are carried either by these morphologically distinct case endings, or by the general obl. case. The illustrative examples in the following sections have been selected so as to show combinations of particular case endings with different types of nominal stems (stem finals). Their reassembling and completing with other relevant material in thematic order that will illustrate the most important elements of Old Hindī case syntax shall be the subject of a separate study. In the present work syntactic functions of particular cases have been described separately under the headings of the respective grammemes.

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A. Masculine

declensional type	*1*	*2*	*3*
dir. sg. m.	*-0₃*	*-a₄ /-ã₂ ; (-u₂)*	*-ā₅ /-ã̃₄* *-o₁ ; -au₁ /-ãũ₁*
obl. sg. m.	*-0₇*	*-a₈ /-ã₃ ; (-u₃)* *-ā₇ /-ã̃₆* *-a-hi₁ /-a-hĩ₁*	*-e₂ ; -ai₄ /-ãĩ₁*
loc./instr./erg. sg. m.		*-i₆*	*-ai₆ /-ãĩ₂*
instr. sg. m. of pcp/obl. abs.			*-e₃ /-ẽ₂*
instr. sg. m. of nouns + pcp		*-ã̃₇*	
voc. sg. m.		*-e₄*	

declensional type	*1*	*2*	*3*
dir. pl. m.	*-0₅*	*-a₆ /-ã₂*	*-ā₆ /-ã̃₅* *-e₁ /-ẽ₁*
obl. pl. m.	*-0₉*	*-a₁₀* *-a-na₂ , -a-ni₁*	*-ã̃₈* *-e₅* (mainly adj.)
voc. pl. m.		*-au₂*	

1. *Declensional type 1*

1.a. -0_3 : *dir. sg. m.*
-0_7 : *obl. sg. m.*
-0_5 : *dir. pl. m.*
-0_9 : *obl. pl. m.*

The use of the bare stem for the dir. of both sg. and pl. numbers of masculine nouns ending in vowels other than *-a* was a rule already in the Apabhraṃśa period (Tagare, *HGA*, §94, p. 165). In the obl. cases, however, Apabhraṃśa still shows a number of distinct endings, heirs to OIA case affixes; subsequently, in the NIA period, these endings suffered further phonetic reduction which resulted, in the majority of cases, in their complete disappearance. This was the fate of the Apa. dat.-gen.-abl. sg. ending *-ha* (< OIA *-sya*), as well as of

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alternative endings *-he* (< OIA *-syāḥ*), but not *-hi* (< OIA *-smin* /*-dhi*), which had been borrowed from the fem. declension (Tagare, *HGA*, §91, p. 156-157). In texts of the present corpus the latter ending is used with pronominal bases and, segmented as *-ahi*$_1$ /*-ahĩ*$_1$, occurs with *a*-stems of nouns; it has not been found appended to any nominal stem ending in other vowels. In this respect the present declensional pattern differs from both Old Braj, where the ending *-hi* /*-hiṃ* occurs "with all formal classes except *iyā*-stems" as a sentence object marker (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.13, p. 134-135), and is used in Old Avadhī as obl. sg. "for all bases" (Saksena, *EA*, §190, p. 124).

In the present classification, the class of *i-* / *ī-* / *u-* / *ū*-stems has been supplemented by words ending in *-a* (long or short, nasalized or not) that are either of foreign, mostly Arabic or Persian origin (e.g. *haja-* "hajj", *rojā-* "the Ramadān fast", *mulanā̃-*"maulāna"), or can be interpreted as *tatsamas* or *semi-tatsamas* (*karatā-* "the Creator"), i.e. those words in which the final vowel appears to be a part of the stem. The final vowel of these nouns – on the analogy with the MSH – is not expected to change in the oblique cases (however, in the present limited corpus positive evidence of this presumed lack of inflection is not available).

Like other obl. sg. forms, those with zero endings too can express various case relations without the help of postpositions. As far as the obl. pl. zero ending is concerned, its possible incidences quotable from the present corpus are too few to allow any definitive conclusion about its distribution or even its very existence: of all three occurrences, *bahu-* in 275.3 is an adjective in which a separate ending for obl. pl. is not expected anyway, and the two remaining cases, *pā̃u-* and *pai*$_1$*-*, both combined with the instrumental prepositon/postposition *bina* with the meaninig "without feet", can be interpreted as being in the sg. (see the note on the use of singular number instead of expected plural in the section describing the morph of obl. pl. m. *-a*$_{10}$ further below). The vocatives *bolau bhāī* (in 20.2, below), and *sũnahũ re bhāī* in 138.5 can be interpreted as either sg. or pl. – see the notes on the 2nd pers. pl. imper. in the chapter dealing with verbal forms.

-0$_3$: *dir. sg. m.*
Nominative:

281.1 alaha *avali dīna ke sāhiba, jora nahĩ phuramāyā* "Allāh is, in the first place, the Lord of the humble; He has not enjoined oppression"
390.3 *so* mulanā̃ *jo mana syū̃ larai* "he is [the true] *maulānā* who struggles with [his own] mind"
129.4 *jyū̃ sãpati tyū̃ bipati hai,* karatā *karai sa hoi* "just as [there is] prosperity, there [also] is calamity; [what] the Creator ordains, that happens"

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459.4 *ṣãbha mãhi pragaṭyau* galāri*, hiraṇākasa māryau naṣa bidāri* "Viṣṇu emerged from within the column [and] killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, having torn [him to pieces] with [his] claw"

221.0 mādhau *mai aisā* aparādhī*, terī bhagati heta nahĩ sādhī* "Mādhava, I am such a sinner: I have not been able to experience loving devotion towards you!"

12.2 *udarī bapurī mãgala gāvai,* kachū *eka ãnãda sunāvai* "a poor mouse sings the auspicious song, a tortoise carols a merry song"

Accusative:

280.2 *mana mãĩ kapaṭa nivāja gujārãĩ, tau kyā* haja kābai *jãhĩ* "fraud in mind, they perform *namāz*; why then do they go on *hajj* to Kaaba?"

281.2 rojā *karãĩ nivāja gujārãĩ, kalamãĩ bhisti na hoī* "by fasting, by performing *namāz*, by [reciting] *kalima*, paradise is not [attained]"

398.2 hari *sumira taṭi baiṭhe hãĩ kabīra* "remembering Hari, Kabīr sits on the river-bank"

381.4 *jana kabīra gura prasāda rāma kari* sanehī "*bhakta* Kabīr [says]: by the grace of the Guru make Rām your dear"

77.2 *binasi gaye thãĩ kā* nãu *dharihau* "from [the moment of] perishing (i.e. once you are dead) what name will you bear?"

280.2 *kyā* ujū *japa mãjana kīnhã̃* "what [can be achieved] by performing ritual washing of hands and feet, by continuous repeating of God's name, by ritual bathing?"

Vocative:

281.0 mīyã̃ *tumha syũ bolyã̃ bani nahĩ āvai* "*miyã̃*, you are impossible to talk to"

20.0 *bolau* bhāī *rāma kī duhāī* "say, o brother, the invocation of Rām"

338.3 *kahai kabīra bicārī, bhau sāgara tāri* murārī "contemplating, Kabīr says: bring me across the ocean of existence, o Murāri!"

185.0 avadhū *jāgata nīda na kījai* "o *avadhūta*, staying awake do not fall asleep!"

145.0 pãḍe *kãũna kumati tohi lāgī* "oh *pāṇḍe*, what a foolish idea have you taken into your head?"

-0_7 : *obl. sg. m.*

Locative:

440.2 *hastī na torai dharai dhiyãna, vā kai* hridai *basai bhagavãna* "the elephant does not crush [Kabīr], he stops in contemplation: Bhagavān (God) resides in his heart"

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249.4 bhau *būḍatã̄ kachu upāi karījai, tau tiri lãghau tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore"

Instrumental - ergative:

421.5 *dāsa kabīra caḍhyā gaḍha ūpari, rāja diyau* avināsī "bhakta Kabīr scaled the fortress; the Imperishable put him in command"

Genitive:

280.5 *pūraba desa harī kā bāsa, pacchima* alaha *mukã̄mã̄* "is Hari's abode in the country of the east? Is the home of Allāh in the west?" (genitive of possession; note the inconsistent use of the postposition *kā: harī kā bāsa* vs. *alaha mukã̄mã̄*)

251.1 *kā sāṣita pai̯* hari *gũna gã̄yai̯* "why sing the praise of Hari in front of a Śākta?" (genitive of object)

281.0 *hama masakīna* ṣudāī *bãde* "we are humble servants of God" (genitive of relationship)

178.1 *kāyā kalālī lāhaṇi karihũ̄,* gurū *sabada guṛa kīnhã̄* "I shall make my body a liquor seller's yeast, guru's word I have used as jaggery" (genitive of subject)

200.3 udai *asta jahã̄ mati budhi nāhĩ̄, sahaji rã̄ma lyau līnã̄* "where there is no notion or perception of beginning and end, in [the state of] *sahaja* [I was / one is] engrossed in the immersion in Rām" (genitive of object)

8.3 anabhai *kathā kavana syũ̄ kahi̯ye* "to whom can be told the story of [one's own] experience?" (genitive of object)

249.3 *dvādasī dã̄na puni kī velã̄, sarva pāpa* ṣyau *karãṇã̄* "*dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins" (genitive of purpose or interest; inconsistent use of postposition: *puni kī velā* vs. *ṣyau karãṇã̄*)

-0_5 *: dir. pl. m.*

Nominative:

439.2 *sura nara munijana pīra* avaliyā*, mīrã̄ paidā kīnhã̄* "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats [were] created"

249.1 *tai̯ saba* rājā bhūpati *māge* "you asked all kings [and] monarchs [for a *dakṣiṇā*]" (lit.: "by you all kings [and] monarchs were asked")

139.2 *pãḍīta* gũnī *sūra* kavi dātā*, e ju kahai̯ baḍa hamahĩ̄* " pundits, experts, heroes, poets, donators – [all] these say: »the great ones are we, indeed!«"

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139.1 jogī *kahãĩ joga bhala nīkā* "the yogins say [that] yoga is fine, nice"

-0_9: *obl. pl. m.* (*?*)

182.1 *bãjha kā pūta bāpa bina jāyā, bina* pãu *taravari caḍhiyā* "son of a barren woman, born without a father, without feet climbed a big tree"

187.2 pai *bina nirati karã bina bājā, jibhyā hīṇã gāvai* "dance without feet, playing [a musical instrument] without hands: without tongue, he sings"

2. *Declensional type 2*

2.a. -a_4 : *dir. sg. m.*

Nouns with this ending are by far the most common substantives and adjectives occurring in the present corpus. Already in the OIA period majority of all nouns came under the masculine *a*-stem declension. Their nom. sg. ending *-aḥ* was transformed in the MIA period (in certain external *sandhi* combinations already in the OIA) into *-o*, which was in the Apabhraṃśa further weakened into *-u*. In the NIA phase this unstressed final *-u* tended to be pronounced as [ə] and in later stages of development (as in the MSH) to disappear completely. In the written form such words end in consonantal characters whose inherent vowels may or may not be heard in pronunciation. As far as the texts of the present corpus are concerned, rhythmic pattern of the verse requires the pronunciation of the inherent vowel – at least in an attenuated form. In the present context, retaining this final vowel in transcription as *-a* therefore seems to be a better solution than its representation as a zero (for a discussion of this final vowel, see McGregor, *LIO*, §§2.2, 2.5., and 3.12; and also Bloch, *IA*, p. 45 [42]).

The class of the *a*-stem nouns and adjectives, large already in the OIA period, was further strengthened by later additions of words belonging originally to different declensional paradigms. Not a small number of nouns that ended originally in a consonant or a vowel other than *-a* were reintroduced as *tatsamas* or *semi-tatsamas* in later, MIA and NIA stages; this is why we find in our texts one and the same word in more than one basic form – we have, e.g. in the dir. sg. both *gurū* and *gura* (< OIA *guru-*, m. "teacher", "spiritual guide"), and *jaga, jagu*, as well as *jagata* (< OIA *jagat-*, n. "world"). The last example shows still another aspect of morphological simplification – the disappearance of the neuter gender in many NIA languages, a process noted already in Apabhraṃśa (Tagare, *HGA*, §76, p. 105-106).

Nouns belonging in this class still show traces of the original inflectional declension inherited from the earlier stages of development: as numerous examples given in the paragraphs further below show, we have instrumentals

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and locatives in *-i*, *-e*, *-ai* that serve specific syntactic functions. These endings are affixed to the last consonant of the stem; thus, from the point of view of morphological analysis and segmentation it is practical to treat the final *-a* in the dir. sg. also as an ending – although, from a purely historical perspective, this vowel may be interpreted as belonging to the stem with the ending represented by a zero (a description preferred by Tagare).

Nominative:

406.2 *pāṣāḍa karika* jagata *bhulā̃nā̃* "going by heresy, the world was led into delusion" (sentence subject)

187.0 *avadhū so jogī* gura *merā, jo ihi pada kā karai naberā* "o *avadhūta*, that yogī is my guru who makes out / solves this *pad*" (nominal predicate)

420.2 *so hi̇̃dū so* musalamā̃na, *jā kā durasa hai* imā̃na "the [true] Hindu, the [true] Muslim is he whose moral is right/firm" (*musalamā̃na* here as nominal predicate)

94.3 *kahai kabīra sā̃sā saba chūṭā,* rā̃ma ratana dhana *pāyā* "Kabīr says: every doubt has vanished: [I have] found the treasure – the jewel [called] Rām" (nominative in apposition as grammatical subject to perf. part. predicate *pāyā*)

129.5 sraga loka *na bā̃chiye, ḍariye naraka nivāsa* "one should not desire the heavenly world (lit.: "the heavenly world should not be desired"); one should be afraid of dwelling in the hell" (*sraga loka* here interpreted as *semi-tatsama*, from Skt. *karmadhāraya* compound *svarga-loka*)

221.1 *bhau jala tirā̃ṇa* carā̃ṇa *citāmaṇi, tā cita ghaṛī na lāyau* "the feet [of the God], [that is] the wish-fulfilling gem [necessary] for the crossing of the ocean of existence – I did not fix my mind on it [even] for a moment!" (*carā̃ṇa* either stands in apposition or is first part of a *karmadhāraya* compound: cf. Skt. *caraṇa-cintāmaṇi*)

Accusative:

76.3 jaga *mā̃ī deṣū̃ jaga na deṣi mohi* "I see the world, [but] the world does not see me" (the second *jaga* is nominative and sentence subject)

178.0 *hai koī sāta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā kū̃* japa tapa *dehū dalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage" (Both M. P. Gupta and J. and V. Sīha understand in their MSH translations the words *japa* and *tapa* as accusatives and the word *dalālī* as locative: *dalālī mẽ* and *dalālī ke rūpa mẽ* respectively; but both nouns can be also understood as genitives of explanation related to the object *dalālī*)

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420.3 *brahmā so jo kathai brahma* giyẽna*, kājī so jẽnai* rahimẽna "the [true] *brāhmaṇa* is he who explains the knowledge of brahma; the [true] *qāzī* is he who knows the Merciful" (*brahma giyẽna* can be spelled also as single word and interpreted as a *semi-tatsama* corresponding to the Sanskrit *tatpuruṣa* compound and the Vedāntic technical term *brahma-jñāna*)

2.b. -ã$_2$: *dir. sg. m.*

This is a nasalized variant of the dir. sg. m. ending *-a$_4$* dealt with in the preceding section. In the majority of cases (5 out of 7) it takes its nasalization from the contact with the preceding nasal consonant; but the two cases of the final nasal in the verse 315.4 cannot be explained in this way – here the final vowels in *bibādã* and *parasādã* apppear to have undergone a spontaneous nasalization (the expression *bāda bibādã* with the final nasalization in the dir. sg. m. occurs also in the *sākhī* 12 of the *Gorakha-bānī*).

177.0 *aisā gyẽna bicāri lai, lai lāi lai* dhyẽnã*, sũni mãḍala mai ghara kīyā jaisaĩ rahai* sicẽnã "contemplating such wisdom/knowledge, concentrating devoutly, fixing attention, [I have] made [my] house in the *śūnya-maṇḍala*, as [high] as [where] the falcon lives"

249.3 *dvādasī dẽna puni kī velẽ, sarva pāpa ṣyau* karāṇã "*dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins"

315.4 *je thā sacala acala hvai thāke karate bāda* bibādã*; kahai kabīra maĩ pūrā pāyā, bhayā rẽma* parasādã "what was changeable/fickle, that has become changeless/steady by becoming weary due to [constant] engagements in disputes and quarrels. Kabīr says: I attained the full/ /fullness [of being], there was/came Rām's grace"

2.c. -u$_2$: *dir. sg. m.*

This ending, rare with consonantal stems in Old Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §57), but common in Old Braj poetry (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.12, p. 132-134; also Varma, *LB*, §147, p. 66) occurs in the present corpus infrequently and affixed to two stems only – *jag-* "world" (the parallel *a*-form *jaga* also occurs) and *sac-* "happiness, bliss"; it denotes both sentence subject and direct object. In Old Braj this affix is a relic of its Western Apabhraṃśa predecessor where it was one of the most common endings for the nom. sg. of masculine and neuter nouns (Tagare, *HGA*, §80, p. 108).

439.4 *kahai kabīra sabai* jagu *binasyā, rahe rāma abināsī re* "Kabīr says: [when] the whole world perishes, Rām, the Imperishable, remains"

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275.4 *soci bicāri sabai* jagu *deṣyā, kahũ na ubãraṇã̃* "thinking, contemplating, [I have] seen the whole world: [but] nowhere [have I seen] the salvation"

285.3 sacu *sāca ṣalaka ṣālika, saila sūrati mãhi* "joy and truth, Creator of the world [is] free (*saila* = *svaira*?) [and at the same time immanent] in a [concrete] form" (meaning uncertain)

448.1 *jahã̃ jahã̃ jāi tahã̃* sacu *pāvai, māyā tāhi na jholai* "wherever he goes, he enjoys happiness, *māyā* does not torment/upset him"

2.d. -a_8 : *obl. sg. m.*

According to Bloch, *IA*, p. 178 [179-180], and Tagare, *HGA*, §83, p. 130-131, the proper description of this ending is zero; the "*a* mute", if preserved at all, has been described either as a mark of rustic speech, or as necessitated by the exigences of the metre. But it can be also looked upon as the last vestige of several case endings whose originally different forms gradually converged, by a process of phonological simplification, to a single "articulated whisper" (Bloch, *IA*, p. 45 [42]). Thus the Apabhraṃśa gen. sg. ending *-ha* has been long recognized as "possessing a very strong tendency to vanish without leaving any trace on the word, to which it was suffixed" (Tessitori, *OWR*, §62) – and it is this bare form of genitive that was taken as a base of the MSH general obl. case (Tagare).

The occurrences of this form with the force of instrumental and locative side by side with genuine instrumentals and locatives in -i_6, locatives in -ai_6 and -e_2, and instrumentals in -$ā_7$ might tempt us to interpret these instances of -*a* in more specific terms than as mere general oblique case substitutes (with the appropriate postposition absent) of these locative and instrumental case endings. Let us consider the use of the instrumental sg. m. in -i_6 and its functional equivalent -a_8 in the following pair of examples:

1.3 *gura* prasādi *amara phala pāyā* "by the grace of the Guru [I have] obtained the immortal fruit"

381.4 *jana kabīra gura* prasāda *rāma kari sanehī* "*bhakta* Kabīr [says]: by the grace of the Guru make Rām your dear" (so also Gop8;21; three other Rājasthānī manuscripts – A314, V331, J209, and also AG692;5 – read *prasādi*)

Allomorphs -a_8, -e_3 (and also -i_6) for the expression of the locative case can be demonstrated by another set of quotations:

188.2 *solaha majhai pavana jhakolai,* ākāse *phala phaliyā* "within the sixteen[-petalled lotus] vital breath blows in gusts, in the sky the fruit has ripened"

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325.2 ākāsa *gagana pātāla gagana, dasa͠ũ disā gagana rahāī* "the space/ /void is in the sky, the space/void is in the netherworld; in all ten directions is established / has been made to exist / extends the void" (Rājasthānī MSS J184 and C123, and also AG870;3 read *ākāsi*)

In these instances the relation between the *a*-form on the one hand and the locative and instrumenal affixes on the other could be perhaps understood not simply in terms of their context-dependent functional equivalence, but as an instance of genuine allomorphy where the ending represented by a final unstressed vowel is weakened and in consequence loses its characteristic timbre – a feature reported by McGregor, *LIO*, §2.5, p. 114-115, and §3.12, p. 133, as being of frequent occurrence in the Old Braj text analysed by him.

The question of "endingless" genitives (and other cases as well) was commented upon by Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, p. 61 – according to him the endingless case forms actually constitute prior parts of compounds. Two decades later de Vries examined this problem in more detail again (*Apabhraṃśa Studies* III, p. 7-16), and was able to point out the occurrence of uninflected case forms already in Pāli and Prākrit (rare), Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Jaina Ardhamāgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī, and particularly in Apabhraṃśa. Here the occurrence of uninflected forms shows an interesting pattern: in texts described as "high-classical Apabhraṃśa" it is extremely rare (perhaps due to sanskritizing tendencies of their authors), whereas in works of a more popular character these forms are quite frequent and in later stages of development of this language their numbers tend to increase (*ibid.*, esp. p. 10 and 15). His own explanation of this process concerns only the development of the "endingless" genitive: he notes that the earliest instances of this form involve the possessive genitive whose fixed place in the prose was before the noun where the ending could be dropped without causing any ambiguities in the intended meaning. This explanation seems to work well for the genitive, but does not explain the forces behind the gradual spread of this feature to other case forms – a process that continued on a broad front well into the NIA period.

It can be argued that in certain contexts the final *-a* may represent only the final, inherent vowel of the stem – several expressions found in the present corpus can be interpreted as *tadbhava* versions of established and widely known Sanskrit compounds which had been lexicalized in consequence of their frequent use already in the OIA period, and were understood also in the NIA languages as single lexical units. As an example may be given the expression *bhava bãdhana* "bond of worldly existence" in 200.0, or *pāpa ṣyau* (Skt. *pāpa-kṣaya*) "removal of sins" in 249.3. The absence of spaces between words in the MSS does not allow us to make a definitive judgement about the

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exact nature of such collocations; the two just mentioned have been interpreted by the present author as genitive constructions, others, like e.g. *guna atīta* "transcending the [three] *guṇas*" in 387.3, or the epithet *tribhuvanarāī* "Lord of the three worlds" in 27.3, as genuine compounds (in the verse 429.2 we find also its syntactic equivalent *tribhuvana ke rājā*). Evidently, there was no constant and uniform usage.

The general obl. sg. can also express plurality if the noun in question is used in generic sense, i.e. if it expresses a class of things or beings rather than a single entity. A good example is found in the verse 363.1: *je jārāĩ tau hoi bhasma tana, rahāĩ krima jala ṣāī; sūkara svā̃na kāga kau bhachina, tā māĩ kahā bhalāī re* "if they cremate [them], then the body becomes / turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worm(s) and water eat [them]; food for pig(s), dog(s) and crow(s): what good/noble is in it?" Cf. also Kellogg, *GHL*, §674.1, p. 394-395.

The examples given below have been selected from a vast pool of about three hundred and forty occurrences of the affix *-a*$_8$ to show the broad range of syntactic functions it fulfils. All these instances lack any specification by a postposition – occasionally ambiguous syntactic constructions and meanings have been noted in glosses appended to translations of the respective examples.

Locative:

129.1 *anahada bena bajāi kari rahyau* gagana *maṭha chāi* "playing the flute of *anāhata* [*nāda*], having pitched my tent I stayed in heaven"

280.5 *pūraba* desa *harī kā bāsa, pacchima alaha mukā̃mā̃* "is Hari's abode in the country of the east? Is the home of Allāh in the west?" (cf. also the *variae lectiones* of the other MSS given in the footnote under the respective *pad*; *pūraba desa* can be interpreted also as nominative: "is Hari's abode the eastern country?")

121.1 *suta aparādha karai* dina *kete, jananī kai citi rahaĩ na tete* "no matter how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

77.2 *māṭī kā pĩḍa sahaji utapānā,* nāda *ru bĩdu samā̃nā; binasi gaye thaĩ kā nā̃u dharihau* "[o you] lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, permeated by (or: "dissolved in") *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu* – from [the moment of] perishing (i.e. once you are dead) what name will you bear?" According to interpretation of J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 95-96, *nāda* and *bĩdu* are locatives; Gupta, *KG*, p. 179-180, on the other hand, understands both forms as nominatives and the predicate *samā̃nā* as plural: *usamẽ nāda* (*sūkṣma jīva*) *aura bindu* (*sūkṣma śarīra*) *samāe*.

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77.3 *raja* gũna *vrahmā tama* guna *sãkara, sata* guna *hari hai soī* "Brahmā in the *guṇa* of *rajas*, Śaṅkara (Śiva) in the *guṇa* of *tamas*, Hari in the *guṇa* of *sattva* – [all this] is just Him!" (in all three instances the word *guna* can be also understood as the last member of *karmadhāraya* compound, either in the locative, or in the nominative case, the latter interpretation suggesting the identity of the three deities with the three qualities)

139.3 *vāra pāra kī ṣabari na pāī, phiryau sakala* juga *aisā͠ī* "he has not got any inkling of this (immanent) or that (transcendent mode of) existence – in this way he wandered through the whole world period" (i.e. underwent series of rebirths lasting for the whole *yuga*)

268.3 s*īsa carā̃ṇa kara* kãpana *lāge* "head, feet, hands began to shake" (inceptive construction with the locative of verbal noun followed by the verb *lāg-* ; see the section 5.G.1)

Instrumental:

121.2 kara *gahi kesa karai je ghātā, tau u na heta utārai mātā* "when he strikes [her] having grasped [her] hair with [his] hand, even then [his] mother does not cease to love him"

102.1 ṣīra *ṣā̃ḍa* ghrita *pĩḍa savārā, prā̃ṇa gayẽ le bāhari jārā* "built up with milk, sugar [and] ghī, the body, when the breath of life had departed, was taken out and burnt up"

261.2 *nā͠iṇa* neha *patãga hulasai, pasū na peṣai āgi* "the moth feels elated by the affection [kindled] by the eyes; the animal does not notice the fire"

387.3 *guna atīta jasa nriguna āpa,* bhrãma *jevarī jaga kīyau sāpa* "as the Self (He himself), beyond [all] qualities, [is] without attributes, [so on the other hand] by [the power of] illusion the rope-world has been made [by Him] (i.e. presented as) a snake"

372.2 *kā jaṭā bhasama lepãna kīyẽ, kahā guphā mai* bāsa "what [is gained] by [displaying] matted hair, by smearing [one's body with] ashes? What [is achieved] by living in a cave?"

Instrumental-ergative:

381.2 ajāmela gaja *ganikā, patita krama kīnhā̃* "Ajāmela, the elephant, and the courtesan commited sinful deeds"

102.3 dāsa kabīra *yahu kīnha bicārā* "devout Kabīr conceived this idea"

440.4 mana *kaṭhora aja hū̃ na patīnā̃* "stubborn mind – even now it has not believed"

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Instrumental with the force of an adverb:

113.3 *kãdha kāla* suṣa *ko u na sovai, rājā rãka dou mili rovai* "with Kāl (i.e. the god of death) [sitting] on [one's] shoulder, nobody at all sleeps at ease; king and pauper, both weep together" (*kãdha* is to be understood as locative case)

Ablative:

200.3 *kahyã na upajai upajyã hĩ jãnai* bhāva abhāva *bihũṇā* "through [mere] speaking [the experience of supreme bliss] does not arise, it is only when it has already arisen [spontaneously] that one comes to know [what is] beyond being and non-being" (ad-adjectival ablative of separation; Gupta, *KG*, p. 253-254, translates *bhāva-abhāva se vihīna*)

12.0 gyãna *aceta phirãĩ nara loī, tā thãĩ janami janami ḍahakāe* "ignorant of the true knowledge/wisdom, people move around (or: transmigrate in *saṃsāra*); in consequence, in every subsequent birth they were deceived" (ad-adjectival ablative: cf. MSH *se aceta honā* "to be unaware/ignorant of")

204.0 *terau jana eka ādha hai koī;* kãma krodha *aru* lobha *bibarajita, hari pada cīnhãĩ soī* "your servant/devotee is somebody very rare indeed: devoid of lust, anger and greed, only he knows / can know the [ultimate] state of Hari" (ad-adjectival ablative of separation: cf. MSH *se vivarjita*, *se mukta*)

406.3 *hṛdai kaṭhora marai bãnãrasī,* naraka *na bãcyā jāī* "[man of] cruel heart may die in Vārāṇasī (or: "even if he dies in Vārāṇasī"); [still], he is not / cannot be saved from hell" (ad-verbal ablative; Gupta, *KG*, p. 352: *narka se vaha nahĩ bacāyā jā sakatā hai*)

145.4 *nārada kahai byāsa yũ bhāṣai,* suṣadeva *pūchau jāī* "Nārada tells [it], Vyāsa says so, go and ask Śukadeva" (ad-verbal ablative)

129.5 *sraga loka na bãchiye, ḍariye naraka* nivāsa "heavenly world should not be desired; one should be afraid of dwelling in the hell (adverbal ablative; cf. the verb *ḍar-* with the ablative postposition *-tãĩ* in 149.0 and 398.0, and with *-syũ* in 477.5)

Dative:

1.3 *sūra tetīsãũ* kautiga *āe, mũniyara koṭi aṭhyāsī* "all the thirty three gods came to [watch] this show/wonder, and eigty eight myriads of ascetics" (dative of purpose; Gupta, *KG*, p. 140: *kautuka dekhane ko* [*kutūhalavaśa*] *āye hue hãĩ*)

221.1 *bhau jala* tirãṇa *carãṇa citāmaṇi, tā cita ghaṛī na lāyau* "the feet [of the God], [that is] the wish-fulfilling gem [necessary] for the cros-

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sing of the ocean of existence – I did not fix my mind on it [even] for a moment!" (dative of purpose)

288.1 *saba ko* banijana *āyā* "everybody has come to do business" (purpose)

390.2 *supinai* bĩda *na dei caraṇā̃, tā kājī kū̃ jurā na marāṇa* "not even in sleep / a dream does he allow the semen to spill: for such *qāzī* [there is] neither old age nor death" (dative; Gupta, *KG*, p. 344: *bindu* (*vīrya ko*) *na jhaṛane de*)

Adnominal genitive:

possessive genitive

439.4 *kusala hī̃ kusala karata jagu ṣīṇā̃, paṛī* kāla *bhau pāsī re* "looking solely after happiness/well-being, the world has degenerated; the noose of Kāl (the god of death) has fallen on the world"

444.0 *eka suhāgani* jagata *piyārī, sakala jīva jãta kī nārī* "[there is] a lady, dear/beloved of the world, wife of every living being"

188.2 pahupa *bāsa bhuvarā eka rātā* "a blackbee has been attracted by fragrance of a flower"

genitive of material or contents

20.2 *ulaṭī gãga nīra bahi āyā;* ãmrita *dhāra cavāī* "water of the reversed Gaṅgā (i.e. of the *amṛta* running upwards) has flown in; the stream of *amṛta* is left/made to trickle in"

94.1 *ṣaṭa cakra kī* kanaka *koṭarī, basta bhāva hai͂ soī* "in the golden cell (or: "cells") of the six *cakras* the essence of [that] thing is asleep"

145.1 *beda purā̃ṇa paḍhata asa pā̃ḍe, ṣara* cãdana *jaisa͂ī bhārā* "*pāṇde*, you read (i.e. perceive, understand) Vedas and Purāṇas in such a way, as does an ass the load of sandalwood"

249.3 *dvādasī* dā̃na *puni kī velā̃, sarva pāpa ṣyau karā̃ṇā* "*dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins"

genitive of explanation

145.1 *rā̃mā* nāma *tata sāmājhata nā̃hī̃* "[you] do not understand the essence of the name of Rām" (i.e. the essence which is identical with the name "Rām"; if the essence and the Name are not meant to be identical, *nāma* can be classified as genitive of possession)

200.0 *bābā karahu kṛpā jana māragi lāvo, jyū̃* bhava *bādhana ṣūṭai* "Father, show mercy, put the devotee on the [right] path, so that the bond of worldly existence may end" (*bhava-bādhana* can be interpreted also as *tatpuruṣa* compound)

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236.3 gagana *mãḍala roki bārā, tahã̃ dyaũ̃sa na rātī* "close the door of the *maṇḍala*/*cakra* of emptiness: there is neither day nor night"

261.0 *māyā moha mohi hita kīnha, tā tai merau* gyã̃na *dhana hari līnha* "having deluded [me] with [her power of] delusion, *māyā* aroused passion [in me]; in consequence of this she has destroyed the treasure of my wisdom"

200.2 *āpā* para *ã̃nãda nahĩ̃ būjhai, bina anabhai kyũ̃ chūṭai* "[mind] itself does not / cannot understand the bliss of *paramārtha*; [but] without [authentic] experience how can it liberate itself?" (*para*[*mārtha*] is generally identified with *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*)

genitive of measure

114.1 jaujana *eka pramiti na jã̃naĩ̃, bātani hĩ̃ baikũṭha baṣã̃ṇaĩ̃* "they do not know [how it is to walk] the distance of single *yojana*, but in their talks they explain [how to get in] the paradise"

271.2 pala *jīvana kī āsa nã̃hĩ̃, jamã nihārai sāsā* "no expectation from the transient/perishable life [is in place]: the god Yama counts [every] breath" (or: "not even for a moment reliance on [the continuation of] life [is in place]"; the absence of postposition after *pala* allows us to relate this noun either to *jīvana*, as does J. and V. Sĭha, *KV-S*, p. 222: *isa kṣaṇabhaṅgura jīvana kā koī bharosā nahĩ̃*, or to *āsā*, as suggested by Gupta, *KG*, p. 288: *eka pala kī jīvana kī bhī āśā nahĩ̃ hai.* In both cases *pala* is classified as genitive of measure)

129.3 *aradha* ṣina *jīvana bhalau, bhagavãta bhagata saheta* "a life [lasting] a half of an instant is worthwhile [if spent together] with a *bhakta* of the Bhagavān"

subjective genitive

8.0 gura *prasādi akali bhaī to kũ̃* "by the grace of the Guru you have been endowed with reason"

325.1 karãma *basi yahu jīva kahata haĩ̃* "they say that this *jīva* (soul) is in the grasp / under the control of *karman*"

421.1 *kã̃ma kivārī* duṣa suṣa *daravã̃nī, pāpa pũnĩ daravājā* "lust/passion is the wing of the door, the doormanship is [the task] of sorrow and happiness, sin and merit are the [two] doors"

objective genitive

256.3 *kahai kabīra sūta bhala kātā, rahãṭau nahī parãma* pada *dātā* "Kabīr says: [the spinner has] spinned the thread well, [but] the spinning wheel is not the giver of the ultimate state [of being]"

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129.6 *kā japa kā tapa sãjamā, kā tīratha vrata snāna; jau pãi jugati na jãṇiyaĩ, bhāva bhagati* bhagavm̃ña "what [is the use] of *japa*, what of asceticism, of self-control? What [is gained] by [visiting] places of pilgrimage, by vows, by ritual bathing, if the right way is not known – the love and devotion to God?"

249.3 *dvādasī dm̃na puni kī velm̃, sarva* pāpa *ṣyau karm̃ṇm̃* "*dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins" (*pāpa-ṣyau* is interpretable also as *tatpuruṣa* compound: cf. Skt. *pāpa-kṣaya*)

398.0 *mana na ḍigai tā taĩ tana na ḍarāi; kevala* rāma *rahe lyau lāi* "the mind is not upset, in consequence of this the body is not frightened; [the mind] stays (firm) having fixed [its] devotion solely on Rām"

410.0 *rm̃ma na sumirai* duṣa *bhajanm̃* "you do not remember Rām, the destroyer of sorrow!"

Adverbal genitive:

genitive of quality

249.2 pūraba janama *hm̃ma bm̃bhana hote,* vocha janama *tapa kīnhm̃* "I was a *brāhmaṇa*/*bābhan* born in the east (lit.: "of eastern birth"; however, *pūraba janama* can also mean "in my previous birth"); [being] of inferior birth, I performed *tapas*"

126.2 eka rūpa *dīsai saba nārī, nm̃ jm̃ṇaũ kā pivahi piyārī* "all women look the same (or: "as of the same beauty"), I do not know which [one of them] will be dear to/of the beloved"

2.e. -ã$_3$: *obl. sg. m.*

This is nasalized variant of the obl. sg. m. ending -a_8 dealt with in the preceding section; in all three quotable examples it takes its nasalization from the contact with the preceding nasal consonant.

34.4 *kahai kabīra yahu gagana* [*na*] *binasai, jau dhāgā* unamm̃ñã "Kabīr says: this space/void does [not] perish if [there is] thread (i.e. continuity) in/of the (mental state called) *unamanī*" (locative or genitive case)

145.1 rm̃mã *nāma tata sãmãjhata nm̃hĩ* "you do not understand the essence of the name of Rām" (genitive)

204.3 *trisnm̃ aru* abhimm̃ñã *rahita hai, kahai kabīra so dāsā* "free from desire and pride, says Kabīr, is the true devotee" (either obliquus, or nasalized stem vowel in the *karmadhāraya* compound: see the note in the section *-rahit-* in the chapter Postpositions, 4.A.5)

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2.f. -u$_3$: *obl. sg. m.*
In the present corpus there are only two incidences of a form in which the ending *-u* represents a marker of an oblique case: instrumental in 129.2 and general oblique or genitive in 312.4. Interestingly, in both cases other Rājasthānī MSS use variants with final *-a* (i.e. *-a$_8$* in our notation), the most common general obl. morph affixed to masculine stems. But if the dir. sg. m. ending *-u$_2$* is understood as an archaic Apabhraṃśa variant form to *-a$_4$*, there is good reason to regard the morph *-u$_3$* as analogous counterpart to the obl. case ending *-a$_8$*. And although most occurrences of the form *jagu* registered in the *NBhS-DHL* II, p. 720, show it in the direct case, the construction *aisai sātajana durlabha yā jagu mẽhĩ*, found in Sundaradāsa's *sākhī* 19.29, can be taken as a corroboration of the use of this form with the force of obl. case (on which, e.g. Varma, *LB*, is silent, and which McGregor, *LIO*, §3.12, p. 132-134, does not identify explicitly as a possible obl. form).

129.2 *jhūṭhai* jagu *ḍahakāiyau* "[you] allow to be deceived by the false world"
312.4 *paharyau kāla sabai* jagu *upari* "Kāl (the god of death Yama) watches over (or: "keeps an eye on") the whole world"

2.g. -aha$_1$ / -āha : *obl. sg. m.*
Tagare, *HGA*, §83, p. 130-131, derives the affix *-ha* as well as the nasalized variant *-hã* from the OIA pronominal suffix of gen. pl. *-āsām* > MIA *-ahaṃ*, *-ahã* and notes its use for the genitive and ablative case of both sg. and pl. number. According to him, *-ha*, which became popular in the Western Apabhraṃśa after the turn of the millennium, is only a denasalized form of the original gen. pl. ending. In the case of the non-nasalized form used for the sg., however, an alternative derivation from the OIA gen. sg. ending *-a-*(*-ka*)*-sya* > MIA *-assa* /*-āsa* > *-aha* /*-āha* should be considered (Kellogg, *GHL*, §190b, p. 126; for the optional lengthening of the first vowel, see Tessitori, *OWR*, §63). Further development in the direction of phonetic simplification in the NIA period led to the elision of the intervocalic *-h-* reducing the ending to a single long vowel. This is the obl. sg. m. *-ā$_7$* dealt with in the section 1.A.2.i below.

In the present corpus the longer, uncontracted (and presumably more archaic) forms are relatively rare; the three quotable instances may be interpreted either as instrumental (206.2) and locative (372.1) or, being followed by participles (i.e. nominal forms), as adnominal genitives. The longer form of the ending may have been used simply to distinguish formally the oblique case from the direct (the shorter form *bãna* can be interpreted both as the direct and oblique case). At other places the shorter oblique of this word is in fact used, but always followed by a postposition which makes the syntactic relation clear: *bana mẽhi* (in 410.2 and 413.2), and *bana kā* (in 138.1).

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Alternative expression for the forest (in contexts where dwelling in it as a way to salvation is not recommended by the poet) is *banaṣāḍi*, the ending *-i*$_6$ denoting unambiguously the locative case. Tessitori, *OWR*, §62, notes the occasional use of the genitive in *-aha* /*-āha* in poetry "where archaisms are easily retained and additional syllables are occasionally sought to make up the sum of *mātrās* that are required for a verse". Interestingly, one of his examples is *vanaha māhi* "in the forest", a more archaic counterpart of the same construction used in the *pads* of the present Kabīrian corpus.

206.2 tulaha *na tolī* gajāha *na māpī, pahajana sera aḍhāī* " [the weaver] did not weigh [the fabric] on a scale, did not measure [the length] in *gaz*; [it was] approximately two and half *ser*"

372.1 bānaha *base kā kījīye re* "what is done/achieved (or: "what can be done/achieved") by dwelling in forest?"

2.h. -ahĩ$_1$ / -ahi$_1$ / -ahi$_1$̃ : *obl. sg. m.*

The origin of this affix, used in the NIA vernaculars to express several different case relations and characterized by Chatterji as "a sort of maid-of-all-work" (*UVP*, §59.7, p. 37), is to be sought in the OIA pronominal locative sg. ending *-asmin* > MIA *-ahiṃ*, *-ahĩ* > NIA *-ahĩ* /*-ahi* /*-aĩ* /*-ai* (Tagare, *HGA*, §82, p. 124). During the Apabhraṃśa period it included the functions of the instrumental in addition to those of locative and carried both on into the NIA period – in the texts of the present corpus we find it in this dual role as the morphs *-aĩ*$_2$ /*-ai*$_6$. The more archaic, but in our texts still current variants *-ahĩ*$_1$ /*-ahi*$_1$ /*-ahi*$_1$̃ extended their scope of application still further and came to mark also the nominal forms that denoted the indirect and direct object. Tessitori, *OWR*, §65, who noted this process in the Old Mārvāṛī, explained the passing of the locative functions to those of the dative by the intermediate meaning of the locative of direction. In the examples 459.3 and 486.0 quoted below we can see similar shift in the expressions *gurahi gāri* (where the verb *lāgai* can be easily supplied) and *rāmahi* [...] *nihorā*. *nihorā*, word of several meanings, can be understood in the present context as "entreaty" (addressed *to* somebody).

An alternative explanation of the genesis and internal structure of this affix can refer to the notion of layers of affixes developed by Zograf, *Morfologičeskij stroj*, and Masica, *IAL*, p. 231-248. On this line of explanation the extension of *-ahĩ* /*-ahi* /*-ahi*$_1$̃ is analysable into *-a* of the direct or general oblique case (or perhaps a support vowel) followed by a new agglutinative element, the second layer affix *-hi*, identical, from the point of view of etymology, with the pronominal affix *-hi*$_2$. The habit to attach special markers to indirect and direct objects is probably a NIA phenomenon (Tagare does not mention it for

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Apabhraṃśa) that might be realized by a peculiar process of resuffixation of old case markers to endings that had already lost a clear and morphologically distinctive form. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.13 (and note 1), p. 134-135, has shown the application of such marker to both the basic form (*cittahiṃ*, *cittuhi*, etc.), as well as to an already existing overtly marked indirect case (*vaḍehi*). In the course of time, however, this way of formal highlighting of the sentence object proved to be less productive than the alternative practice of extending it with the postposition *-kahũ* /*-kũ̃*. It can be observed that in all three occurrences quotable from the present corpus of analysed texts the direct object (whose unextended case form would be identical with that of the subject) needs a clear marking – this is particularly obvious in the instance of *ulaṭabã̃sī* sentences in the verses 185.1 and 185.7. Similar process driven by the need to provide markers of sentence objects with distinct and unambiguous forms was under way in the field of pronouns: here too the oblique form was extended either by the affix *-hi* (marked here as $-hi_2$), or by the dative/ /accusative postposition *-kũ̃* (for more details, see in the chapter Pronouns, section 3.A.3, dealing with 1st pers. sg.: *m-* + obl. $-o_4$, *m-* + obl. $-o_4$- + $-hi_2$). It is not without interest that the nominal affix $-ahĩ_1$ /$-ahi_1$ /$-ahĩ_1$, although capable of expressing wide range of syntactic relations, generally does not occur with postpositions (the single exception being the postposition/preposition *-bina* traditionally governing the noun in instrumental case).

Combination of two affixes to differentiate two shades of meaning can be seen in the forms of the pronoun *sab-* "all", "every": if the poet intended to emphasize the aspect "each", "every single (one) in the obl. case", he might use the obl. sg. affix $-ahi_1$ followed by the plural pronominal affix $-na_2$ (as in the verse 47.2 below, single quotable example from the present corpus). More examples of this composite pronominal form may be found in the poems of other *sants*, quotable from the *NBhS-DHL*: thus, e.g. Nāmdev, in the *pad* 30.2, says: *thāvara jãgama kīṭa patãgā sati rãma sabahina kai sãgā*, translated as "Rām is with everyone, whether worm or a moth, moving or still" (Callewaert and Lath, *The Hindī Padavalī of Nāmdev*, p. 161). In contrast to this use stand pronominal forms with two plural affixes *sabanana* (*sab-* + *-ana* + $-na_2$) where the emphasis is on the plurality of a sum total of objects. Single quotable instance of this use is from the verse 76.0 (but again, examples can be multiplied by resorting to the larger corpus of poems edited in the *NBhS-DHL*): *maĩ sabanana maĩ ara maĩ na hũ̃ saba* "I am [present] in all, and I am not [this] all". In these cases the pronominal form is usually followed by a postposition.

The habit of Old Hindī scribes not to separate individual words with a space leads to various kinds of ambiguities, particularly in the possible interpreta-

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tions of endings. In the case of the ending *-ahĩ* /*-ahi* /*-ahĩ̃* doubts may arise whether the correct segmentation is not the simple obl. sg. in *-a*$_8$ + the exclusive emphatic particle *-hĩ*$_2$ /*-hi*$_5$ /*-hĩ̃*$_2$ /*-hī*$_2$. The form *manahĩ̃* in the verse 8.0. quoted below can serve as an example: modern interpreters M. P. Gupta and V. Sĩha translate the form as *mana hī mẽ* and *mana mẽ hī*, respectively. In the texts of the present corpus (as well as in *pads* and *sākhīs* of Dādū, as can be seen in the indexed edition in Callewaert's *NBhS-DHL*) this particle appears often in locative contexts which does not make the correct interpretation any easier. Unproblematic are only idiomatic expressions as, e.g. *mana hĩ̃ mana* "mentally", "for/to oneself", "in the heart" (as in 94.3), frequently used also in the MSH. Similar problem poses the form *gunahĩ̃* in the verse 280.1: *jora karai masakīna sãtāvai,* gunahĩ̃ *rahe lukāẽ*. The present author has decided to interpret it as nom. sg. equivalent of MSH *gunahagāra*, *aparādhī* "sinner".

Instrumental:

123.1 *tumha jalanidhi mai jala kara mīnā, jala mahi rahãũ* jalahi *bina ṣīnā* "you are an ocean, I am a fish belonging in the water; I live in the water, without water I waste away"

Locative:

129.5 *hũ̃ṇā thā so hoi rahyā,* mãnahĩ *na kījai āsa* "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]; one should not entertain [false] hope(s) [in one's] mind"

41.4 *kahai kabīra mana* manahi *milāvā, ãmara bhaye suṣa sāgara pāvā* "Kabīr says: [my] mind [I have] joined with the Mind (the Absolute); by becoming immortal [I have] attained the ocean of bliss"

387.2 nādahi *bĩda ki* bĩdahi *nāda,* nādahi *bĩda milai gobĩda* "[is] Śiva (*binda*) with/in Śakti (*nāda*), or [is] Śakti with/in Śiva? [When] Śiva (*binda*) meets Śakti (*nāda*), [it is] Gobinda"

34.4 *sīṣyẽ suṇẽ paḍhẽ kā hoi je nahĩ̃* padahi *samãnã* "what is [gained] by learning, listening [and] reciting, if one has not entered into the [highest] state [of being]"

200.4 *jyũ̃ pratibĩba* pratibĩbahi *samãnã̃, udika kũbha bigarãnã̃; kahai kabīra jãni bhrãma bhāgā,* sīvahi *jīva samãnã̃* "just as the reflection identified itself with the solar orb, [and] the jug melted in water – Kabīr says: with the true knowledge (or: "having known/attained the true knowledge") the error has run away / has disappeared [and] the soul has merged with Śiva"

8.0 *mana re* manahĩ̃ *ulaṭi samãnã̃* "having turned around, the mind has entered into the Mind"

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206.3 *bhāgī puriyā* gharahĩ *chāḍī, cale julāha risāī* "she ran away having left the frame of the warp at home; the weaver walked away in anger" (exact meaning unclear)

47.2 *eka rãma deṣyā* sabahina *mãĩ, kahi kabīra mana mãnā* "I have seen One Rām in everybody – says Kabīr: [my] mind believes"

Locative > dative (indirect object):

126.2 *eka rūpa dīsai saba nārī, nã jãṇãũ kā* pivahi *piyārī* "all women look the same (or: "as of the same beauty"), I do not know which one of them will be dear to/of the beloved"

459.3 *rãma chãḍũ tau mere* gurahi *gāri* "[if] I forsake Rām, then [it will be taken as] an insult to my guru"

486.0 *jau kāsī tana tajai kabīrā, tau* rãmahi *kauna nihorā re* "if Kabīr quits [his] body in Kāśī, then what entreaty [is to be addressed] to Rām?" (or: "who will entreat Rām [to save him]?")

Accusative (direct object):

30.2 *yahu mana baḍā ka jahã mana mãnai, rãma baḍā ki* rāmahi *jãnai* "is the mind great, or rather that which the mind contemplates? Is Rām great, or he who knows Rām?"

185.1 *ulaṭī gãga* sãmudrahi *soṣai, sasihara sūra grāsai* "the reversed Ganga dries up the ocean, the moon swallows the sun" (so M. P. Gupta: *śaśadhara* (*candramā*) *sūrya ko grasa le*)

185.7 *dharatī ulaṭi* akāsahi *grāsai, yahu purisã kī bãṇī* "the earth, turned upside down, swallows the sky – this is the speech of [true] men"

419.1 *tana kari maṭakī* manahi *biloi, yā maṭakī mai pavana samoi* "having made [your] body a churning jar, churn the mind, add *prāṇa* in this churning jar"

2.i. -ā$_7$: *obl.* (*gen. / loc. / instr.*) *sg. m.*

This affix which in our texts carries the force of general oblique case represents the last stage of development of the OIA gen. sg. ending (*-ka-*)*-sya* transformed in the MIA into *-aha$_1$* /*-āha*, several instances of which can be found as archaisms in the present corpus (see above, 1.A.2.g). It is perhaps not necessary to trace its origin to the OIA pronominal gen. pl. *-āsām* with later denasalizations of the final vowel (as does Tagare, *HGA*, §83, p. 130-131). The derivation from the gen. sg. affix is perfectly feasible and more straightforward, although a partial conflation of the sg. ending *-ha* and pl. *-hã* in the Apabhraṃśa period cannot be ruled out either. The contracted form *-ā* is attested in Old Mārvāṛī in stems ending in *-aa* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §62), and

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also in the eastern, Māgadhī languages and dialects. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §502, p. 751-752, quotes several examples of this *-ā* in Old Bengālī where it was used as genitive ending, and notes its identity with the obl. sg. affix used with pronouns; examples given by him (*hariṇā*) seem to suggest that it was affixed also to stems ending in consonants or short vowels (see also the analysis of the respective pronominal forms *y₁-* + obl. sg. m./f. *-ā₁₀* etc. further below, in the chapter Pronouns, 3.D.1.b; a good overview of the obl. sg. endings in *-ā* and *-e* in Hindī dialects can be found in Table III in Kellogg, *GHL*).

In texts of the present corpus this ending occurs in a great variety of syntactic contexts where the case relation expressed by it can be interpreted as genitive, accusative of direction, locative and instrumental, used often without any further specification by a postposition. It should be noted that of the five quotable examples of the instrumental case, two are somewhat dubious: for *sājamā* in 129.6 and *sā̃ḍā* in 459.2 we have in other MSS alternative forms with the final vowel nasalized, a feature more typical for the markers of the instrumental case. The form *manā* found in 381.0 and 410.0 is also ambiguous: in both instances it occurs with the vocative particle *re* which opens the possibility to interpret it as vocative (i.e. direct) case – and as far as the verse 410.0 is concerned, this solution is preferred by both M. P. Gupta and V. Sīha. But we can see in this form also instrumental or locative that fits equally well in the actual context (the nasalization of the ending found in several other MSS is also ambiguous: it can be understood either as an instance of contact nasalization, or as regular instrumental in *-ã̃₆*). The case most frequently marked by a postposition is genitive and to a lesser extent locative (*majhāri* in 129.8, *lagī* in 367.1).

This ending has also a nasalized variant, marked in the present morphemicon as *-ã̃₆*, which appears after nasal consonats of the stem (*apāṇã̃, caraṇã̃, bālāpanã̃, bhagavn̄̃nã̃, sũnahã̃*). This nasalized form should not be confused with another nominal ending, the homonymous affix *-ã̃₇*, which is of different origin and fulfills different, more narrowly defined functions (see below, section 1.A.3.m).

Genitive:

129.0 gobīdā *gũna gāiye re, pāiye parãma nidhn̄̃a* "let the praises of Govinda be sung; [in this way] is (or: "can be", "should be") reached the supreme abode" (genitive of object)

408.1 *gura sevā kari bhagati kamāī, je tā͂i* maniṣā *dehī pāī* "serve (or absolutive: serving, having served) the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body" (lit.: "the body of a man", genitive of possession)

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Locative:

249.4 *bhau būḍatẽ kachu upāi karījai, tau tiri lãghau* tīrā "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore"

23.2 *bairī ulaṭi bhaye haĩ mĩtā, sāṣata ulaṭi sajana bhaye* cĩtā "having turned, the foes have become friends, having turned, the *Śāktas* became relatives in [my] mind"

12.3 *cakavā baisi ãgāre nigalaĩ, sãmãda* ākāsā *dhāvā* "having sat down, the *chakor* birds swallow the burning embers; the ocean ran up to the sky" (locative or accusative of direction)

139.0 *jẽ paĩ jẽũ āpaṇapau chuḍẽvãna, te bīdhe bahu* phãdā "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps" ("in many a trap"; locative or instrumental sg. instead of pl.: see also below, 1.A.3.t)

- inceptives: loc. of verbal noun + the verb *lāg-* "to begin":

94.2 *pãca paharavā soi gayẽ haĩ, basta* jāgibā *lāgī* "five watchmen have fallen asleep, the thing has begun to wake up"

Instrumental:

96.1 *kā tapa banaṣãḍi* bāsā "what [is gained] by ascetism, by living in the forest?"

129.6 *kā japa kā tapa* sājamā "what [is attained] by *japa*, what by asceticism, by self-control?

381.0 manā *re rāma sumiri, rẽma sumiri, rẽma sumiri bhāī* "remember Rām with(in) your mind, remember Rām, remember Rām, o brother!" (or: "remember Rām, o mind!")

410.0 *aisā gyẽna bicāri re* manā*, rẽma na sumirai duṣa bhājanẽ* "contemplate this knowledge with(in) your mind: you do not remember Rām, the destroyer of all sorrow" (or vocative: "contemplate, o mind!")

Instrumental - ergative:

459.2 *taba* sẽḍā *muragẽ kahyā jāi* "then Śaṇḍa and Marka having gone said (i.e. went to report)"

General obl. before postpositions:

15.1 *pahalaĩ pūta pachaĩ bhaī māī,* celā *kai gura lāgai pāī* "first [came] the son, [only] later was [born his] mother; guru takes a seat at the feet of [his] pupil" (genitive of possession)

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473.2 *biṣa* biṣayā *kī bāsanã̃ tajaũ tajī na jāī* "I (should) give up the craving for poison of objects of sense-perception, [but] it cannot be abandoned" (genitive of object)

251.2 *kā* ka:uvā *kũ̃ kapūra ṣuvāye, kā bisahara kũ̃ dūdha pilāyẽ* "what [is gained] by feeding camphor to a crow, what [is gained] by giving milk to a poisonous snake?"

129.8 *kahi kabīra guna gāile sãta sãgati* ridā *majhāri, jo sevaga sevā karai tā sãgi rãmaĩ murāri* "Kabīr says: the devotee who performs the service by singing praise [of the Lord] in the company of *sants* [as well as] in [his own] heart, with him Murāri rejoices"

367.1 *deharī laga terī sagī re maherī,* phalisā *lagī sagī māī; marahaṭa laga saba loka sagau re, hãsa akelau jāi* "wife is related to you upto the door-step [of your house]; mother is related upto the outer door (or: "to the border of the village"); all [other] people are related upto the cremation ground; [then] the swan (soul) flies away alone"

448.1 *bārãbāra baraji* biṣiyā *taĩ, lai nara jau mãna tolai* "again and again turning away from the object(s) of sense perception, if a man having taken/grasped [his] mind keeps it in balance"

2.j. -ã̃$_6$: *obl.* (*gen.*) *sg. m.*

This ending is a phonological allomorph of the more frequent obl. sg. ending -*ā*$_7$ (for a description of which see the preceding section). The nasalization is a reflex of preceding nasal consonant; exceptional is *maniṣã̃* (408.0) which can be interpreted as scribal error (the next verse has the expected form *maniṣā*).

Genitive:

204.2 *lohā kãcana sami kari jãnaĩ, so mūrati* bhagavã̃nã̃ "[who] knows iron and gold as [of] the same [value], he [assumes] the likeness of God"

Permissive (obl. of verbal noun + *de-*):

390.2 *supinai bĩda na dei* caraṇã̃, *tā kājī kũ̃ jurā na marãṇa* "not even in sleep / a dream does he allow the semen to spill: for such *qāzī* there is neither old age, nor death" (according to Tessitori, *OWR*, §134, the permissive is constructed with the genitive in *-ivā*)

Oblique case before postposition:

408.0 *bhaji gobyãda bhūli jini jāhi,* maniṣã̃ *janama kau yau hī lāha* "worship Govinda, do not forget, this is the real gain of the birth of man" (i.e. of the birth in the form of human being)

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477.2 bālapanã̃ *ke mīta hamāre, hamahi chāḍi kata cale ninãre* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you separated / gone away leaving me alone?"

251.1 *kā* sũnahã̃ *kũ̃ sumriti sunã̃yai, kā sāṣita pāĩ hari gũna gã̃yaĩ* "why recite *smṛti* to a dog? Why sing the praise of Hari in front of a *Śākta*?"

30.0 *jhãgarā eka naberau rāma, je* apāṇã̃ *jana setī kã̃ma* "settle one quarrel, o Rām, if [there is on your part] concern with your own devotee"

2.k. -i_6, -ya_1 : *loc. / instr. / erg. sg. m.*

In the text of the present corpus the sg. ending *-i* occurs in contexts where the meaning is clearly locative, as well as in constructions in which the instrumental case would be expected. In both cases the vowel is invariably short and without nasalization. As far as the locative is concerned, for Tagare, *HGA*, §81, p. 119, this form "is clearly traceable to OIA *-e*". He notes its existence in Western and Southern Apabhraṃśa, where it could already have taken the force of the instrumental case as well. The merging of locative and instrumental into one form might be made easier by the parallel use of the absolute locative and the absolute instrumental constructions with similar or identical meaning. It is interesting that relatively high frequency of this ending in Kabīr's Rājasthānī *pads* and also in other Old Hindī texts (e.g. Gorakhnāth) is not reflected in Kellogg's grammar which registers as locative endings only *-e*, *-ẽ*, and *-ai*. Beames has only a short note on the locative in *-i* in Sindhi (*CGMALI* II, §48, p. 224); only Tessitori, *OWR*, §64, treats it as a desinence (with variants *-ē*, *-e*, *-i*) for the loc. sg. of stems ending in the dir. case in *-a*.

-ya_1 is but a variant spelling of the instr./loc./erg. ending *-i,* indicating its weakened or whispered pronunciation; the occasional occurrence of this treatment of the final *-i* in the Old Braj has been noted by McGregor, *LIO*, §2.9, p. 114, and specifically with the loc. affix, in §3.15, p. 135. His examples include the variant spellings of the locatives *kai vasi* and *kai vasya* "under the control of", "in the power of". Two occurrences of this form that are found in texts analysed in the present study are the ergative *kabīrya* in 27.0 and the locative *muṣya* "in the mouth" in the verse 145.1 (quoted below, under the para. 4. adverbization).

1. Locative. In the present corpus this morph expresses localization in space as well as time; in several instances where the nominal stem is formally identical to the verbal root of the same meaning, the affix can be interpreted as either locative or verbal absolutive (see, e.g. in 486.2. below, where the form *bhrãmi* can be understood also as the absolutive of the verb *bhrãm-*, "to go the wrong way", "to err"; similarly in 139.0). In 433.5 the locative ending in *ãti* is followed by the adjectivizing postposition *-kā*. The use of the specific locative ending (instead of the general oblique case) before the postposition can be

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interpreted by an analogy to the combinations of case postpositions in MSH (*-mẽ kā*, *-para se*, etc.; see, KELLOGG, *GHL*, §707, p. 424; also MCGREGOR, *LIO*, §3.15, p. 135). In the last example, 281.4 (the same phrase occurs also in 78.4), the manuscript has the form *dojagihĩ*; the present author has segmented it into two words, regular locative plus emphatic exclusive particle; however, one can also see in it a less regular, more archaic form of the locative with the ending *-ihi* (transferred to the locative from the instrumental case: OIA *-ebhiḥ* > MIA *-ehi*, *-ihi*), as mentioned by TAGARE, *HGA*, §81, p. 119. Tessitori describes the OWR locative ending *-hĩ* (< MIA *-mhi* < OIA *-smin*) as being regular for stems ending in long vowels. Can the form *-ihĩ* in our example represent a conflation of two different locative endings?

2. Instrumental (+ *-bina*). The first five examples included in this group show how close in meaning, perhaps even mutually interchangeable, the locative and instrumental case can be in certain contexts. As MSH translations of verse 1.1 show, the noun denoting an intoxicating element can be followed by both the locative postposition *-mẽ* and the instrumental *-se*. Similarly, the expression *kāraṇi kaũṇi* in 221.1 (and similar one in 200.1) can be traced back to Sanskrit in which the phrase "for what reason" can be expressed both by the instrumental *yena kāraṇena* and the locative *yasmin kāraṇe*. The instrumental *bina darasãni* in 429.0 corresponds with the same construction of *vinā* in Sanskrit; in the Old Hindī of the 17th century it may already have been slightly archaic as it differs from the readings in other MSS included in the MKV which have the more "modern" general obl. form *darasana*. Finally, the form *dhaṇãki* in the verse 185.3 may be seen as being close to the borderline between the instrumental denoting a tool or device and the instrumental expressing an agent in ergative constructions.

3. Ergative. The distribution of the loc./instr. endings *-i* and *-ai* (relating to dir. sg. in *-a* and *-ā* respectively) as markers of an agent in ergative constructions is identical with the distribution of these two forms in contexts where the sense demands the instrumental and locative cases. The parallel occurrence of the ending *-i* and *-ai* in two different, locative nad ergative contexts illustrates a parallel process of gradual merging of the instrumental and locative functions into a single morph. In the 17th century, the distinctive loc./instr./erg. marker *-i* appears to have been on the decline. An inspection of the respective verses in other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV* and of the *KG* editions of P. N. Tivārī and M. P. Gupta shows that ergative forms with the final *-a* are almost as popular as those in *-i*; in the two *pads* represented in Tivārī's ed. the *-i* forms are not mentioned even as *variae lectiones*.

4. Adverbization. The example 145.1 shows the locative *ãti* used like an adverb. In this case, and also in the words *dūri* "far", *begi* "quickly" and

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sahaji "easily", we are dealing with real adverbs where the final *-i* has lost its original character of case ending and has taken the force of the adverbial derivative affix, marked as *-i*$_{12}$.

Locative:

65.2 jihi ghaṭi *rā̃ma rahyau bharapūri, tā kī mā̃i caranana kī dhūri* "the body which has been entirely pervaded by Rām – I am dust at the feet of such [a person]" (lit.: "in which body Rām has resided ...")

146.1 ãbari *dīsā̃i ketā tārā, kū̃na catura aisā citarā̃ṇahārā* "how many stars are seen in the sky! Who is this skilful painter?

182.4 *kabīra hari* kai ãgi *lāgā* "Kabīr has merged into the body of Hari"

325.1 *karãma* basi *yahu jīva kahata hā̃i* "they say [that] this *jīva* (soul) [is] in the grasp / under the control of *karman*"

268.1 *bāra barasa* bālāpaṇi *ṣoyā* "twelve years in [his] childhood were lost"

486.2 bhrãmi *bhūlai jini koī re* "let nobody go the wrong way in delusion" (or *bhrãmi* as absolutive: "let nobody be mistaken, having gone astray")

433.5 *ādi* ãti *kā marama na jā̃nā, kahi kabīra sãtani pahicā̃nā* "the essence/ /mystery of [what is] at the beginning and at the end has not been known; [but] Kabīr says: the *sants* have been acquainted [with it]"

281.4 *kahai kabīra bhisti chiṭakāī,* dojagi *hī̃ mãna mā̃nā̃* "Kabīr says: having rejected heaven (or: "[you have] rejected heaven"), [your] mind has become enamoured of hell"

Instrumental:

1.1 *rā̃ma deva more pahũnẽ āye hai, mai* jobani *mā̃imātī* "the God Rām have come as my bridegroom; I am intoxicated with my youth" (or locative: "in my youth I am carried away by passion"; MSH translators – Gupta, *KG*, p. 140: *yauvana se madamatta*; Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 187: *yauvana mẽ madamatta*)

20.4 *dāsa kabīra* ihi rasi *mātā, kabahũ uchaki na jāī* " *bhakta* Kabīr has been intoxicated by this nectar, he will never sober up" (MSH translators: M. P. Gupta *rasa mā̃i matta*; J. and V. Sīha *mahārasa mẽ māte rahate hā̃i*)

178.3 *nījhara jharai ãmīrasa nikasai,* tihi madi *rāvala chākā* "the stream of the liquid trickles, *amṛta* oozes out; with this liquor the king (i.e. the soul) has become intoxicated" (MSH translators: M. P. Gupta *mada se* [...] *chaka gayā*; J. and V. Sīha *madirā ko pīkara tṛpta ho jāegā*)

224.2 *ā̃dhī̃ pīchā̃i jo jala barasyā,* premi *harījana bhīnā̃* "the rain which came after the storm – devotees were drenched in/by love [it showered]" (MSH translators use the instrumental case: M. P. Gupta has *prema* [*-jala*] *se*; J. and V. Sīha *varṣā se*)

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221.1 kā̃rāṇi kā̃ũṇi *āi jagi janamyau, janami kavana sacu pāyau* "for what cause [have I been] born, having come into the world? Having been born (or *janami* as loc.: "in the life"), what joy [have I] attained?"

19.3 *gura* prasādi *amara phala pāyā* "by the grace of the Guru I have obtained the immortal fruit"

406.1 *jala* kai majani *jau gati hoī, tau mī̃nā̃ nita nhāvai* "if the final deliverance is [achieved] by (ritual) immersion in water, then [surely,] the fish performs the bath continuously"

429.0 *bina* darasāni *kyū̃ mana mā̃nāĩ morā* "without *darśan* how can my mind believe?"

185.3 *ulaṭyau* dhaṇāki *pāradhī māryā, yahu aciraja ko būjhai* "the hunter was killed with the inverted bow: who will understand this strange thing?"

Instrumental-ergative:

8.3 *kahai kabīra* guri *dīyā palītā, so jhala biralai deṣī* "Kabīr says: Guru has given the wick, [but] the flame [of it] was hardly seen by anybody" (MSS: two *-i* forms against three *-a*; Tivārī and M. P. Gupta have only *-a* without *varia lectio*)

186.0 *rā̃ma gũna belaṛī re avadhū* goraṣanāthi *jā̃ṇī* "the plantlet of Rām's praise/*bhakti*, o *avadhūta*, was known to Gorakhnāth" (MSS: twice *-i*, three times *-a*; Tivārī: nil; M. P. Gupta *-i*)

186.2 sataguri *vāhī belī* "the Supreme guru cultivated [that] plant" (MSS: thrice *-i*, twice *-a*; Tivārī: nil; M. P. Gupta *-i*)

372.3 guri *gyā̃na kahyau samajhāi* "guru has expounded the true knowledge intelligibly" (lit. "told having explained": see 5.F.1.c.; MSS: six times *-i*, twice *-a*; Tivārī *-a* without *varia lectio*; M. P. Gupta *-i*)

27.0 *tā̃nanā̃ bunanā̃ tajyā* kabīrya "Kabīr has given up [the job of] stretching and weaving"

Adverbization ($-i_6 > -i_{12}$):

145.1 *rā̃mā nāma tata sāmājhata nā̃hī̃,* ãti *paṛai muṣya chārā* "[you] do not understand the essence of the name of Rām; in the end dust will fall in [your] mouth" (note also the locative *muṣya*)

2.l. $-a_6$: *dir. pl. m.*
-jan- *as plural affix*

The ending of nom. pl. of the OIA *a*-stems *-āḥ* (reduced to *-ā* already in the OIA in certain *sandhi* combinations) lost its quantity in the MIA period except where it was extended by the affix *-ka* – in that case the development was *-a-kāḥ* > *-ā*. The loss of quantity has been interpreted by Tagare, *HGA*,

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§84, p. 135 seq., as resulting in a zero affix, the final *-a* of such word form being understood as the inherent (and attenuated) vowel belonging to the last consonant of the stem. From the purely historical point of view this is correct; but in the systematic descriptive approach based on the segmentation of words into stems and affixes it appears more convenient to treat these descendants of the OIA *a*-stems as ending in a consonant to which various case endings beginning with (or consisting of) vowels can be easily attached. This is particularly helpful in the singular where the number of extant affixes inherited from the MIA period is greater than in the plural; the same approach seemed to be preferable, simply for the sake of consistency, in plural also – e.g. the stem *bikār-* "defect" is in the present system of description represented as ending in consonant to which different vocalic endings can be appended: apart from the dir. sg. *-a_4* and dir. pl. *-a_6* (which could be possibly represented also as *-0_3* and *-0_5* and appended to the stem form *bikāra-*) we have also dir. sg. *-$ā_5$* and dir. pl. *-$ā_6$*, and also obl. sg. m. *-e_2* (in these last three instances the stem can be represented only as *bikār-* anyway). This example also shows that one and the same word may take different set of endings marking the same case and number – a feature that places it in two different declensional classes. In texts of the present corpus this kind of declensional ambivalence is not a rare phenomenon.

As in the singular, the direct case of plural too can represent both the nominative and the accusative; the endings of the accusative pl. had been lost in the Apabhraṃśa period and since then the two cases were formally identical (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §484, p. 723). The syntax of the sentence is in itself sufficient for the reader to tell which of the two cases (or three, if the vocative, as in the verse 96.2, is taken into account) has been employed. Ambiguity may arise as far as the number is concerned: in the majority of cases the general context, the use of an adjective in the attribute (with the ending *-$ā_5$* for the sg., or *-e_1* for the pl. number), predicative verbal form with the unambiguous sg. or pl. ending, or a numeral decides the matter. But in several instances quotable from the present corpus the uncertainty remains: e.g. the nominative *cīra* "garment(s)" in 275.2, or the accusative *auguna* "transgression(s)" in 121.0 can be interpreted either as sg., or pl. number.

The word *-jan-* following a noun may take the function of a plural maker, as in the word *munijana* "ascetics" in 439.2 and in *sātajana* "the *sants*" in 41.2, or may carry a special meaning "a devotee"; this second meaning, combined with the function of plural, appears to be present in the *tatpuruṣa* compound *harījana* "devotees of Hari/God" in 224.2.

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Nominative:

126.0 *rā̃ma* bā̃ṇa *ā̃ṇiyāle* tīra*, jihi lāge so jā̃ṇai pīra* "Rām's arrows are sharp missiles: he knows the pain whom they have struck"

268.1 *bāra* barasa *bālāpaṇi ṣoyā* "twelve years were wasted in childhood"

280.3 bā̃bhaṇa *gyārasi karahĩ caubīsā̃u, kājī maha ramadā̃nā̃* "*brāhmaṇas* celebrate the total of twenty-four *ekādaśīs* [in succession, separately, whereas] *qāzīs* [prescribe the single] month of Ramadān"

275.2 *rājapāṭa* sī̃ghāsana āsāna*, bahu sū̃dari ravanā̃; cādana* cīra *kapūra birājita, ā̃ti ta u marā̃ṇā̃* "royal power, throne(s), comfortable seat(s), many beautiful women; sandal, garment(s), camphor – [everything] magnificent: but in the end [comes] death" (either sg., or pl. number)

439.2 sura nara munijana pīra *avaliyā, mīrā̃ paidā kīnhā̃* "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats [were] created" (*-jana* as plural marker)

224.2 *ā̃dhĩ pīchā̃i jo jala barasyā, premi* harījana *bhīnā̃* "the rain which came after the storm – devotees were drenched in/by love [it showered]"

Accusative:

121.1 *suta* aparādha *karai dina kete, jananī kai citi rahā̃i na tete* "no matter how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

121.0 *hari jananī mai bālika torā; kāhe na* auguna *bakasauhu morā* "Hari, [you are] mother, I am your child; why do you not forgive my transgression(s)?"

312.3 *roja karā̃i nivāja gujarā̃i, bā̃ga de* loga *sunāī hiradai kapaṭa milai kyū̃ sā̃ī* "by fasting, by performing *namāz,* giving prayer call [and] preaching to people, [but] with falsehood in heart, how can the Lord be found?" (or: "they fast, they perform *namāz* ...")

Vocative:

96.2 *suṇā̃u* sāta *sumirau bhagatā* jana*, hari bina jānāma gāmāī* "listen, ye virtuous, remember, ye *bhaktas*, without Hari the life is wasted" (addressing greater number of people)

2.m. -ana : *obl. pl. m. and f.*
-ani$_1$: *obl. pl. m.*

The origin of these terminations, common to obl. pl. of both genders and occurring in the old literary dialects of Braj (Varma, *LB*, §150, p. 67-68) and Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §209, p. 134-135), was explained by Kellogg (*GHL*, §192, p. 128) as an application of the OIA nom. and acc. pl. termination of neuters

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-ani to gen. plural with which it had been "not unnaturally" confused. But Saksena has shown that this ending for neuters on the one hand, and the OIA gen. pl. *-ānām* on the other, were in the course of historical development subject to different changes – the former having developed into *-āiṃ*, *-īiṃ*, the latter into *-āṇāṃ*, *-īṇāṃ*, etc. The traces of these old genitive affixes still can be seen in most NIA languages and dialects in final nasal consonants or nasalized vowels typical for their obl. pl. case forms (see, e.g. Bloch, *IA*, p. 174-175 [176-177]). The extended obl. pl. forms *-anha*, *-anhã*, *-anhi*, *-anhĩ*, and their contracted variants *-ana* and *-ani* can be best explained as results of a process of resuffixation where the old nasal ending, lacking the necessary distinctness, was felt to be in need of strengthening by another obl. affix. This could be either the originally gen. sg. ending *-ha* (< OIA *-sya*), or locative ending *-hi* /*-hĩ* (< OIA *-smin*, or according to Chatterji, *ODBL*, §499, p. 745-749, **-dhi*; for a more detailed account of the possible origin of this affix and its role in the pronominal inflection, see the section 3.A.3 with the discussion of the obl. of the 1st pers. sg. pronoun *mohi*).

In texts of the present corpus these endings are relatively rare; more frequently they are found in masculines than in feminine nouns. They can be described as forms of the general oblique the various functions of which are sometimes specified by a postposition. The case functions of the few quotable examples of these affixes seem to reflect the original force of their oblique extensions discussed above: whereas the affix *-ana* (< *-an-ha*) expresses genitive relation, *-ani*$_1$ and also its fem. aspect *-ani*$_2$ (< *-an-hi*) appear to keep the values of the original locative/instrumental affix.

65.2 *jihi ghaṭi rãma rahyau bharapūri, tā kī mãi* caranana *kī dhūri* "the body which has been entirely pervaded by Rām – I am dust at the feet of such [a person]" (genitive of place with postposition)"

429.2 *tumha kahita tribhuvana ke rājā, sãta* janana *ke puravana kājā* "you are called the king of the three worlds, the fulfiller of works of *sants*" (genitive of relationship with postposition)

149.0 *aise* logani *syũ kā kahiye, je nara bhae bhagati tãi nyāre* "what can be (or: "should be") said to such people – men who have turned away from *bhakti*?" (instrumental with postposition)

413.0 *jāgau re nara, sovau kahā, jama* baṭapārani *roke pahā* "wake up, o man/ /men, why do you sleep? Yama's henchmen have blocked the roads!" (instrumental/ergative: lit. "by Yama's henchmen the roads have been blocked")

402.1 logani *rãma ṣilũnã jānyã* "people have understood/imagined Rām as a toy puppet" (instrumental/ergative; lit.: "by people Rām has been considered as a toy puppet")

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444.2 *suhāgani gali sohai hāra,* sãtani *biṣa bigasai sãsāra* "on the neck of that lady shines a necklace: a poison for the *sants*, but the world thrives on it" (genitive or dative)

2.n. -ã̃$_8$: *obl. pl. m.*

Tessitori, *OWR*, §63, derives this Old Mārvāṛī ending of gen. pl. m. from the Apabhraṃśa gen. pl. *-ahã*. According to Tagare, *HGA*, §86, p. 147, the most probable OIA source of this affix is the pronominal ending of gen. pl. *-āsām*. The ending *-ã̃* for the obl. pl. is typical for Rājasthānī dialects of Hindī – apart from Mārvāṛī it is used also in Mevatī and Śekhāvatī (Gusain, *Shekhawati*, p. 17; id., *Mewati*, p. 18). The few examples of this form quotable from the present corpus show it as a general oblique case expressing several different case relations – genitive, ablative and in 257.1 one occurrence of the ergative construction.

185.7 *dharatī ulaṭi akāsahi grāsai, yahu* purisã̃ *kī bã̃ṇī* "the earth, turned upside down, swallows the sky – this is the speech of [true] men"

212.4 *tīni* devã̃ *eka mūrati, karai kisakī seva* "a single idol of three gods – whom [of these three] do you worship?" (*devã̃* can be interpreted also as dir. pl. and the expression translated "three gods in a single idol", or "three gods, single idol")

268.3 *sīsa carāṇa kara kāpana lāge,* naiṇã̃ *nīra asarāla bahai* "head, feet, hands began to shake, from the eyes water flows uninterruptedly"

257.1 *pãca* janã̃ *mili māḍapa chāyau, tīni janã̃ mili lagana gināī* "having come together, five persons have spread out the canopy; when three persons have come together, the auspicious moment is getting computed" (for the reasons of interpreting the second *janã̃* as dir. pl. m., see the footnote below the respective *pad*)

2.o. -a$_{10}$: *obl. pl. m.*

The origin of this ending cannot be traced back to any definite form in the OIA or MIA period – in the Old Hindī texts its use was motivated probably by purely syntactic factors. In the texts of the present corpus we encounter nouns in this form more or less regularly, if the plurality is indicated either by a numeral, an adjective, or a noun in attribute denoting a quantity (as in the examples 275.3 and 421.4 below), or by an attribute with overt plural grammatic marker, e.g. the plural morph *-e$_5$* with the *ā*-class adjectives or adjectivizing postpositions. According to Kellogg, *GHL*, §674, p. 395, in these contexts "the plural termination is simply dropped, leaving the noun, although plural, in form like the singular."

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At first sight similar, but different in their actual grammatical form are those instances where the nouns in the singular number denote a whole class of things or beings, as e.g. in the phrase *sūkara svãna kāga kau bhachina* "food for pig(s), dog(s) and crow(s)" (363.1). In this class belongs probably also the sg. *naĩna* in the sentence *merī jibhyā bisna naĩna nārāiṇa, ridai japaũ gobyãdā* "with my tongue [I repeat] the name Viṣṇu, with the eye(s) Nārāyaṇa, with [my] heart I repeat Govinda" (249.0). The form *carãṇa* in *hari ke carãṇa nivāsā* "abode at Hari's feet" in 288.3 has been classified here as obl. pl. in -a_{10}, but the interpretation of the ending as -a_8, obl. sg. in generic sense is equally tenable. Another ambiguous example can be found in the sentence *ṣaṭa cakra kī kanaka koṭarī, basta bhāva haĩ soī* "in the golden cell (or: "cells") of the six *cakras* the essence of [that] thing is asleep" (94.1), where the form *cakra* can be understood either as obl. pl. in -a_{10}, or the expression *ṣaṭa-cakra* as obl. (gen.) sg. of a *karmadhāraya* compound of the *dvigu* type (Pāṇini, II.1.52). As a *tatpuruṣa* compound can be classified the expression *guna atīta* "transcending the [three] *guṇas*" in 387.3; here *guṇa* is best understood as nominal stem rather than direct case in the position of the first member of a genitive compound (as suggested by Saksena, *EA*, §187 Note, p. 121).

178.2 bhavana *catrudasa bhāṭhī puravī* "the oven of fourteen *kośas* [of the body I have] filled"

268.1 *bīsa* barasa *kai tapa na kīyau; tīsa* barasa *kai rãma na jãnyau* "for twenty years he performed no austerities, for thirty years he did not know Rām"

275.3 *bahu* tīratha *bhrãmanã̃* "visiting of many places of pilgrimage"

421.4 sādha *sãgati aru gura kī kripā taĩ, pakaryā gaḍha kā rājā* "with the [help of the] company of saints and by the grace of the Guru the king of the fort has been captured"

2.p. -a_{11} : *obl. abs. of participles*

By its origin this morph appears to be identical with the marker of the general obl. sg. case -a_8; its syntactic function as an adverbial modifier relating to a non-explicit subject, different from the subject of the clause, is identical with the morph -$ã̃_7$, described in greater detail in the section 1.A.3.m further below. In the verse 186.3 we can see both forms, -a_{11} in *kāṭata* and -$ã̃_7$ in *sĩcataḍã̃* side by side, expressing the same syntactic relation. They are probably regional variants of the same morpheme: -$ã̃_7$ was a western, Rājasthānī form, whereas -a_{11} was current in the Braj area (touched only briefly by McGregor, *LIO*, §3.46, p. 224), and also in the Old Avadhī. Saksena, *EA*, §294, p. 240, gives as an example a quotation from Jāyasī, similar to that quoted in 95.1 below: *satta kahata rājā jiu jāū* "(my) life may end, O king, (by) telling the truth".

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For an overview of syntactic functions of the imperfective participle, see the section 5.E.1 and 5.E.8.b below.

95.1 bolata bolata *baḍhai bikārā* "distortion [of truth] grows because of much talking" (unrelated adverbial participle used without reference to the subject of the sentence)

186.3 kāṭata *belī kũpala melhī; sĩcataḍã kumilãṇĩ* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"

2.q. -au$_2$: *voc. pl. m.*

In Apabhraṃśa the voc. pl. was formed by adding originally independent enclitic particles *-ho* or *-hu;* later these particles developed into case terminations and were added to the stem (Tagare, *HGA*, §84, p. 138). In NIA languages these combinations with *a*-stems first contracted into diphthongs and later into *-o* (as in the MSH). The intermediate forms in *-au* are found, *inter alia*, also in Old Mārvāṛī, Old and Modern Braj, and Old and Modern Avadhī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §67; Varma, *LB*, §154, p. 69; Saksena, *EA*, §210, p. 135).

268.4 *kahai kabīra sunahũ re* sãtau*, dhana sãcyau kachū sãgi na gayau* "Kabīr says: listen, o ye virtuous – no amassed wealth accompanied [him after death]"

3. *Declensional type 3*

3.a. -ā$_5$: *dir. sg. m.*

To the present day, the origin of this affix – one of the most frequent with nouns and adjectives – is subject of different explanations. Hoernle, *CGGL*, §203, p. 101, and Kellogg, *GHL*, §189, p. 125, derive it from the originally diminutive, but often only pleonastic OIA affix *-ka*; when added to stems ending in short *-a*, the occlusive, now in intervocalic position, was first weakened and later elided, leaving as a termination only a long vowel or a diphthong. Thus according to Kellogg, e.g. the OIA *ghaṭa* "jug" was first extended to *ghaṭaka* and this was later transformed into *ghaṛa:o*; the subsequent loss of the hiatus resulted in the common Braj termination *-au* and the form *ghaṛau*; this was "finally reduced" to *-ā* which gives the MHS form *ghaṛā*. Chatterji, *ODBL* I, §172, p. 349, on the other hand, believed that while the Braj *-au* developed from the pleonastic suffix *-ka*, the MSH dir. sg. m. *-ā* (more generally: "the «-ā» nouns and verbal adjectives of Bengali and other NIA") should be properly derived from the old genitive sg. *-asya* > *-assa* > *-ā*(*h*)*a* > *-ā* – the explanation being that "where the original nominative affixes were lost, in some forms of NIA., it is this oblique in «-ā» that took its place."

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However, in Hindī this type of lengthening is by no means regular – as it presumably ought to be if the long vowel were a remnant of an older case termination. (Later, in his *Indo-Aryan & Hindi*, p. 123, Chatterji tacitly abandoned this idea and accepted the derivation of Hoernle and Kellogg.) Alsdorf, *AS*, p. 14-15, put forward a more detailed explanation of the development of the MIA *-a:u* – at the older stage the ending underwent the regular change consisting in the elision of the last vocal with compensatory lengthening of the penultimate: *-a:u* > *-ā*. Only substantially later, when this rule already did not operate, was this *-a:u* subject to another type of change which consisted in the contraction to the diphthong *-au* and then to *-o*. Unfortunately, all his examples of this second type of change are limited to instances of reduction of the verbal ending *-ahu* into *-au* and *-o*; this in fact would imply that the long *-ā* in e.g. *ghoṛā* is historically older than *-au* or *-o* in imperatives *jāṇau* or *karo*, but explains neither the reason for the forms *ghoṛā* and *ghoṛo* in different NIA dialects, nor the coexistence of long and short endings of the masculine stems in one and the same language (or dialect).

Beames, *CGMALI* II, §3, p.7, notes that this ending, believed to have developed from the affix *-ka*, "has been so capriciously employed" only with certain nouns that its origin calls for a more sophisticated explanation. His own suggestion to derive the quantity of the ending from the accent (long *-ā* resulting from the accent on the last syllable, short *-a* being due to the accented penultimate) is interesting, but the list of examples he presents is not convincing. But the idea that the quantity of the vowel in the ending might be conditioned by the rhythm of the word was later taken up by Alsdorf. Alsdorf in his *AS*, p. 17, pointed to the fact that in certain Apabhraṃśa works (in *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* edited by him) the ending *-ā* occurs mostly after a heavy syllable.

The problem was recently revisited by Tieken in *IIJ* 41 (1998), p. 1-31; he tries to show that in the Apabhraṃśa the distribution of long and extended endings of (i.e. *-a:u* and *-ā*) was in the first place conditioned by functional factors, in this particular case by the need to distinguish the nominal part of the predicate (a participle, an adjective, or a noun) form the subject, and in an adjectival clause the adjective from the word it qualified (p. 19). As far as Apabhraṃśa is concerned, this conclusion appears plausible – the extended and long endings are found mostly with participles and adjectives and only rarely and "in a highly unsystematic way" with other words. The Old Hindī does not appear to have inherited this feature; but Tieken's observation that the ending *-ā* in the NIA languages may be due to a process of functional lengthening rather than contraction of the historically older form *-a:u*, as supposed by Alsdorf, is worth considering. The material available in the present corpus shows that the occurrence of this long *-ā* is by no means

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restricted to adjectives and participles, but apppears (as in the MSH) with a large number of nouns as well.

The analysis of ninety nine different nouns found in this corpus (out of the total number of 401 occurrences, most of them participles, adjectivizers and pronominal adjectives) terminating in the dir. sg. m. in the long *-ā* reveals the following pattern: the penultimate syllable is heavy in 64 nouns, light in 35 nouns. Among those with the heavy penultimate, disyllabic words predominate (34 cases of words like *bājā*, *covā*, *kauvā*); in three- or four-syllable words the prevailing pattern is (⏑)⏑– – (28 words like *bināsā*, *balītā*, *mahūvā*, *naberā*, *nihorā*, *galaurā*; *nirakārā*, *upadesā*). Of the 35 nouns in which the long ending is preceded by a light syllable (most frequent pattern is ⏑⏑– in words like *bakulā*, *caravā*, *pũgarā*), ten have variants with the short ending (e.g. both *gobyãda* and *gobyãdā*, *bṛṣa* and *bṛṣā*, attested either in the corpus itself, in Callewaert's DHL-NBhS, or in the HŚS), and four have as their attested counterparts feminine nouns, forming natural male-female pairs on the model of adjectives (*cakavā - cakavī*, *bacharā - bacharī*, *bhavarā - bhavarī*, *larikā - larikī*). Thus, there seems to be a general tendency of nouns to conform to a particular rhythmic pattern, but this tendency is often counteracted by other factors. Similar picture will emerge if we look at the rhythmic structure of nouns ending in the short *-a*: in the majority of instances the penultimate is short (*tata*, *dehura*, *ḍagamaga*, etc.), but again this pattern is often interfered with by numerous occurrences of long penultimates both in *tadbhavas* (*kā̃ma*, *davāra*, etc.), and *tatsamas* or *semi-tatsamas* (*pāpa*, *vināsa*, *upadesa*, *aparādha*). Thus, as far as the distribution of long and short endings in masculine nouns is concerned, several factors appear to have been at work: historical inheritance in the case of *tadbhavas*, the degree of assimilation of recently introduced *tatsamas*, functional lengthening in the case of masc.-fem. pairs, and in specific contexts also the requirements of the rhythm of the verse; there is probably no general rule or explanation relevant to all cases. In texts of the present corpus the ending *-ā*$_5$ is used with nouns, adjectives, pronominal adjectives and participles.

Nominative:

29.3 *jana kabīra* aisā asavārā*, beda kateba dahū thaĩ* nyārā "*bhakta* Kabīr is such rider – aloof from both the Vedas and the Qurān" (noun in the nominal predicate)

102.3 *dāsa kabīra yahu kīnha* bicārā "devout Kabīr conceived this idea" (grammatical subject in ergative construction)

185.6 gāvanahārā *kade na gāvai,* aṇabolyā *nita gāvai* "the singer never sings; the dumb/speechless one sings all the time" (subject of sentence)

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249.2 *rāmadeva kī sevā cūkā, pakari* julāhā *kīnhā̃* "devotion to the God Rām [I] neglected; having been grabbed [I was] made a weaver" (nominative in the function of predicate complement)

Accusative:

30.0 jhãgarā *eka naberau rāma, je apāṇā̃ jana setī kā̃ma* "settle one quarrel, o Rām, if [there is on your part] concern with your own devotee(s)"

187.0 *avadhū so jogī gura merā, jo ihi pada kā karai* naberā "O *avadhūta*, that yogī is my guru, who makes out / solves this *pad*" (accusative in verbo-nominal expression)

Vocative:

96.0 jīvarā *tū̃ jāigau maĩ̯ jā̃nā̃* "[o my] soul, thou wilt depart, I know"

271.2 *bājīgara sãsāra* kabīrā*, jā̃ni ḍārau pāsā* "the world/*saṃsāra* is a juggler, o Kabīr; throw your dice prudently/cautiously"

381.0 manā *re rāma sumiri, rā̃ma sumiri, rā̃ma sumiri bhāī* "remember Rām, o mind, remember Rām, remember Rām, o brother!" (or instrumental/locative in -$ā_7$: "remember Rām, in your mind, ...")

3.b. -ã̃$_4$: *dir. sg. m.*

This is an allomorph of the dir. sg. m. ending -$ā_5$; the nasalization is due to the preceding nasal consonant. Single quotable exception to this rule is the form *hājirā̃* in 285.2 (however, several MSS and at least one edition – P. Tivārī's *KG* – have variants without nasalization).

Nominative:

251.3 *sāṣata* sunahā̃ *dūnyū̃ bhāī, vo nīdaĩ̯ vo bhaũ̯kata jāī* "*Śākta* and dog, both are brothers: the former slanders, the latter keeps barking"

275.0 *tātaĩ̯ seīye* nārā̃inā̃*, prabhū merau dīna dayā* karanā̃ "Therefore it is *Nārāyaṇa* who should be worshipped, my Lord, doer of mercy toward the poor"

439.2 *sura nara munijana pīra avaliyā, mīrā paidā kīnhā̃ re; koṭika bhaye kahā̃ laũ̯ barāṇaũ̯, sabani* payā̃nā̃ dī̃nhā̃ *re* "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats [were] created: there were myriads of them, to what extent (lit.: "upto where") should I describe (i.e.: "to what lengths should I go to explain")? All [were] given farewell" (lit.: "departure", "death")

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Accusative:

12.1 *pahari* colaṇ̃ *gādaha nācai* "having put on a smock, donkey dances"
204.2 *astūti nidyā dou chāḍai, tajai mã̃na* abhimã̃ṇ̃ "[he who] leaves both the praise and slander, abandons pride and vanity"
285.2 kurã̃ṇ̃ *katebã̃ asu paḍhi paḍhi, phikari yā nahĩ̃ jāi* "by reading the Qurān and the Books in such a way (or: "quickly/spluttering"), this anxiety/worry does not disappear"

3.c. -au$_1$: *dir. sg. m.*
The ending -*au*$_1$ is the Old Braj variant (Varma, *LB*, §147, p. 67) of the more frequent extended dir. sg. m. ending -*ā*$_5$: in the present corpus we have 139 occurrences of the former against 401 of the latter. The distribution of both variants of this extended ending among different parts of speech is similar: there are only 20 occurrences of -*au*$_1$ with nouns or adjectives, the rest are participles, adjectivizers and pronominal adjectives.

Several nouns occur at various places in the texts in two and sometimes even in three forms: with the zero ending, with the extended ending in -*ā*, and also with its allomorph in -*au*. Thus, the stem *gobĩd-* "Govinda", has alternative dir. sg. forms *gobĩda*, *gobĩdā* and *gobĩdau*; from *julāh-* "weaver", we have *julāha*, *julāhā* and *julāhau*, etc. Similar variance is seen in the derivational affix -*hār*$_3$- that occurs in the texts as -*hāra*, -*hārā*, and also -*hārau*. Occasionally we can see the Eastern and Western forms used side by side in one and the same *pad*: thus, in 147.1 we have the Eastern (Avadhī) pronominal form *morā* and further on, in 147.4, the adjective with the Braj ending *mīṭhau* (but Varma, *LB*, §161, p. 73, says that the form *mōra*, although very rare in the Braj literature, may be used if the rhyme demands it: this is the case of our verse 147.1 too).

363.0 *calata kata* ṭeḍhau ṭeḍhau *re; nauँ̃ davāra naraka dhari mũde, tũ̃ drũgãdhi* kau beḍhau *re* "why do you walk so pompously? Nine gates [of your body] were kept in hell and then sealed – you garden of foul odours!"
315.1 *hari cyãtata* merau madalau bhīnãũ̃, *bharãma bhoyana gaye chūṭī* "thinking of Hari, my drum has got drenched; the delusion and the world (= worldly distractions) have vanished" (for the nasalization in *bhīnãũ̃*, see -*ãũ*$_1$ further below)
113.0 *jau pai rasanā rāma na* kahibau, *tau upajata binasata bhrãmata* rahibau "if one will not pronounce [the name of] Rām (lit.: "if [the name of] Rām will not be pronounced") with one's tongue, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again" (for the verbal adjectives in -*b*$_2$-, see the section 5.G.4 below)

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3.d. -ãũ$_1$: *dir. sg. m.*

This is an allomorph of the dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$ (see above); the nasalization is conditioned by the preceding or following nasal consonant. Of particular interest is the verse 256.0 with the adjectivizer nasalized by the initial nasal consonant of the following word: in the present corpus it is the single instance of contact nasalization operating across the boundary of neighbouring words. The nasalization of the final diphthong in the perfective participle *baurãnaũ* in 147.2, although also of the contact type, seems to have been drifting, in the understanding of composers of this *pad*, towards morphologically significant nasality: as the variants in other Rājasthānī MSS (*baurãnũ̃*) seem to suggest, the form might be understood as 1st pers. sg. pres. (-*ũ̃*$_3$) of the verb *baurãn-*.

256.0 *hari* kaũ *nāva le le kāti bahurìyā* "repeating Hari's name, spin, o wifie"

147.2 *bidyā na paḍhaũ beda nahĩ jãṇaũ, hari gũna kathata sunata* baurãṇaũ "I do not pursue learning, I do not know the Vedas; saying and listening to the praises of the Lord, I have gone mad" (on *baurãnaũ*, see the section 5.E.2 further below and the note under the respective *pad*)

381.3 *svãna sūkara kāga* kīnhaũ*, tau u lāja na āī; rãma nãma ãmrita chāḍi kāhe biṣa ṣāī* "[in your previous births(?) you were] made a dog, a pig, a crow – but still no shame felt? Having forsaken the nectar of Rām's name, why do you eat poison?"

3.e. -o$_1$: *dir. sg. m.*

This form of the dir. sg. m. is characteristic of the Braj bhāsā (Varma, *LB*, §147, p. 66) and corresponds to the Khaṛī bolī extended ending -*ā*$_5$. Tessitori, *OWR*, §57, mentions it as a modern Mārvāṛī and Gujarātī contraction of the old nom.-acc. sg. ending -*a:u*. Only four occurrences of this form have been found in the present corpus, three perfective participles and the word *bako*, found neither in dictionaries nor in Callewaert's NBhS-DHL; its meaning has been inferred from the context as "nonsense". (*HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3341 however, knows the word *bakā*, fem. of Arabic origin, with the meaning *astitva*, *anaśvaratā*, *zindagī* – also a favourite topic of impostors of all times.)

285.3 *darogã̃* bako *baki hũ̃hi ṣusiyã̃, beakali bakahi puvã̃hĩ* "liars are pleased prattling nonsence, foolish [people just] babble and boast"

363.2 *māyā moha mamitā kau ghālyau būḍi* mūvo *bina pānī* "tossed about by *māyā*, delusion and egoism, [he] died having drowned without [even having fallen in the] water"

459.4 *kāḍhi ṣaṛaga* kopyo *risāi, thārau rāṣaṇahārau mohi batāi* "having drawn [his] sword, having got angry he became infuriated: «tell me, [who is] your protector?»"

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3.f. -ai$_4$: *obl. sg. m.*
By its origin this affix is identical with the loc./instr. sg. endings *-ai$_6$* /*-ãĩ$_2$*, and of course, also with its nasalized counterpart *-ãĩ$_1$*: the only difference between the two pairs is in their syntactic function. The use of the pair *-ai$_6$* /*-ãĩ$_2$* is restricted to the locative and instrumental cases, showing thus their genetical connection to the OIA and MIA locative and possibly instrumental affixes from which they developed. Spatially their occurrence is typical for the Rājasthānī dialects to the west of the Braj area. In Braj and in the area of Khaṛī bolī, on the other hand, the same affix, marked here as *-ãĩ$_1$* and *-ai$_4$*, came to be used as general oblique case; in all three instances quotable from the present corpus it is followed by the adjectivizer *-k$_2$-* in a construction familiar in MSH.

It should be noted that the proper name "Kabīr" occurs occasionally in the dir. case also in the form *kabīrā* – the instance quoted in 402.3 is not a scribal error, but a variant corroborated by seven other occurrences in the present corpus.

390.4 *musalamãna kahai mere eka ṣudāi,* kabīrai *kau svãmī saba ghaṭi rahyau samāi* "Muslim says: I have One God; Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures"

402.3 *loga kahaĩ kabīrā baurãnã,* kabīrai *kā marãma rãma bhalaĩ jãnã* "people say: ‚Kabīr has gone mad!'; but it is Rām who knows well Kabīr's true essence"

444.1 raṣavālai *kā hoi vināsa, uta hi naraka ita bhoga bilāsa* "[when] the protector dies (lit.: "[when] comes the death of the protector"), there [is suffering in] hell, [just as] here [was enjoyment of] pleasure and lust"

3. g. -ãĩ$_1$: *obl. sg. m.*
The origin as well as application of this ending is the same as that of its non-nasalized variant *-ai$_4$* and need not be repeated here. Both allomorphs are affixed to bases ending in the dir. case in long *-ā* /*-ã̄* or *-au*. In the present corpus there is single occurrence of the ending *-ãĩ* where the nasalization is phonological (due to the contact with the preceding nasal consonant) and cannot be interpreted as either locative or instrumental sg. *-ãĩ$_2$*. *āpaṇãĩ* in the verse 182.0 can be understood either as general obl. case, or as genitive, depending on the exact determination of the base *āpaṇ-* (for a more detailed discussion, see the section on reflexive possessive pronoun *āpaṇ$_2$-* /*āpan$_2$-* + *-ãĩ$_1$* /*-au$_1$* in the chapter Pronouns, section 3.C.3).

182.0 āpaṇãĩ *rūpa kũ̃ āpa hĩ̃ jãṇãĩ* "only he knows his own form"

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3.h. -ai$_6$ *and* -ai$_7$: *loc. / instr. sg. m. and f.*
This ending appears to be an exact parallel to the loc./instr./erg. termination -*i*$_6$ with which it shares the same syntactic functions; it differs from it only in its combinatory potential which is restricted to stems, both masculine and feminine, ending in the dir. sg. in long -*ā*. Quotations from the present corpus show that these words are either nouns (*pāiṛ-*, *supin-*, *māth-*), adjectives (*biral-*, *sūk-*), pronominal adjectives (*apaṇ-*, *mer-*), numerals (*dasav-*), or perfective participles (*dār-*, *mār-*). Like -*i*$_6$, the affixes -*ai*$_6$ and -*ai*$_7$ can turn adjectives into adverbs (*neṛ-*); this adverbizing function belongs in the category of derivation rather than inflection; in these contexts the affix is therefore marked as an adverbizer -*ai*$_{17}$ (see below, in the section 6.4).

Tagare, *HGA*, §81, p. 120, and §82, p. 124, noted the gradual merging of the instrumental and locative functions of this originally locative ending as early as the beginning of the 8th century, first in the Eastern Apabhraṃśa; by the turn of the millennium it had become increasingly common in the Western Apabhraṃśa too. The Apa. forms -*ahiṃ*, -*ahĩ*, -*ahi* can be easily traced back to the OIA pronominal loc. sg. ending -*asmin*. Tessitori, *OWR*, §64, shows that this ending (occasionally nasalized) was used for the locative case as an allomorph of the short forms -*ē* /-*e* /-*i*; the distribution of these two allomorphs appears to follow the same morphological principle as that shown in the texts of the present corpus. But the Old Mārvāṛī specific ending -*ĩ* /-*iĩ* for the instr. sg. was, according to him (*ibid*., §59), of a different origin, descending from the Vedic Skt- -*ebhis* > Pkt. -*ehiṃ* > -Apa. -*ihĩ*, originally a plural termination. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §499, p. 749, rejects the extension of this old plural to the singular as "extremely curious" and offers his own theory of the dual origin of this ending in the hypothetical OIA locative **-dhi* /-*bhi*(*m*) with the contribution of the regular, originally pronominal ending -*asmin*. Tte transference of the locative to the instrumental, evident in the texts of the present corpus, is to him "perfectly clear and intelligible".

Locative functions are often found with adjectival or pronominal attributes governed by nouns marked with the locative ending -*i*$_6$; within a clause such nominal groups form morphologically distinct syntagmas (see the first five examples below). In two occurrences of the form *supinai* in the verses 221.3 and 390.2 the endings, identified by the present author as loc./instr. sg. m. -*ai*$_6$, are, in their specific contexts, possibly ambiguous: M. P. Gupta understands the final diphthong as an emphatic oblique (in the present marking -*ai*$_5$), which, in the given context, has the function of a locative, and translates *svapna mẽ bhī* [...] *na/nahĩ* "not even in a dream". Verse 421.4 shows the locative of an action noun in a characteristic construction with the verb *lāg-* "to stick" used as an inceptive with the meaning "to begin".

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Constructions of the verb *lāg-* with the locative of verbal noun, current in the MSH, have also been briefly mentioned by CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §779, p. 1051, for Bengali; historical grammars of other NIA languages pay only scant attention to early developments of this characteristic type of verbal syntagma.

Instrumental is represented in its functions of denoting a tool (29.2), means (249.0), and also of an agent in a genuinely passive, non-ergative construction (129.2). Instrumentals with the prepositions *bina* and *bāja* "without" reflect the Sanskrit usage. Verse 249.0 shows, apart from the morphologically distinct instrumental *ridai*, two other nouns that, although carrying the function of instrumentals, are morphologically identical to the general obl. sg. m.

The present corpus has yielded several examples of perfective participles used as verbal nouns in rhetorical questions introduced by the interrogative pronoun *kahā*, *kā* or *kyā*, with the meaning "what [should one do] with ...", or "what [is the point/use] of ..."; these constructions are direct descendants of similar type of Sanskrit phrases introduced by the interrogative *kim* in construction with the instrumental case of the past participle (e.g. *bahunātra kimuktena*, lit. "what [should be done] with much speaking here?"; for more detailed treatment, see the chapter Verbs, section 5.E.8). The verse 177.2, if the interpretation of the present author is correct, shows the participles in the instrumental (or perhaps locative) case in an absolutive construction (as in Skt. *nāde vādite*).

Ergative is syntactically closely related to the instrumental in *-ai*, again parallel to the same function of the allomorph *-i*$_6$, mentioned above, in the section 1.A.2.k.

Adverbization has been assumed in the verse 8.2, where the form *neṛai* can be interpreted as an adverb derived from the adjective *neṛ-* "close", "proximate" (descendant of the OIA stem *ned-* appearing in the comparative and superlative forms *nedīya* and *nediṣṭha*); a somewhat different case is the form *sahajai* "naturally", "spontaneously" in 310.4. *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 5026, gives its etymology as *sahaja* + *hī*; despite its different origin, this *-ai* nevertheless confers the same adverbizing force as the transposed loc./instr. ending seen in *neṛai*. In both instances the appropriate description of the affix is adverbizer; it has been therefore marked as distinct morph *-ai*$_{17}$.

Locative:

268.2 sūkai saravari *pāli bādhāvai* "he has a dam built on a dried pond"

387.2 *māna mājana kari* dasavai dvāri*, gãgā jamanã̃ sādhi bicāri* "having performed the purification of mind at the tenth door, contemplate the union of Ganga and Yamuna"

65.0 *nrimala nrimala rã̃ma gũna gāvai, so bhagatā* merai mani *bhāvai*

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"[he, who himself] pure, sings the pure praises of Rām, that *bhakta* is dear to my heart"

115.0 *kahā bhayau* byāpāri tumhārai "what happened in your business?" (i.e. "what has gone wrong?")

29.0 apaṇai bicāri *asavārī kījai, sahaja* kai pāiṛai *pāva jaba dījai* "riding upon one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's thought/ /mind) can be made (or: "is made") when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"

312.2 *vrahma giyẽnī adhika dhiyẽnī, jama* kai paṭai *liṣāyā* "an expert on *brahma*, intensely meditating, [but he too] allowed [his] record to be made in Yama's register" (*-ai*$_7$)

221.3 *kẽma krodha māyā mada machara, e sãtata hãma māhĩ; dayā dharãma gyẽna gura sevā, e prabhū* supinai *nẽhĩ* "lust, anger, delusion, pride, jealousy – these [are/dwell] in us continuously; compassion, piety, wisdom, devotion to the guru – these, o Lord, [are] not [present even] in a dream" (here and also in the following example, the ending *-ai* can be interpreted also as *-ai*$_5$ emphatic obl. sg. m.: *svapna mẽ bhī* [...] *nahĩ* – so Gupta, *KG*, pp. 256 and 344)

390.2 supinai *bĩda na dei caraṇẽ, tā kājī kũ jurā na marãṇa* "not even in sleep / a dream does he allow the semen to spill: for such *qāzī* there is neither old age nor death"

257.1 *saṣī sahelī māgala gāvai, duṣa suṣa* māthai *halada caḍhāī* "friends and companions sing an auspicious song, turmeric [the symbol] of sorrow and happines is being applied on [my] forehead"

372.3 *hṛdai srī hari bheṭiyau, je mana* anãtai *nahī jāi* "Śrī Hari was met/ /found in the heart when the mind does not reach the Infinite" (alternative reading of *anãtai* as a nasalized variant of *anatai* "elsewhere", "anywhere else", would give the meaning "if the mind does not wander elsewhere", i.e. if it is not distracted)

- inceptives: loc. of verbal noun + the verb *lāg-* "to begin"

421.4 *sata sãtoṣa le* laranai *lāgā, tore doi daravājā* "having taken truth and contentment (i.e. absence of craving) [as my weapons] I began to fight (lit: "I stuck in fighting"); [I have] broken the two doors/gates [of sin and merit]"

Instrumental:

29.2 *cali baikũtha tohi le tārũ; thakai ta prema* tājiṇai *mārũ* "going to heaven, I shall take you along with me; if you get tired, I shall flick you with the whip of love"

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249.0 *merī jibhyā bisna nãĩna nārāiṇa,* ridai *japãũ gobyãdā* "with my tongue [I praise] Viṣṇu, with [my] eyes Nārāyaṇa, with [my] heart I repeat Govinda"

129.2 jhūṭhai *jagu ḍahakāiyau* "you allow to be deceived by the false world"

- with postpositions

182.2 *bina* nīrai *saravara bhariyā* "the lake has filled up without any water [flowing in]"

185.8 *bāja* piyālai *amrita soṣyā* "[I have] sucked / dried up the nectar without [taking] a cup"

- of perfective participle

96.1 *kahā mugadha re pẽhana* pūjai*, kā jala* ḍārai *gātā* "what, o fool, [is achieved] by worshipping a stone? What [is gained] by immersing the body into water (for ritual bathing)?"

138.0 *kā nāgãũ kā* bẽdhai *cẽma, jau nahĩ cīnhyasi ātamarẽma* "what [is the use] of [going around] naked, what [is achieved] by binding animal skin [around the body], when you will not recognize God in/as the Self?" (or: "when you did not recognize the God in the Self?")

280.1 *kyā mīṭī le bhui syũ* mārai "what [is the point] of taking one's body and striking it against the ground?"

- of perfective participle in absolute construction

177.2 *kãsā nāda* bajāilai *dhũni* nimaṣale *kãsā, kãsā phūṭā pāḍita dhuni kahẽ nivāsā* "when a sound had been produced in the bell, when the sound had faded out in the bell; [suppose that then] the bell cracked: where, panḍit, [is now] the residence of the sound?"

Instrumental-ergative:

15.2 *pakaṛi bilaīyā* muragai *ṣāī* having caught a cat, the hen has eaten [it]"

212.2 ṭẽcaṇahārai *ṭẽcīyā, de chātī upari pāva* "the carver carved, having put [his] leg on the chest [of the sculpture]"

76.2 julāhai *taṇi buṇi bẽna na pāvala* "the weaver, having stretched the warp and having done the weaving, did not get the [expected] fabric"

138.3 *bĩda rāṣi je ṣelai bhāī, tau* ṣosarai *kãũṇa parãma gati pāī* "my friend, if you play [the game of] retaining the semen, then [tell me,] which castrate has reached the Supreme stage / final deliveration?"

Adverbization (*-ai*$_6$, *-ai*$_5$ > *-ai*$_{17}$):

8.2 neṛai *taĩ dūri dūri taĩ* neṛai*, jini jaisā kari jẽṇyẽ* "who has known how to proceed from what is near to what is far and from what is far to what is near" (the meaning is not entirely clear)

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310.4 *paḍhẽ gunẽ mati hoī, maĩ* sahajai *pāyā soī* "by reciting and meditating arises [only a state of] mind / an idea – [but] in [the state of] *sahaja* (locative of the noun) I have reached Him" (or *sahajai* as an adverb: "spontaneously", i.e. without any theorizing, MSH *sahaja hī*)

3.i. -aĩ$_2$: *loc. / instr. sg. m. and f.*

-aĩ$_2$ appears to be a nasalized variant of the ending *-ai$_6$* analysed above; its functions are the same, with one possible exception: more often than the non-nasalized variant it is converted into an adverbizing affix (in which function the morph is marked as an adverbizer *-aĩ$_{10}$*, regularly used in the formation of pronominal adverbs). Two occurrences of this affix – *dilaĩ* in 280.5 and *sragaĩ* in 138.2 – indicate that its use was not limited to stems ending in the long vowel; this feature might be inherited from its predecessor, the affix *-ahi$_1$* /*-ahĩ$_1$* described above.

The form *sahajaĩ* in 325.3 can be analysed in three different ways: apart from the locative (solution preferred by this author), the final diphthong can be interpreted as the emphatic exclusive particle (so according to Gupta, *KG*, p. 321: *jo kucha sahaja hī ho*), or as an adverbizer (J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 308-309: *sahaja rūpa se*, *svabhāvataḥ*). Similar ambiguities can be seen in the verse 421.3.

baisaĩ in the construction with the predicative perfective participle *rahyau* in 139.3, and *lukāẽ* with 3rd pers. sg. pres. *rahe* /*rahai* in 280.1 (and also *ḍarãne* with the synthetic passive *rahiye* in 149.0) are locatives of participles with the force of verbal nouns denoting a state in which the subject remains: "remained in sitting", i.e. "in the sitting position", and "persists in dissimulating". Note a similar construction of the locative of verbal noun with the verb *lāg-* "to cling", "to stick" with the meaning "to begin" in 421.4, quoted above.

The distribution of nasalized and non-nasalized forms of the participial endings seems to be a random one, with no discernible morphological or phonological criteria applying; the former being more numerous than the latter. The forms *karaĩ* and *gujārāĩ* in 281.2 can be interpreted either as instrumentals of perfective participles, or as 3rd pers. pl. pres. (on the admissibility of reading *karaĩ* as perfective participle, see the chapter Verbs, section 5.E.8).

Apart from the favourite rhetorical question of the type "what is the point of ..." in 251.1, we have an interesting example of an adverbial noun phrase where the participle with the force of a head noun governs a subject genitive joined by the adjectivizing postposition *-k$_2$-* (verse 224.2). *kahaĩ* in 115.2 and 114.3 (here also *sunẽ*) are unproblematic verbal nouns where the instrumental expresses a means or a way.

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Locative:

221.2 *para nĩdā para dhãna para dārā, para* upavādaĩ *sūrā; tā thaĩ āvāgavana hoi phuni phuni* "in slandering other(s), in [coveting] other's wealth [and] other's wife, in reviling other(s) [one is] a hero: from this comes rebirth, again and again"

325.3 *kahai kabīra rãma na mana chāḍũ,* sahajaĩ *hoi su hoī* "Kabīr says: I shall not forsake Rām in my mind; [for] what is [experienced] in *sahaja*, that is Him"

- duratives: loc. sg. of the prefective participle + the verb *rah-* "to remain", "to stay"

139.3 *yahu mana bohitha ke kavā jyũ, rahyau ṭhagyau sau* baisaĩ "this mind is like a crow on a ship [on the high seas]: it remained sitting [feeling] as if robbed" (i.e. marooned/trapped and at a loss [how to escape])"

280.1 *jora karai masakīna sātāvai, gunahĩ rahe* lukāẽ "he bullies, oppresses the poor, a sinner [who] persisits in dissimulating" (for possible interpretations of the form *gunahĩ*, see the footnote below the respective *pad*)

Instrumental:

281.2 *rojā karaĩ nivāja gujārāĩ,* kalamāĩ *bhisti na hoī* "by fasting, by performing *namāz*, by [reciting] *kalima*, paradise is not [attained]"

138.1 nāgaĩ *phiryã joga je hoī, bana kā mrigha mukti gayā koī* "if the [goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?"

- of perfective participle

114.3 kahaĩ *sunẽ kaisaĩ patiyāiye, jaba laga āpa tahã nahĩ jāiye* "by [mere] talking [and] listening how can one believe – until one does not go there oneself?"

115.2 *pũjī bitaṛi bãdi lai daihai, taba* kahaĩ *kaũna kai chūṭai* "having distributed the capital he will put [you] into jail; then at whose intercession will you be freed?" (cf. MSH construction *kisa ke kahane se*)

251.1 *kā sũnahã kũ sumriti* sunãyai*, kā sāṣita paĩ hari gũna* gãyaĩ "why recite *smṛti* to a dog? Why sing the praise of Hari in front of a *Śākta*?"

- of perfective participle in absolute construction

224.2 *bhãṇa kai* pragaṭaĩ *udita bhayā tama sīṇā* "after the sun appeared, the darkness that had come [with the storm] dwindled away"

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Adverbization (*-aĩ*$_2$ > *-aĩ*$_{10}$):

97.0 *hari kai bivoga* kaisaĩ *jīũ merī māī* "how shall/can I live in separation from Hari, o my mother?"

15.1 pahalaĩ *pūta pachaĩ bhaī māī, celā kai gura lāgai pāī* "first [came] the son, [only] later was [born his] mother; guru takes a seat at the feet of [his] pupil"

139.4 *taji* bẽvaĩ dãhiṇaĩ *bikārā, hari pada diḍha kari gahiye* "having given up (or: "give up") the aberrations on the left [as well as] on the right: the feet of Hari should be grasped (or: "let us grasp") firmly"

421.3 *vrahma agni le* sahajaĩ *phūkī, ekai coṭa ḍhahāyā* "having taken the fire of *brahma* I kindled [the wick] easily (or locative: "in the state of *sahaja*"); with a single blow I destroyed [the fort]"

3.j. -e$_2$: *obl. sg. m.* (*with participles used as converbs marked as* -e$_3$)

The general oblique in *-e* is the final result of a long chain of developmental changes beginning with the OIA pronominal loc. sg. affix *-asmin* (in the non-standard usage appended also to nominal stems); accoring to Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §499, p. 745-749, there was still another non-standard locative affix **-a-dhi*, attested in Pāli and connected presumably with hypothetical IE affixes **-bhi* / **-bhim*. In his opinion the Late MIA forms *-ahi* and *-ahiṃ* might be understood as resulting from a merger of these two OIA affixes. Already in Apabhraṃśa this ending expressed, apart from its original locative function, also that of the instrumental case (Tagare, *HGA*, §81, p. 120). In the early NIA stage the functions of dative and accusative were added; this process was described by Chatterji for the Magadhan languages and also attested by examples for the Old Avadhī of Tulsīdās; for instances occurring in the present corpus, see the section on obl. sg. m. *-ahĩ*$_1$ /*-ahi*$_1$ /*-ahĩ*$_1$ above. This ending was further simplified into *-ai* /*-aĩ* and finally into *-e*.

All these NIA developmental stages occur side by side in Kabīrian *pads*. The representative form of the last phase, here marked as *-e*$_2$, already includes the same wide range of functions as the formally identical MSH obl. sg. m. ending: we see it used with the force of the genitive followed by the adjectivizing postposition *-k*$_2$-, by other postpositions governing the genitive case (e.g. *pari* in 280.0; see Tessitori, *OWR*, §75), in accusative both with the postposition *-kũ* (102.0 and 204.1) and without it (47.1), and frequently with the force of locative and instrumental (in 139.4 also used as ergative). Exact assignment of case may be problematic, esp. in incomplete phrases, or when the construction with the verb is not unambiguous (e.g. *mere gurahi* in 459.3, or *ahere* in 236.0).

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A construction that deserves special comment is the use of the oblique form with the force of locative of possessor, or, in the terminology of KELLOGG, *GHL*, §697, p. 416-417, inflected genitive of possession. It is used in contexts where the object possessed is an abstract noun or where a personal relationship is to be expressed (as in the verse 390.4 quoted below). The locative origin of this morph is more easily recognisable in the locative postposition *-kai* in which the final diphthong bears closer resemlance to the previous MIA locative ending *-ahi*/*-ahiṃ* (for more details, see the section 4.B.2 further below with more examples of this possessive construction).

Peculiar from the historical point of view is the ending *-e* appended to participles in the function of adverbials (interpretable in many cases as instrumentals of verbal nouns), converbs, or in the so-called absolute constructions. It is not quite clear whether this affix carrying the locative/instrumental function is identical with *-e_2* described in this section, or whether it should be interpreted as a denasalized variant of the ending *-$ẽ_2$*, with possibly different etymology. In the present description this participial affix has been treated as separate morph, different from the purely nominal *-e_2*, and marked as *-e_3*. This makes its comparison with other affixes of this participial type (with which it appears to be freely interchangeable) more convenient.

Locative:

310.2 ãdhiyāre *dīpaka cahiyai, taba basta agocara lahiyai* "in the darkness lamp is wanted; then invisible thing is revealed" (lit.: "is received")

188.2 *solaha majhai pavana jhakolai,* ākāse *phala phaliyā* "within the sixteen[-petalled lotus] vital breath blows in gusts, in the sky the fruit has ripened"

212.4 pātre *vrahmā kalī bisna, phala mādhye rudra devā* "in the leaf [of the flower resides] Brahmā, in the bud Viṣṇu, within (/ in the middle of) the fruit [is] god Rudra"

459.3 *rā̃ma chā̃ḍũ tau* mere *gurahi gāri* "[if] I forsake Rām, then [it will be taken as] an insult to my guru" (*gurahi* can be interpreted as loc. sg. in construction with the verb *lāgai*, elided in the verse)

236.0 *gobĩde* tumhāre *bana kãdali merā mana* ahere *ṣelai* "Govinda, in your forest of sensual enjoyments my mind goes hunting" (*tumhāre bana kãdali* is loc. without postposition; *ahere* is here interpreted also as loc.: "on [a] hunting [expedition]")

- locative of possessor ("inflected genitive of possession")

390.4 *musalamā̃na kahai* mere *eka ṣudāi, kabīrai kau svā̃mī saba ghaṭi rahyau samāi* "Muslim says: I have One God; Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures"

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398.3 *kahai kabīra* mere *sãga* [*na*] *sātha, jala thala mãĥi rāṣai raghunātha* "Kabīr says: mine are no bonds, no company; on land and at sea it is Raghunāth who protects me" (if *mere* is understood as the locative of possessor; alternative interpretation takesthe word *sãga* as postposition with *mere* in the general obl.: "with me there are no companions")

249.1 *taĩ saba rājā bhūpati māge,* more *rãma dhiyãnã* "you asked all kings [and] monarchs [for a *dakṣiṇā*]; mine [was] contemplation of Rām"

1.2 *rãma deva sãgi bhāvari lehũ, dhani baḍa bhāga* hãmāre "with the God Rām I shall circumambulate the matrimonial fire, very auspicious is my fate"

Instrumental:

129.1 *vo* ũkāre *jagu upajai,* bikāre *jagu jāi* "in/through the *omkāra* (i.e. *praṇava*) that world is born, in/through decay the world perishes" (either locative or instrumental; Gupta, *KG*, p. 215, translates: *ũkāra se* [...] *vikāra se*)

182.1 *asa bina pāṣa gaja bina guḍiyā, bina* ṣãḍe *sãgrāmi juṛiyā* "harness without horse, howdah without elephant; without sword he joined the battle"

280.0 *alaha rãma jīũ* tere *nãĩ, bãde pari mihari karau mere sãĩ* "Allāh, Rām, I live by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!" (instr. or loc.)

Instrumental-ergative:

139.4 *kahai kabīra* gũge *guḍa ṣāyā, būjhai to kā kahiye* "Kabīr says: the dumb has eaten jaggery: [if] you ask [him about the taste], then what can be said?"

Oblique governed by postposition:

280.0 *alaha rãma jīũ tere nãĩ,* bãde *pari mihari karau mere sãĩ* "Allāh, Rām, I live by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!"

Oblique governed by accusative:

47.1 *je* mere *jiya doi jãnata hau, tau mohi mũkti batāvo* "if you know my soul [and yourself] as two [separate entities], then tell me [the way of] liberation" (Gupta, *KG*, p. 177: *yadi tuma mere jīva ko* [...])

102.0 jhūṭhe *tana kũ kā grabaīye, mũvã pala bhari rahaṇa na paīye* "why is / should be flaunted [this] abominable body? Once one is dead, it is not able/allowed to linger on even for a moment"

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204.1 cauthe *pada kũ̃ jo jana cīnhaĩ, tinha hī parãma pada pāyā* "devotees who know/recognize the fourth (impersonal) state [of the soul] – only by these the highest stage has been reached"

3.k. -e_3 : *instr. sg. m. of participles / obl. abs. of participles*

Used with participles, this ending appears to be a non-nasalized allomorph of the loc./instr. sg. m. -$\tilde{e}_2$ described further below. The nasalization in this case seems to be a random phenomenon, as can be seen in several sequences of participial forms, e.g. in the verse 310.4 *paḍhẽ gune mati hoī* "by reciting and meditating arises [a state of] mind", or 138.4 *pāḍhe gũṇẽ upajai ãhakārā* "by studying and philosophizing arises pride". However, in contrast to the nasalized variant, this non-nasalized ending forms locatives and instrumentals also of non-participial forms, i.e. of ordinary nouns and adjectives. In these contexts it might be perhaps classified as one of several functional aspects of the general obl. sg. m. morph -e_2 which thus encompasses the originally distinct case forms with locative, instrumental and genitive force. Here the process of gradual merging of originally mutually different case endings into a single general oblique form, observable to a certain extent also in the pairs of diphthongal loc./instr. affixes -ai_6 /-$a\tilde{i}_2$ against gen. obl. forms -ai_4 /-$a\tilde{i}_1$, manifests itself at a more advanced stage.

- of perfective participle

251.2 *kā ka:uvā kũ̃ kapūra* ṣuvāye*, kā bisahara kũ̃ dūdha pilāyẽ* "what [is gained] by feeding camphor to a crow, what [is gained] by giving milk to a poisonous snake?"

372.1 *bãnaha* base *kā kījīye re, jau mana nahī tajai bikāra* "what is done / achieved (or: "what can be done/achieved") by dwelling in forest, if the mind does not abandon [its own] defects?"

41.4 *kahai kabīra mana manahi milāvā, ãmara* bhaye *suṣa sāgara pāvā* "Kabīr says: [my] mind [I have] joined with the Mind (the Absolute); by becoming immortal [I have] attained the ocean of bliss"

8.1 ulaṭe *pavana cakra ṣata bedhe* "by reversed *prāṇa* six *cakras* have been pierced"

310.4 *paḍhẽ* gune *mati hoī* "by reciting and meditating arises [a state of] mind" (or: "[only] an idea")

77.2 *māṭī kā pĩḍa sahaji utapānā, nāda ru bĩdu samm̃ānā; binasi* gaye *thaĩ kā nm̃̃u dharihau* "[o you] lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, permeated by (or: "dissolved in") *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu* – from [the moment of] perishing (i.e. once you are dead) what name will you bear?" (the verbal syntagma governed by the postposition *thaĩ* is best described as an ablative of temporal distance; see the section 4.B.14 below)

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129.8 *kahi kabīra guna* gāile *sãta sãgati ridā majhāri, jo sevaga sevā karai tā sãgi rãmaĩ murāri* "Kabīr says: the devotee who performs the service by singing praise [of the Lord] in the company of *sants* [as well as] in [his own] heart, with him Murāri rejoices"

131.1 *grabha* muce *muci bhaī ki na bā̃jha, sūkara rūpa phiraĩ kali mā̃jha* "why has not she become barren having miscarried repeatedly? [Now] in the *kaliyuga* [her children] hang about, in the likeness of pigs" (*muce muci* perhaps denotes repeated action, synonymous with *muci muci*, a variant found in the quotation of the present verse in Sĩha, *KKK*, p. 268-269)

- duratives: loc. sg. of the prefective participle + the verb *rah-* "to remain", "to stay"

149.0 *aise logani syū̃ kā kahiye, je nara bhae bhagati taĩ nyāre, tina taĩ sadā* ḍarā̃ṇe *rahiye* "what can be (or: "should be") said to such people – men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*? One should always remain frightened by them"

- of perfective participle in absolute construction, with different subject (explicit: 94.1, 177.3; implicit: 178.2, 129.7)

94.1 *tālā kū̃cī kulapha ke* lāge*, ugharata bāra na hoī* "with the lock, key [and] padlock attached, there is no delay in opening [the cell]"

177.3 *pyãda* pare *jīva kahā̃ rahai, koī bheda laṣāvai* "when the body decays, where does the *jīva* reside? Can anybody explain [this] secret?"

178.2 mūde *madana sahaja dhuni ūpajī* "the sound of the state of *sahaja* arose after/by sealing up [the oven] with wax" (or, taking the second meaning of the word *madana*: "with passion")

129.7 *sũni mā̃ḍala maĩ* sodhile *parãma joti prakāsa* "through searching in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahmarandhra*), supreme light shines forth"

- of imperfective participle

315.4 *je thā sacala acala hvai thāke* karate *bāda bibādã* "what was changeable/fickle, that has become changeless/steady by becoming weary due to [constant] engagements in disputes and quarrels" (*thāke* can be interpreted either as loc./instr. of the perfective participle, or as adjective participle in the position of predicate, and *hvai* as finite verbal form or absolutive)

3. l. -ẽ$_2$: *loc. / instr. sg. m. of perfective participles / obl. abs. of participles*

This ending which in the texts of the present corpus occurs exclusively with perfective participles is either another variant of the two diphthong endings

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-ai$_6$ and *-ãĩ*$_2$ analysed above, or a direct descendant of the OIA instr. sg. m. ending *-ena*. The first alternative which sees the origin of the ending in the OIA loc. sg. *-asmin* > MIA *-ahĩ* > NIA *-ẽ*, *-ĩ*, *-i* was defended by Grierson and Tagare (*HGA*, §81, p. 119), against Turner and Bloch who argued in favour of the second possibility: OIA *-ena*, *-ak-ena* > MIA *-aeṃ* > NIA *-ãĩ*, *-ẽ*. The similarity of forms as well as functions and syntactic contexts of locatives and instrumentals in the Apabhraṃśa period (their use in adverbial phrases, in absolute constructions, and their easy conversion into adverbs) might play a role in their gradual merging.

As can be seen in the examples presented below, the range of uses of verbal nouns ending in the instr./loc. case in *-ẽ* is narrower than is the case of forms ending in diphthongs. In two similar phrases *prãṇa gyaẽ* and *pĩḍa parẽ* in 102.1 (and also 113.1) and 387.6 respectively, the participles appear in the same type of absolute construction as in *kãsā nāda bajāilai, dhũni nimaṣale kãsā* in the verse 177.2 and *bhãṇa kai pragaṭãĩ* in 224.2, both quoted above. In verse 268.2 the participle *luṇẽ* can be best understood as locative of an attributive adjective modifying the noun *ṣeti* (parallel to the immediately preceding expression *sūkai saravari*); in the given context this solution appears to be preferable to interpreting *luṇẽ* as an instrumental of a verbal noun in an absolute construction ("after gathering the crops he obstinately erects a fence in the field"). The participle *līyẽ* in 459.1 seems to have undergone transposition into a postpositive word with the meaning "(having taken) with", "together with".

Locative:

268.2 luṇẽ *ṣeti haṭhi bāṛi karai* "obstinately he erects a fence around a field the crops of which have been [already] gathered"

Instrumental:

34.4 sīṣyẽ suṇẽ paḍhẽ *kā hoi* „what is [gained] by learning, listening [and] reciting?"

138.4 pãḍhe gũṇẽ *upajai ãhakārā* "by studying, philosophizing arises pride"

256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū aisãĩ, bina* kātẽ *nistaribau kaisãĩ* " mother-in-law says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?"

- in absolute construction with different explicit subject

102.1 *ṣīra ṣãḍa ghrita pĩḍa savārā, prãṇa* gayẽ *le bāhari jārā* "built up with milk, sugar [and] ghī, the body, when the breath of life had departed, was taken out and burnt up"

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387.6 *pĩḍa* parẽ *jīva jāihai jahā̃ jīvata hī le rāṣau tahā̃* "where the soul will go when the body dies, take and keep it there while still alive"

Transposition into postpositive word:

459.1 *prahilāda padhāre paḍhaṇasāla, sãgi saṣā* līyẽ līyẽ *bāla* "Prahlāda went to school with friend(s), together with [other] boys"

3. m. -ã̃$_7$: *instr. sg. m. of nouns and participles / obl. abs. of participles*
It seems that the origin of the ending -*ã̃$_7$*, like that of the loc./instr. sg. -*ẽ$_2$*, has to be sought in some OIA pronominal affix. Tessitori, *OWR*, §61 and §124, offers two possible derivations: either from the OIA pronominal ending of the abl. sg. -*asmāt* > MIA -*amhā* > -*ahā̃* > NIA/OWR -*ã̃*, or from the Apabhraṃśa gen. pl. termination -*a-hã* /-*ā-hã* (ultimately from the OIA pronominal ending -*āsām*). Tagare, *HGA*, §86, p. 147-148, presents it as frequent in the Western Apabhraṃśa from *c.* 600 ce through the end of the 12th century. During this long period the originally genitive ending also took on the functions of dative and ablative. One of his examples shows it appended to a stem that ends in a long vowel (*mukkāhaṃ*); this brings us close to the state described by Tessitori in the paragraph dealing with adverbial past participles (*OWR*, §128). According to him, the forms like *ba:iṭhã̃*, *rahyã̃* and *rotã̃* are originally absolute genitives of the plural where the long final vowel of the stem and the ending -*hã* were contracted into -*ã̃*.

Tessitori's remark that ablatives in -*ã̃* are very rare in OWR, but "common in Mārvāṛī (and also in Jaipurī)" (*ibid.*, §61), might lead us to prefer the old ablative as the more probable source of our affix -*ã̃$_7$*: the area of the genesis of the Kabīrian corpus analysed in the present study (in which the final -*ã̃* is of relatively frequent occurrence) is located in the eastern part of present-day Rājasthān. The derivation from the old ablative, an important function of which is to express a reason or a motive for an action, is particularly tempting as a theory in those numerous cases where this affix is taken by participles used as verbal nouns; here it fulfils the same function as the instrumental in -*ẽ$_2$*. Due to this convergence these two affixes appear, at least in certain contexts, freely interchangeable (cf. e.g. *bina bolyã̃* in 95.1 and *bina kātẽ* in 256.2, or *pāḍhe gũṇẽ upajai ãhakāra* in 138.4 and *kahyã̃ na upajai* in 200.3). The difference in the use of these two affixes appears to be only dialectal, -*ã̃$_7$* representing perhaps a more western variant.

Unlike -*ẽ$_2$*, however, the affix -*ã̃$_7$* is also used with nouns and imperfective participles in -*t$_3$*-, again as an adverbial modifier; but in these uses it can hardly be interpreted as an instrumental (see, e.g. *bhau būḍatã̃* in 249.4 below); and the same can be said about the forms *ravã̃* in 76.1 – here the

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designation oblique absolute (obl. abs.) better catches their main syntactic characteristic. In these contexts TESSITORI's explanation (*OWR*, §124) of this form as absolute plural genitive (*-antā-hã* or *-anta-hã* > *-antã̃* and *-atã̃*) appears to be plausible; and *-ã̃* with the force of genitive also appears several times with ordinary nouns, either followed by a postposition, or without it. It seems that the wide range of uses of this affix may be best explicable by its double origin in two originally distinct cases, each with its own range of syntactic functions.

Instrumental:

477.0 *yahu ṭhaga ṭhagata sakala jagu ḍolai, gavana karai taba* muṣã̃ *na bolai* "this trickster walks about cheating the whole world; when he fixes up [somebody's] departure, he does not say a word (lit.: "he does not speak with [his] mouth"; cf. the variant *muṣahi* occurring in this verse in all other Rājasthānī MSS edited by Callewaert in the *MKV*, p. 583)

- of verbal noun

95.0 bolaṇã̃ *kā kahiye re bhāī, bolata bolata tata nasāī* "what can be expressed by talking? By a lot of talking, the essence is destroyed"

- of perfective participle, used as verbal noun, without object

23.5 *aba mãna ulaṭi sanātana hūvā, taba hãma* jã̃ṇyã̃ *jīvata mūvā* "now the mind having turned around became eternal; at that moment, by obtaining the [saving] knowledge, I died [to this world] while still being alive"

138.1 *nāgaĩ* phiryã̃ *joga je hoī, bana kā mrigha mukti gayā koī* "if the [goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?"

200.3 kahyã̃ *na upajai* upajyã̃ *hĩ̃ jã̃nai bhāva abhāva bihũ̃ṇā* „through [mere] speaking [the experience of supreme bliss] does not arise, it is only when it has arisen [spontaneously] that one comes to know what is beyond being and non-being"

95.1 *bina* bolyã̃ *kyũ̃ hoi bicārā* „without speaking, how can arise an idea?"

129.7 *bina* phūlyã̃ *phalyau ākāsa* "without blossoming the sky bore fruit"

187.1 *taravara eka peḍa bina ṭhāḍhā, bina* phūlã̃ *phala lāgā* "[there is] one tree standing without trunk; fruits came without [prior] blossoming" (*phūlã̃*, however, can be interpreted also as obl. pl. of the noun *phūl-* "flower")

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- of perfective participle, used as verbal noun, with an object

145.2 *beda* paḍhyā̃ *kā e phala pā̃ḍe, saba ghaṭi deṣe rā̃mā* "what [is gained] by studying the Vedas? [It is] this fruit, *pāṇḍe* – [that] you see Rām in every creature"

185.2 *ḍāla* gahyā̃ *tāĩ mūla na sūjhai, mūla* gahyā̃ *phala pāvā* "the root is not understood by grasping the branch; by grasping the root the fruit [is] obtained"

206.0 *mādhau cale bũnāvāna māhā, jagu* jītyā̃ *jāi julāhā* "Mādhava, *māyā* went to have [her fabric] woven; [but] the weaver, having conquered the world, walks away"(meaning uncertain)

280.2 *kyā ujū japa mājana* kīnhā̃ "what [can be achieved] by performing rirual washing of hands and feet, by continuous repeating of God's name, by ritual bathing?"

281.0 *mīyā̃ tumha syũ* bolyā̃ *bani nahĩ āvai* "*mīyā̃,* you are impossible to talk to" (Gupta, *KG*, p. 297: *tuma se bolane* (*bahasa karane*) *se nahĩ bana paṛatā hai*; Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 290-291: *tuma se kucha kahate nahĩ banatā*)

95.2 *sādhū syũ* bolyā̃ *hitakārī mūriṣa syũ* bolyā̃ *jhaṣa mārī* "from talking with a saint [there follows something] worthwhile, by talking with an ignorant [one's] time [is] wasted"

Instrumental - ergative:

459.2 *taba sā̃ḍā* muragā̃ *kahyā jāi* "then Śaṇḍa and Marka went to report" (lit.: "having gone told")

Oblique case in absolute construction

- of perfective participle

76.1 *paṭhayẽ na jā̃u* ravā̃ *nahī ā̃ũ, sahaji rahũ hariāī ho* "if sent away, I do not go; if called, I do not come; I remain in [the state of] *sahaja*, being fresh, hey"

113.2 *jīvata kachū na kīyā paravā̃nā̃,* muvā̃ *marā̃ma ko kā kara jā̃nā̃* "[if one] did not get any (firm) proof [of the ultimate reality] while alive, [then] whose essence did one realize after death?"

102.0 *jhūṭhe tana kũ kā grabaīye,* mũvā̃ *pala bhari rahaṇa na paīye* "why is / should be flaunted [this] abominable body? Once one is dead, it is not able/allowed to linger on even for a moment"

- of imperfective participle used copredicatively (same-subject)

477.1 *tũ merā purīṣā hũ terī nārī, tumha* calatā̃ *pāthara tāĩ bhārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife; leaving [me] you [are] harder than stone!" (copredicative participle controlled by *tumha,* the subject of the clause)

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- of imperfective participle with non-explicit, different subject

268.0 *merī merī* karatã̃ *janama gayau* "thinking of (lit. "doing") 'mine', 'mine', the life passed away"

186.3 *kāṭata belī kũ̃pala melhī;* sĩ̃cataḍã̃ *kumilãṇĩ̃* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"

249.4 *bhau* būḍatã̃ *kachu upāi karījai, tau tiri lãghau tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore" (subjectless absolute construction with an implicit generic agent)

Transposition of participle into postpositive word:

127.0 *aba tau jarẽ barẽ bani āvai,* līnhã̃ *hāthi sãdaurā* "but now, when you have burst into flames, when you burn, comes your great moment, with vermilion box in [your] hand"

3.n. -e$_4$: *voc. sg. m.*

This vocative ending properly belongs to nouns and adjectives that have in the dir. sg. the extended ending -*ā*$_5$ with which it shares the same etymology: from the OIA voc. sg. -*aka* > MIA -*aya* > NIA -*e*. The different outcome of the historical transformation of the dir. and voc. sg. endings goes back to the two slightly different forms for the two cases in the OIA: -*akaḥ* /-*ako* in the nominative, -*aka* in the vocative.

In the present corpus this ending occurs with adjectives and possesive pronouns of the extended class. The only exception is the vocative of the proper noun *gobĩde* in 236.0., attested also in all other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV.

420.0 *āsana pavana kīye diḍha rahu re, mana kā maila chāṛi de* baure "stay firm by performing *āsana* and breath [control]; throw away the filth of the mind, o fool!"

280.0 *alaha rãma jīũ tere nãī, bãde pari mihari karau* mere *sãī* "Allāh, Rām, I live by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!"

440.0 *aho* mere *gobĩda tumhārā jora, hastī bakibā hastī tora* "o, my Govinda, [that was] your [show of] might: [when the *qāzī* ordered:] let the elephant be incited, set the elephant [on him]!" (interpretation uncertain)

236.0 gobĩde *tumhāre bana kãdali merā mana ahere ṣelai* "Govinda, in your forest of sensual enjoyments my mind goes hunting"

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3.0. -$ā_6$: *dir. pl. m.*

According to Bloch, *IA*, p. 170 [172], the descent of this dir. pl. ending should be traced from the OIA nom. pl. extended forms in *-a-kāḥ* through the MIA **-aa*. Tagare, *HGA*, §84, p. 135, however, describes the desinence *-ā < -akāḥ* as rare in the Western Apabhraṃśa; and Tessitori, *OWR*, §58, suggests a derivation from the simple OIA nom. pl. ending *-āḥ*. Perhaps both suggestions should be taken as correct reconstructions of two parallel lines of descent rather than mutually exclusive alternatives.

In the present corpus this Rājasthānī plural ending occurs less frequently than the Khaṛī bolī forms in *-e_1* (41 occurrences of words with the dir. pl. m. ending *-$ā_6$* against 90 occurrences of words with the ending *-e_1*); as far as the distribution of these two morphs is concerned, the latter occurs much more frequently with participles, pronominal adjectives, and exclusively with postpositions *-k_2-* and *-s_2-*. If only nouns and adjectives are counted, the ratio is reversed with 27 occurrences of the ending *-$ā_6$* against bare 11 of *-e_1*. However, the syntactic contexts in which these two forms occur do not suggest any reason for this distribution other than the dialectal variation of the language of the texts. Similarly unsystematic (from the grammatical point of view) appears to be the distribution of long and short endings (both in the singular and plural number) found with one and the same nominal stem: we have, e.g. dir. pl. both *loga* and *logā* (at the beginning of a *caraṇa*), or *kā̃ma* and *kā̃mā̃* (both at the end of a verse). Sometimes the lengthening may be due to the use of the noun in vocative, as *lokā* in 172.0 and 486.0. Modifications of final vowels of words at the end of a verse or a *caraṇa* necessitated by rhyme also play a role: thus, while in 473.1 the plural *kā̃dā* rhymes with *mā̃dā* at the end of the following line, an absence of this factor and perhaps requirement of the rhythm in the verse 312.2 gives the short form *kā̃da*.

Nominative:

146.1 *ā̃bari dīsaĩ* ketā tārā*, kū̃na catura aisā citarā̃ṇahārā* “how many stars are seen in the sky! Who is this skilful painter?”

147.3 *kā̃ma krodha dou bhaye* bikārā*, āpa hĩ āpa jarai sā̃sārā* “lust and anger – these two deformations arose, [and] the world burns of one’s own accord”

212.5 *e*[*ka*] *na bhūlā doi na* bhūlā*, bhūlā saba sā̃sārā* “not one has erred, not two have erred, whole world has erred”

Accusative:

139.4 *taji bā̃vaĩ dā̃hiṇaĩ* bikārā*, hari pada diḍha kari gahiye* “having given up (or: “give up”) the aberrations on the left [as well as] on the right: the feet of Hari should be grasped firmly”

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Vocative:

96.2 *suṇaũ sãta sumirau* bhagatā *jana, hari bina jãnãma gãmāī* "listen, ye virtuous, remember, ye bhaktas, without Hari the life is wasted" (used for addressing greater number of people)

486.0 lokā *re mati* bhorā *re* "o people, simple in your mind!" (or: "o people, the mind [of Kabīr] is [so] foolish!" where *bhorā* is dir. sg. m. -$ā_5$)

3.p. -$ã̃_5$: *dir. pl. m.*

This morph can be understood as a blend of originally two separate endings with different history and etymology that appear to have acquired, already in Old Hindī dialects, the same function and overt form. In perfective participles in *-nh-* it sometimes occurs as a nasalized variant of the non-nasalized allomorph -$ā_6$ (compare the plural *līnhā* in 20.3, and the nasalized forms *dīnhã̃* and *kīnhã̃* in 439.0 and 432.2 respectively); the same effect of contact nasalization takes place with stems ending in a nasal consonant, e.g. *purãṇã̃* in 310.4, *sayãnã̃* in 363.3, but also in the participle *muvã̃* in 41.1 (generally, the semivowels *y* and *v* do not cancel the effect of phonological nasalization by preceding nasal consonant).

Quite different group of nouns occurring with the ending -*ã̃* in the dir. plural consisits of words of Arabic or Persian origin borrowed by the Old Hindī with their Persian plural endings. With animate nouns the final -*ã̃* is but a translation of the Persian plural ending -*ān*: *darogã̃*, *pīrã̃*, *maradã̃*, *mīrã̃*, *murīdã̃*; in one instance this ending is found with an inanimate noun where the correct Persian ending is -*ā*: in 285.2 we read *katebã̃* instead the correct *katebā*. In the same group belong also Persian words ending in -*ī*, *kājī* "*qāzī*", and *ṣusī* "happy, content" (from the orig. Per. *ḵẖẖush*) whose plurals *kājiyã̃* and *ṣusiyã̃* in 285.1 and 285.3 respectively have been segmented as *kāji-*/ *suṣi-* + -y_2- + -$ã̃_5$ – admittedly an Indian rather than Persian way of description of this affix.

285.1 pīrã̃ murīdã̃ kājiyã̃ *mulã̃ aru daravesa; kahã̃ the tumha kyanã kīye* "*pīrs*, *murīds*, *qāzīs*, *mullāhs* and *darvīshes*, where are you from, by whom made/created?"

285.2 *kurãnã̃* katebã̃ *asu paḍhi paḍhi, phikari yā nahĩ jāi* "by reading the Qurān and the Books in such a way (or *asu*: "quickly/spluttering"), this anxiety/worry does not disappear"

285.3 darogã̃ *bako baki hũ̃hi* ṣusiyã̃*, beakali bakahi puvãhĩ* "liars are pleased prattling nonsense, foolish [people just] babble and boast"

145.2 *jãmaṇa marãṇa taĩ tau tũ̃ chūṭai, suphala hvaĩhi saba* kãmã̃ "then (if) you free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying, all [your] undertakings will be successful"

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363.3 *kahai kabīra eka rā̃ma bhagati bina, būḍe bahuta* sayā̃nā̃ "Kabīr says: without devotion to the Rām, one and only, many learned/sophisticated [men] were drowned"

439.0 *kusala ṣema aru sahī salā̃mati, e doi kā kū̃* dīnhā̃ *re* "happiness, welfare and well-being – to whom [were] these two given?"

3.q. -e_1 : *dir. pl. m.*

Bloch, *IA*, p. 170 [172], traces this ending to the OIA extended plural *-akāḥ* through the supposed MIA form **-aya* (the alternative NIA plural in *-ā*, dealt above as *-$ā_6$*, comes according to him from the same *-akāḥ* through the hypothetical MIA variant **-aa*); this hypothesis has been endorsed by Alsdorf, *AS*, p. 15, and recently by Masica, *IAL*, p. 229. Against this derivation of the NIA dir. pl. ultimately from the OIA nom. pl. stand alternative hypotheses tracing this NIA dir. pl. *-e* to some originally oblique case subsequently extended to the nominative. Thus Hoernle, *CGGL*, §369, p. 212-216, noted the formal identity of terminations of the obl. sg. and pl. with those of the dir. pl. in several NIA languages. According to him, this identity is not accidental, but is due to a transposition of this obl. forms to the dir. pl. This can be explained by the fact that "these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as **लोग** *people*, **गन** *troup*, etc." He supports this observation by quotations from Mārkāṇḍeya's Prākrit grammar where the use of the gen. sg. for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly mentioned. Hoernle's explanation was later adopted by Kellogg, *GHL*, §191, p. 127. The hypothesis that the dir. pl. *-e* descended ultimately from the OIA instr. pl. ending *-bhiḥ* (**ghōṭakebhis* > **ghōḍaahi* > *ghoṛe*) was set forth by Chatterji, *ODBL* I, §172, p. 348-349, and II, §484, p. 723; later, in his preface to the Paṇḍita Dāmodara's *UVP*, §57, p. 32, he added a suggestion that "in the evolution of this plural affix *-e*, there may have been some influence from the pronouns also: e.g. *amhe*, *tumhe*, *te*, *je*, *ke*." Hoernle's and/or Chatterji's derivation of the dir. pl. from some obl. case has been accepted by other Indian linguists, e.g. by Tivārī, *Hindī bhāṣā kā udgama aura vikāsa*, §298, p. 425, and §299, p. 427.

The distribution of the two dir. pl. endings *-$ā_6$* and *-e_1* has been described in the section dealing with the dir. pl *-$ā_6$* above. As far as *-e_1* is concerned, from its total of 90 occurrences, 61 are in participles (59 perfective and 2 imperfective), 8 in adjectives (7 as nominal predicates), 11 in adjectivizers *-k_2-* and *-s_2-*, 4 in pronominal adjectives *ais-*, *ket-* and *tet-*, and three in possessive pronouns *mor-* and *hamār-*. Substantives in *-e_1* occur only thrice.

It might be tempting to explain this distribution pattern by a hypothesis that the primary purpose of the short and long endings was to signal an

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opposition between head noun and adjective or predicate (as suggested by Tieken, 1998, for Apabhraṃśa). The quantitative basis represented by this corpus is too narrow to allow any plausible conclusions; but it is striking that the long forms (participles and adjectives) appear typically in the position of predicate; thus, one of the more frequently occurring adjectives *baḍ-* "big", "great" has in the predicate position, in e.g. 253.1 (see below), the extended ending *-e*$_1$, while in the verse 139.2 *pāḍīta gũnī sūra kavi dātā, e ju kahaĩ baḍa hama hĩ̃* "scholars, experts, heroes, poets, benefactors – [all] these say: »the great ones are we, indeed!«" the same adjective occurs with the short ending *-a*$_6$, perhaps because it represents the unstressed theme (topic) while the position of the rheme (focus) is filled by the pronoun *hama* emphasized by a focussing operator, the exclusive emphatic particle *-hĩ̃*. Such a differentiated use of short and long endings was of course possible only at a certain stage of the development of the language when the basic form of the nouns and adjectives was not yet fully stabilized and fixed (as it is in the MSH). Another factor that should be taken into account is the dialectal variability of the analysed texts: this aspect too makes the above hypothesis tentative and speculative.

12.3 *cakavā baisi* ãgāre *nigalaĩ, sāmāda ākāsā dhāvā* "having sat down, the *chakor* birds swallow the burning embers; the ocean ran up to the sky"

398.2 *hari sumira taṭi* baiṭhe *haĩ kabīra* "remembering Hari, Kabīr sits on the river-bank"

477.2 *bālapanã̃ ke mīta* hamāre*, hamahi chāḍi kata* cale ninãre "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you separated (gone away) leaving me alone?"

78.3 *sabai jīva sã̃i* ke pyāre*, ubarahuge kisa volai* "all living beings [are] dear to the Lord, under which cover (or: "with whose support") will you attain salvation?"

253.1 *rāma* baḍe *maĩ chuṭaka lahuriyā* "Rām is great, I am little, tiny"

477.3 *hãma syũ̃ prīti na kari rī baurī, tumha* se kete *lāiyai ḍhaurī* "do not fall in love with us/me, o you foolish one; how many others like you are attached in love [towards me]!"

3.r. -ẽ$_1$: *dir. pl. m.*

This is a nasalized variant of the dir. pl. m. ending *-e*$_1$. The nasalization in *gayẽ* in 94.2 may be a scribal error or perhaps an instance of regressive assimilation to the following *haĩ* (other MSS have here the unproblematic non-nasalized form; but similar instance of anticipatory assimilation across the word boundary occasionally occurs, as e.g. in the verse 398.2 of the MSS

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Gop60;4 which reads *chūṭẽ hãĩ jājīra*, where all other MSS have variants without nasalization).

1.1 *rãma deva more* pahũnĕ *āye hai, mai jobani mãĩmātī* "the God Rām has come as my bridegroom; I am intoxicated with my youth"

94.2 *pãca paharavā soi* gayĕ *hãĩ, basta jāgibā lāgī* "five watchmen have fallen asleep, and the thing has begun to wake up"

3.s. -e_5 : *obl. pl. m.*

Pronominal adjectives and adjectivizers, both characterized by extended endings (in the obl. pl. no adjectives proper with extended endings occur in the present corpus) conform to the same pattern as the extended adjectives in MSH: in the obl. pl. masculine forms have endings identical with the dir. pl. (and also with the obl. sg.). Bloch, *IA*, p. 183 [185], describes it as "oblique singular replacing the plural", but then explains the *-e* ending as a result of phonetic dissimilation in the past rather than as simple intrusion of a singular form on the plural. Oberlies, *HGH*, p. 13-15, gives as the cause of this feature a haplological shortening that affected the adjective case ending in the pre-Apabhraṃśa stage; thus, e.g. OIA *kālakānāṃ ghoṭakānām* "of the black horses" gave in Prākrit *kālayā<ṇaṃ> ghoḍayāṇaṃ*; in Apabhraṃśa the adjective was already shortened to *kālaya ghoḍahuṃ*; hence the MSH *kāle ghoṛõ*.

In the declension of adjectives in Hindī this difference between nouns and adjectives in obl. pl. m. endings is a regular, systemic feature; on the other hand, the same obl. pl. m. adjectival ending used with a noun, as seen in the form *jane* in the verse 20.3, quoted below, is exceptional and probably of different origin. Followed by the postposition *so*, it is best explained as old instrumental of plural attested in Old Mārvāṛī: Tessitori, *OWR*, §60, derives this termination from the Apa. *-ahĩ*. Tagare, *HGA*, §85, p. 143, traces the origin of the Apa. instr. pl. m. to two different sources: the Vedic instr. pl. *-ebhiḥ* which gave the Apa. *-ehiṃ*, *-hiṃ*, *-hĩ*, and the OIA loc. sg. *-asmin* that developed into the Apa. form *-ahĩ*. Already in the Apa. period these endings showed a tendency toward denasalization; the resultant NIA forms are either nasalized or not. In this context it may not be without interest to look at the alternative forms of this word as they occur in other Rājasthānī MSS: *janãĩ*, *jãne*, *janẽ* – here the nasalization may be conditioned either historically or caused by the contact with the preceding nasal consonant.

20.3 *pãca* jane *so sãga kari līnhā* "with five persons [I have] made company" (for the variants *sãga* /*sãgi* in the MSS and related grammatical problems occurring in this passage, see the footnote below the *pad* in question)

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149.0 aise *logani syũ kā kahiye, je nara bhae bhagati tãĩ nyāre* "what can be (or: "should be") said to such people – men who have turned away from bhakti?"

114.2 *jaba laga hai baikũṭha kī āsā, taba laga nahĩ hari* ke *carāṇa nivāsā* "so long as there is hope/longing for paradise, there is no resting/ /dwelling at Hari's feet"

3.t. -$ā_8$: *obl. pl. m.*

Plurals are met occasionally with singular endings in contexts where the noun is qualified by a numeral, an adjective or a noun in attribute which in itself denotes a quantity or a plurality. Kellogg, *GHL*, §674, p. 395, notes that in such instances plural ending can be omitted and singular used in its stead. This is an exact parallel to the uses of obl. pl. ending -a_{10} (see above, in 1.A.2.0).

139.0 *jã̃ paĩ jãũ āpaṇapau chuḍãvãna, te bīdhe bahu* phãdā "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps"

4. *Contracted emphatic forms*

The exclusive emphatic particle -$ĩ_{14}$ (an allomprph of -$hĩ_2$, -hi_5, -$hĩ_2$, and -$hī_2$) occurs mostly after the pronominal forms *ko* and *so*; if appended to stems ending in the short -*a* (of dir. or obl. case of both genders), the two vowels may contract into the diphthong -*ai*. Other allomorphs of this emphatic particle following the short vowel of nominal stems are also attested in the present corpus: e.g. *dila hī bhītari* in 281.2, *ghaṭa hĩ bhītari* in 408.5, or *baikũṭha hi* (the last example can be segmented also *baikũṭh-* + -ahi_1). The two incidences of the form *supinai* in 221.3 and 390.2 (see above in 1.A.3.h) can be interpreted as emphatic obliques in -ai_5. Examples demonstrating the contraction of emphatic enclitics in diphthongs can be found in McGregor, *LIO*, §3.222-226, p. 199-200.

4.a. -ai_1 : *emphatic dir. sg. m.* (< -a_4 + -$ĩ_{14}$)

444.1 *ṣasama marai yahu nāri na rovai, usa raṣavālā* aurai *hovai* "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep; somebody else becomes her protector"

275.4 *soci bicāri* sabai *jagu deṣyā, kahũ na ubāraṇã̃* "thinking, contemplating, [I have] seen the whole world: [but] nowhere [have I seen] the salvation"

439.4 *kahai kabīra* sabai *jagu binasyā, rahe rāma abināsī re* "Kabīr says: [when] the whole world perishes, Rām, the Imperishable, remains"

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4.b. -ai$_2$: *emphatic dir. sg. f.* (< -a$_5$ + -ī$_{14}$)
224.0 *bharãma kī ṭāṭī* sabai *uḍ̃āṇ̃ī* "the whole bamboo-screen of delusion has been blown away"

4.c. -ai$_3$: *emphatic dir. pl. m.* (< -a$_6$ + -ī$_{14}$, -e$_1$ + -ī$_{14}$)
78.3 sabai *jīva sãī ke pyāre* "all living beings [are] dear to the Lord"
312.4 *kahai kabīra jana bhaye* ṣalāsai*, rãma bhagati jyãha jãnī* "Kabīr says: [those] devotees have been liberated, who have known the love of Rām"

4.d. -ai$_5$: *emphatic obl. sg. m.* (< -a$_8$ + -ī$_{14}$)
312.4 *paharyau kāla* sabai *jagu upari* "Kāl (the god of death Yama) watches over (or: "keeps an eye on") the whole world" (on the use of perfective participles for expression of general present, see 5.E.7.a below)

B. Feminine

declensional type	*1*		*2*	*3*
dir. sg. f.	*-0$_4$*		*-a$_5$*	*-i$_4$; -ī$_4$ /-ĩ$_1$*
obl. sg. f.	*-0$_8$*		*-a$_9$*	*-ī$_6$*
loc./instr./erg. sg. f.	*-0$_8$*	*-~ (-ã̃)*	*-i$_7$*	*-ai$_7$*

declensional type	*1*	*2*	*3*
dir. pl. f.	*-0$_6$*	*-a$_7$*	*-i$_5$; -ī$_5$ /-ĩ$_2$*
obl. pl. f.	*-0$_{10}$*	*-ani$_2$*	*-ī$_7$*

1. *Declensional type 1*

1.a. -0$_4$: *dir. sg. f.*
-0$_8$: *obl. sg. f.*
-0$_6$: *dir. pl. f.*
-0$_{10}$: *obl. pl. f.*

Feminine stems ending in *-ā, -ã̃, -i, -ĩ, -ī, -ĩ, -ū* do not show any inflection in the singular or plural number. The loss of inflectional affixes occurred in the early NIA stage of development of the language – Apabhraṃśa texts still show instr. sg. affixes *-e* and *-hiṃ*, dat.-gen.-abl. sg., and also loc. sg. in *-hi*, *-hiṃ*, *-hĩ*, *-he*, and the same set of endings in the instr.-loc. pl., as well as

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in dat.-gen.-abl. pl.; the only alternative form that differed from this almost universally applicable set of endings was the affix *-hũ* for dat.-gen.-abl. pl. attested after the turn of the millennium in the Western Apabhraṃśa (Tagare, *HGA*, §§98-99, p. 178-191). In the Old Mārvāṛī traces of these old endings are still recognizable in the instr. sg. of fem. *ā*-stem forms like *mālāĩ* or *mahimāĩ*, or in *i*-stem sg. instrumentals like *budhiĩ* or *strīi*. In plural the Apa. instr. endings *-ahi* and *-ihi* changed in the Old Mārvāṛī into *-ē* and *-ĩ*: *jvālāe*, *nārīe*, *strīĩ* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §§59, 60). All these affixes were liable to further contraction, a process which finally resulted in their complete disappearance – in the texts of the present corpus the final nasal is lacking even in obl. pl. forms that descended from the OIA gen. pl. ending *-ānām*. Nasalized endings, if present at all, can be explained as due to contact nasalization (as the gen. sg. *trisnã̃* in 421.2). But unambiguous obl. pl. forms are, in the present corpus, too few to allow us draw any definitive conclusion concerning the existence of paradigmatic zero obl. pl. ending (the instr. *bidhi* in 408.5 and also the gen. *sumriti* in 312.1 can be also interpreted as sg. forms).

-0_4 : *dir. sg. f.*

Nominative:

77.0 *aisā bheda* bigūcani *bhārī; beda kateba dīna aru* duniyã̃*, kũ̃ṇa puriṣa kũ̃ṇa* nārī“ such discrimination is a big hindrance [to correct understanding] – the Vedas [and] the Book (i.e. the Qurān), the religion and the world, who is man, who is woman”

249.3 *dvādasī dã̃na puni kī* velã̃*, sarva pāpa ṣyau karãṇã* “(on) *dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins” (*dvādasī* is here understood as standing in locative case, but equally well it can be taken as nominative)

114.2 *jaba laga hai baikũṭha kī* āsā*, taba laga nahĩ̃ hari ke carãṇa nivāsā* “so long as there is a hope/longing for paradise, there is no resting/ /dwelling at Hari’s feet”

444.3 *sāṣita kai yahu pĩḍa parã̃iṇi, hamārī dṛṣṭi parai jaisī* ḍã̃iṇĩ “she (i.e. lady *māyā*) is close on the heels of the *Śākta*; to me she looks like a demon (*ḍākinī*)”

381.1 *dārā suta greha neha,* sãpati *suṣadāī; yā mahi kachū nāhi terau, kāla* āvadhi *āī* “attachment to wife, son, house, wealth that give [you] pleasure – nothing of this is yours [when] the time of death has come!”

224.0 *sãtau āī gyã̃na kī* ã̃dhī “*sants*, the storm of the true knowledge has come”

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Accusative:

473.2 *biṣa biṣayā kī* bāsanā̃ *tajaũ tajī na jāī* "I (should) give up the craving for poison of objects of sense-perception, [but] it cannot be abandoned"

147.2 bidyā *na paḍhaũ beda nahī̃ jā̃ṇaũ, hari gũna kathata sunata baurā̃ṇaũ* "I do not pursue learning, I do not know the Vedas; saying and listening to the praises of the Lord, I have gone mad"

129.4 sãpati *deṣi na hariṣiyẽ,* bipati *deṣi na roi* "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing/experiencing calamity, do not weep"

281.3 *ṣasama pichā̃ni tarasa kari dila māī, māla* manī̃ *kari phīkī* "filled with compassion (or: "with fear/trembling"), know/discover the Lord in [your] heart, finding garlands and jewels uninteresting"

15.0 *aika ãcā*[*bhā*] *deṣyā re bhāī, ṭhāḍhā syãgha carāvai* gāī "I have seen a strange thing, brother: a standing lion grazes a cow"

-0_8 : *obl. sg. f.*

The locutions *māyā jāla* in 92.1 and *agani kũḍa* in 271.1 can be understood either as constructions with attributive genitive, or nominal *tatpuruṣa* compounds; in 224.0 *māyā* has been interpreted (in agreement with modern Hindī translators J. and V. Sĩha, *KV-S*, p. 380, and Gupta, *KG*, p. 154) as instrumental, although in the present context the form could be also understood as direct case (a less probable solution).

Instrumental:

224.0 *bharãma kī ṭāṭī sabai uḍā̃ṇī̃,* māyā *rahai na bā̃dhī* "the whole bamboo-screen of delusion has been blown away: [it is] not tied/fixed by [the rope of] *māyā* any more"

249.0 *merī* jibhyā *bisna naĩna nārāiṇa, ridai japaũ gobyãdā* "with my tongue [I praise] Viṣṇu, with [my] eyes Nārāyaṇa, with [my] heart I repeat Govinda"

372.2 *kā* jaṭā *bhasama lepãna kīyẽ* "what [is gained] by [displaying] matted hair, by smearing one's body with ashes?"

185.0 *avadhū jāgata nīda na kījai; kāla na ṣāi kalapa nahī̃ byāpai, dehī* jurā *na chījai* "o *avadhūta*, staying awake do not fall asleep! Let death not devour [you], let restlessness not swamp [you]: let the soul not waste away with/due to age"

78.0 *ihi* bidhi *jīva kā bhrãma na jāī* "in this way the delusion of the soul does/will not disappear"

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Instrumental - ergative:

185.8 *kahai kabīra te biralā jogī,* dharaṇi *mahārasa cāṣyā* "Kabīr says: rare are those yogīs [whose] *dharaṇi* (i.e. *kuṇḍalinī śakti*) has tasted the nectar"

381.2 *ajāmela gaja* ganikā*, patita krama kīnhā̃* "Ajāmela, the elephant, and the courtesan commited sinful deeds"

Locative:

408.4 *sevaga sau jo lāgau* sevā*, tina hī̃ pāyau nirā̃jana devā* "he is the [true] servant who persisted in the service; he gained [the access to] the God Nirañjana"

406.3 *hṛdai kaṭhora marai* bā̃nā̃rasī*, naraka na bā̃cyā jāī* "[a man of] cruel heart may die in Vārāṇasī (or: "even if he dies in Vārāṇasī"); [still], he is not / cannot be saved from hell"

200.3 *udai asta jahā̃ mati budhi nāhī̃, sahaji rā̃ma* lyau *līnā̃* "where there is no notion or perception of beginning and end, in [the state of] *sahaja* [I was / one is] engrossed in the immersion in Rām"

Ablative:

268.3 jibhyā *bacana sūdha nahī̃ āvai, taba sukrita kī bāta kahai* "[when] an intelligible word does not come from his tongue/mouth – then he talks / starts talking about meritorious deeds"

Genitive:

92.1 *birasi baserā pā̃ṣi kā, aisā* māyā *jāla* "this web of *māyā* is like bird's perch on a tree"

421.2 trisnā̃ *tīra rahai tana bhītari,* subadhi *hāthi nahī̃ āī* "the arrow of thirst/ /desire remains inside the body, it has not come within the reach (lit.: "hand") of the correct understanding"

271.1 *jala bū̃da tā͠i jini pyā̃ḍa bā̃dhyā,* agani *kū̃ḍa rahāyā; dasa māsa* mātā *udari rāṣyā* "He who formed the body from a drop of liquid, left it in fire pit, for ten months kept it in the mother's womb"

-0_6 : *dir. pl. f.*

Nominative:

275.2 *rājapāṭa sī̃ghāsana āsā̃na, bahu sū̃dari* ravanā̃*; cā̃dana cīra kapūra birājita, ā̃ti ta u marā̃ṇā̃* "royal power, throne(s), comfortable seat(s), many beautiful women; sandal, garment(s), camphor – [everything] magnificent: but in the end [comes] death"

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188.1 *taravara eka anāta mūrati, surttā lehu pramā̃ṇī;* sāṣā *peḍa phūla nā̃hī, tākī ãmrita bā̃ṇī* "[there is] a tree [whose] form [is] infinite; attentive (or: "with [your] mind concentrated") take the proof [of its existence]; there are no branches, no trunk, no blossom; [only] its immortal speech/sound"

23.1 *tana maĩ hotī koṭi* upādhi*, ulaṭi bhaī suṣa sahaja samādhi* "there was a myriad of disturbances in the body; it turned into bliss in spontaneous *samādhi*"

186.1 *belaṛiyā̃ doi* āṇī *pahu̇̃tī, selī* [*gaga*]*na pahu̇̃tī selī* "two sprouts at the plantlet burgeoned, untended they shot out up to the sky, of their own accord"

Accusative:

440.1 *bā̃dhi* bhujā *bhalaĩ kari ḍāryau, hastī kopi mu̇̃ḍa maĩ māryau* "having tied [his] hands tightly, he threw [him in front of the elephant]; infuriated he beat the elephant on his head"

Vocative:

1.0 dulahānī *gāvahu mãgalacāra, hãma ghari āye rā̃ma bhatāra* "sing, o brides, auspicious song(s), husband/bridegroom Rām has come to our/my house"

-0_{10} : *obl. pl. f.*

Instrumental:

408.5 *kahai kabīra jīti bhāvai hāri, bahu* bidhi *kahyau pukāri pukāri* "Kabīr says: you may either win or lose; I have explained [to you] in many ways, calling repeatedly/urgently/forcefully"

Locative:

325.2 *dasa͠ũ* disā *gagana rahāī* "the space is established / has been made to exist in all ten directions"

Genitive:

312.1 *beda purā̃na* sumriti *guna paḍhi paḍhi, paḍhi guni marama na pāyā* "studying (in turn / continuously) the qualities of Vedas, Purānas and *smṛtis*, studying and meditating [you have] not understood the essence" (or: "[their] essential meaning")

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1.b. -˜ : *oblique* (*instrumental, locative*) *sg. f.*
Two instances of final nasalization in the obl. sg. fem. case that cannot be explained away either as being due to a contact with a preceding nasal consonant, or as being part of the stem itself (which may be the case of the form *ghã̃* in 439.0), are the forms *sāṣã̃* in 182.2 and *belaṛiyã̃* in 186.1. Comparison with other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV shows also the non-nasalized variant *sāṣā* which can be easily interpreted as either obl. sg., or obl. pl. (or *-0$_8$* or *-0$_{10}$* in the present notation). The nasalized form *sāṣã̃* can be also understood in two different ways. The construction with the preposition/ /postposition *bina* points to instr. sg., attested in this form in the Old Mārvāṛī, where the final *-ĩ* of instr. sg. of both masculines and feminines may optionally contract into *-ã̃* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §§14 and 59). An alternative explanation might interpret the form as obl. pl. current in the Modern and occasionally met with also in the Old Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §63, with the example of gen. pl. f. *nāryã̃ sahitapaṇa:ĩ* "in the company of women"; for modern forms, see e.g. Narottamadāsa Svāmī, *Rājasthānī-vyākaraṇa*, p. 41). The nasalization in *belaṛiyã̃* can be perhaps explained as an old ablative that had taken functions of locative (Tessitori, *OWR*, §61). It may be noted that the locative consisting in mere nasalization of the final vowel is attested also in the Old Kosalī (*UVP,* §59.5, p. 36; for its derivation from MIA *-ahĩ*, see *ibid.*, §40, p. 19).

182.2 *bīja bina ãkūra pe*[*ḍa bi*]*na taravara, bina* sāṣã̃ *taravara phaliyā* "sprout without seed, tree without trunk: tree without branch(es) bore fruit"

186.1 belaṛiyã̃ *doi ãṇī pahũ̃tī, selī* [*gaga*]*na pahũ̃tī selī* "two sprouts at the plantlet burgeoned, untended they shot out up to the sky, of their own accord"

2. *Declensional type 2*

2.a. -a$_5$: *dir. sg. f.*
The class of feminine nouns in *-a* is the result of declensional simplification, a process that continued through the MIA period; the fact observable in the texts of the present corpus that one and the same word can be still found, in the same case, with different endings, may be at least partly due to a continuous inflow of *tatsama* forms that were only gradually incorporated into the phonetical and morphological structure of the recipient MIA or NIA language. Thus, despite the fact that OIA and Prākrit stems in *-ā* were generally reduced to *-a* already in the Apabhraṃśa period (Tagare, *HGA* §87, p. 150), in our texts we can still find both forms: apart from *āsa* "hope" in 271.2, we have also *āsā* (e.g. in 114.2), which stands closer to the OIA form

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āśā. Similarly, beside the form *seva* "service" (212.0), our texts yield also the *tatsama* form *sevā* (e.g. in 408.1), beside the form with shortened ending *reṣa* "(out)line" (129.7) we have also the *tatsama reṣā* (187.2), and beside *suṣamana*/ /*suṣmana* "suṣumnā" (e.g. 34.1/19.1) also the long form *suṣmanā̃* (19.3).

Another aspect of the morphological simplification was the conversion of the OIA *-i* and *-u* stems into forms in *-a*, probably under the influence of the masculines. Examples given below include the forms *basta* "thing" (< OIA *vastu*) and *voṣada* "medicinal herb" (< OIA *oṣadhi*/*auṣadhi*). Finally, several *-a* stems that were masculines in the OIA occur as feminines in NIA languages – an example of this type of conversion is the word *bāra* "time", "turn" (< OIA *vāra-*, m.), or *deha* "body" (whose fem. gender is not apparent in the context of the verse quoted below).

In contrast to fem. *-ā* stems, where the final vowel is understood as part of the stem and endings are marked as zeros, the short *-a* is treated as an affix – the reason is the same as with masculines: possible instr./loc. sg. endings in *-i* and *-aĩ*/*-ai*, and also obl. pl. in *-ani* are easily appended to stems ending in a consonant.

Nominative:

8.3 *kahai kabīra guri dīyā palītā, so* jhala *biralai deṣī* "Kabīr says: Guru has given the wick, [but] the flame [of it] was hardly seen by anybody"

271.2 *pala jīvana kī* āsa *nā̃hĩ, jamã nihārai sāsā* "no expectation from the transient/perishable life [is advisable]: the god Yama counts [every] breath" (or: "not even for a moment reliance on [the continuation of] life [is in place]": see above, section 1.A.2.d, $-a_8$ as genitive of measure)

408.5 *yahu terau ausara yā terī* bāra "this is your opportunity, this is your time"

310.2 *jaba* basta *agocara pāī, taba dīpaka rahyā samāī* "when the invisible thing was attained, then the light entered it and remained in it"

Accusative:

126.1 *tãna mãna ḍhū̃ḍhaũ* coṭa *na pāũ,* voṣada *mūlī kahā̃ lagāũ* "on [my] body, in [my] mind I search, [but still] I do not / I cannot find the wound; where should I put the (healing) herb, the (medicinal) root?"

212.0 *tũ karai kisa kī* seva "whom do you venerate?"

280.1 *kyā jala* deha *nhavāyẽ* "what [is the profit] of bathing the body in the water?"

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2.b. -a_9 : *obl. sg. f.*

The formal identity of dir. and obl. sg. cases in *a*-stems of the feminine gender parallels exactly the state of things observed in masculine *a*-stems; also the cause of this identity is the same: like masculines, the feminines too tended to take the originally gen. sg. masc. termination *-aha* (for which see above in the section 1.A.2.g dealing with the masculine ending *-aha*$_1$) that in the course of further development showed strong tendency to contraction and ultimate disappearance (Saksena, *EA*, §208, p. 134; also Bloch, *IA*, p. 178 [179-180]).

In the texts of the present corpus we can meet these forms either supported with postpositions, or without them. The examples below seem to suggest that the latter case is preferred when the context is sufficient to disambiguate the otherwise nonspecific form (e.g. *jaṛa lāge phūla* in 15.3, or *nisa dina* in 34.0). The locative and instrumental case occurs occasionally with the alternative ending *-i* (here marked as *-i*$_7$; see below, in the next section), a parallel to the loc./instr. sg. ending *-i*$_6$ of the masculines.

Instrumental:

102.1 *ṣīra* ṣā̃ḍa *ghrita pĩḍa savārā, prā̃ṇa gayẽ le bāhari jārā* "built up with milk, sugar [and] ghī, the body, when the breath of life had departed, was taken out and burnt up"

398.2 *jala kī* tarãga *uṭhi kaṭai hāĩ jājīra* "raised (lit. "having risen") by the wave of water, the chains are broken"

Locative:

15.3 *tali kari sāṣā upari kari mūla, bahuta bhā̃ti* jaṛa *lāge phūla* "[with] branches below [and] the root above, flowers of many kinds budded at the root"

34.0 *yahu sāsā mohi* nisa *dina byāpai* "this doubt engulfs/torments me day and night"

Genitive:

20.2 *ulaṭī* gãga *nīra bahi āyā* "water of the reversed Ganga (i.e. of the stream of *amṛta* running upwards) has flown in" (here *ulaṭī* can be understood also as an absolutive in *-ī*$_{13}$: "having reversed [its direction], the water of Ganga has flown in")

440.3 *kũjara* poṭa *bahu bādana karai* "the elephant performs many salutations to the bundle"

Oblique with a postposition:

182.1 bā̃jha *kā pūta bāpa bina jāyā* "son of a barren woman, born without a father" (genitive of relation)

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271.1 *jala* bũda *taĩ jini pyāḍa bā̃dhyā, agani kũḍa rahāyā; dasa māsa mātā udari rāṣyā* "He who formed the body from a drop of liquid, left it in fire pit, for ten months kept it in the mother's womb"

2.c. -i_7 : *loc. / instr. / erg. sg. f.*

In the present corpus this ending, frequent in expressing the locative/instrumental case in masculines, occurs only twice with feminine stems. Already in the Apabhraṃśa period, perhaps from the beginning of the 7th century, it appeared in this force with both masculines and feminines which had in the nom. sg. the ending *-a* (Tagare, *HGA*, §88, p. 151, and §92, p. 157-158). Its sparse incidence in the Kabīrian corpus may be due to the relatively low number of substantives of the feminine gender in *-a*. The form *dasi* 387.5 can be interpreted as a *semi-tatsama* which changed the stem vowel, but retained the original OIA ending. Tagare recorded similar occurrence – the loc. sg. f. form *disi* in an Apabhraṃśa text – and labelled it as a sanskritism (*ibid.*, p. 185).

178.2 *mūde madana sahaja dhuni ūpajī,* suṣamani *potanahārī* "after/by sealing up [the oven] with wax (or: "with passion") in the cooling (or: "purifying") [tube of] *suṣumna*, the sound of the state of *sahaja* arose"

387.5 *mana āvai mana daha* dasi *jāi* "the mind comes, the mind vanishes in ten directions"

2.d. -a_7 : *dir. pl. f.*

The fusion of forms for the nominative and accusative of both sg. and pl. numbers had been completed before the Apabhraṃśa period. In Apabhraṃśa texts these forms represent a direct case formally identical with the direct case of masculine *a*-stems (Tagare, *HGA*, §93, p. 159-160). This state of things persisted into the NIA period, as can be seen in the Old Mārvāṛī, which moreover shows formal identity of the sg. and pl. endings (Tessitori, *OWR*, §§57, 58; Smith, *Vīsaḷadevarāsa*, p. 37) – a feature observable in the very few dir. pl. fem. *a*-stem forms occurring in the present corpus. Feminine plurals in *-aĩ* or *-aẽ* regular or frequent in Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §204, p. 132), Braj (Varma, *LB*, §148, p. 67; McGregor, *LIO*, §3.6, p. 130), and also in Khaṛī bolī (and derived ultimately from the OIA neuter pl. ending *-āni*) are not met with in the texts of the present corpus at all.

Nominative:

280.6 *jetī* aurata *maradā̃ siraje, e saba rūpa tumhārā* " as many women [and] men were created, these [are] all to your likeness"

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Accusative:

256.1 *cāri ṣũṭī doi* camaraṣa *lāī, sahaji rahaṭavā dīyā calāī* "having fastened two leather straps on four pegs (or: "having fastened four pegs and two leather straps"), [I] set the spinning wheel in motion easily"

275.1 *jau tumha pāḍita paḍhi guni jm̃ãũ, bidyā byākurãṇm̃; tãta mãta saba* voṣada *jm̃ãũ, ãti ta u marãṇm̃* "even if you are a *paṇḍit*, having studied and philosophised, you (may) know the sciences, grammar, tantras, mantras, you (may) know all the medicinal herbs, but still, in the end [there is] death"

2.e. -ani$_2$: *obl. pl. f.*

The origin and functions of this affix have been discussed above, in the section 1.A.2.m, obl. pl. m. *-ani$_1$*. In the example quoted here the oblique can be identified as either instrumental or locative.

114.1 *jaujana eka pramiti na jm̃ãī,* bātani *hm̃ baikũṭha baṣm̃ãṇāī* "they do not know [how it is to walk] the distance of single *yojana*, but in [their] talks they explain [how to get in] the paradise"

3. *Declensional type 3*

3.a. -i$_4$: *dir. sg. f.*
-i$_5$: *dir. pl. f.*

The reasons for constituting *-i$_4$* and *-i$_5$* as sg. and pl. endings of adjectives and certain feminine nouns have been explained in more detail in the next section dealing with feminine endings *-ī$_4$* and *-ī$_5$*; the short *-i$_4$* and *-i$_5$* are but allomorphs of their extended counterparts.

In the present corpus these short allomorphs are comparatively rare: there are only two adjectives, *parm̃ãiṇi* "devoted to", "adhering to", which has masculine forms in *-a$_4$* attested in other Old Hindī texts (*parm̃ãĩṇa* in Nāmdev, *pad* 115.1, *parāina* in Dādū, *sākhī* 26.12), and *sũdari* "beautiful"; the nouns *bāṛi* "fence", "garden" and *beli* "plant", "creeper" have, apart from long variants *bāṛī* and *belī* occurring in the present corpus, also masculine counterparts *bāṛā* and *belā* attested by dictionaries (HŚS).

-i$_4$: *dir. sg. f.*

444.3 *sāṣita kai yahu pĩḍa* parm̃ãiṇi*, hamārī dṛṣṭi parai jaisī ḍm̃ãiṇĩ* "she (i.e. lady *māyā*) is close on the heels of the *Śākta*; to me she looks like a demon (*ḍākinī*)" (nominative)

186.1 *belaṛiym̃ doi ãṇī pahm̃ũtī, selī* [*gaga*]*na pahm̃ũtī selī; sahaja* beli *jaba*

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phūlana lāgī, ḍālhī kũpala melhī "two sprouts at the plantlet burgeoned, untended they shot out up to the sky, of their own accord: when the plant of *sahaja* began to bloom, the branch sprouted" (nominative)

268.2 *luṇẽ ṣeti haṭhi* bāṛi *karai* "obstinately he erects a fence around a field the crops of which have been already gathered" (accusative)

-i_5 : *dir. pl. f.*

275.2 *rājapāṭa sĩghāsana āsãna, bahu* sũdari *ravanã̃; cãdana cīra kapūra birājita, ãti ta u marãṇã̃* "royal power, throne(s), comfortable seat(s), many beautiful women; sandal, garment(s), camphor – [everything] magnificent: but in the end [comes] death" (nominative)

3.b. -$ĩ_1$ /-$ī_4$: *dir. sg. f.*
-$ī_6$: *obl. sg. f.*
-$ĩ_2$ /-$ī_5$: *dir. pl. f.*
-$ī_7$: *obl. pl. f.*

In the Old Hindī as well as in MSH these endings are regularly used for building of feminine forms from nominal, adjectival, pronominal and participial stems. As in the case of the extended masculine ending -$ā_5$, the feminine -$ī_4$ etc. descends from the OIA pleonastic affix *-ka* added to feminines in *-i*: e.g. *ghoṭ-i-kā* > MIA *ghoḍīā*, *ghoṛiya* > NIA *ghoṛī* "mare" (Kellogg, *GHL*, §189b, p. 126; Bloch, *IA*, p. 163-164 [164]). In Hindī, in most feminine nouns this -*ī*, unchanging in number and case, can be understood as constituting the final part of the stem; but a limited number of feminines ending in the dir. sg. in -*ī* does not fit well into this more general declension pattern (which uses zero affix for the case and number, and in which stems in -*ī* find themselves in one group with those in -*ā*, -*ã̃*, -*i*, -*ū*, as in, e.g. *āsā-* "hope", *velã̃-* "appropriate time", *prīti-* "love", *bahū-* "daughter-in-law").

The reason for defining a separate category of feminine nouns in which this -*ī* is interpreted as the ending rather than the final vowel of the stem, is the need to describe, in an economic and elegant way, words that can change gender by way of conversion. Here the ending denotes either the natural gender in male-female pairs, as in *bakarā – bakarī* "he-goat" – "she-goat", *saṣā – saṣī* "[he – she] companion", or a diminutive of a noun which is itself either masculine or feminine, as *ũdara – ũdarī* "mouse – a little mouse". Often only one member of these pairs is represented in the texts of the present corpus; in such instances a feminine noun has been classified as belonging into this group if the second member of such pair could be found in either of the two Kabīr kośas (Caturvedī or Sĩha), in the Callewaert's and Op de

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Beeck's Global Index (*NBhS-DHL*, vol. II), or in the HŚS. Thus, *-ī*$_4$, *-ī*$_5$, *-ī*$_6$, and *-ī*$_7$ have been devised as portmanteau morphs expressing cumulatively gender, number and case in the same way as Hindī adjectives ending in dir. sg. m. in *-ā*. In this way certain less elegant and uneconomical solutions postulating two separate lexical bases for obviously related words, as e.g. *saṣ-* + *-ā*$_6$; *saṣī-* + *-0*$_6$, can be easily avoided (on the general capability of portmanteau morphs to express cumulatively inflectional and derivative meanings, see e.g. HASPELMATH, *Understanding Morphology*, p. 32).

Concise morphological description and assignment of feminine nouns to their appropriate classes is probably a more intricate task than it might seem at first sight. Apart from the pairs of nouns of different gender described above, our texts contain a number of synonyms, nouns of identical gender that are derived from the same lexical base, but take, in different contexts and dialectal variants, different dir. sg. endings: *mālani – mālanī* "gardener", "flower-seller", *rāti – rātī* "night", etc. Reasons for this variability may differ in each particular case: in words like *jevarī* "rope" (387.3), or *ṣumārī* "intoxication" (20.3) that have variants *jevara* and *ṣumāra* (attested by dictionaries), also of feminine gender, we may suspect a tendency to transfer these nouns to a larger class of stems with distinctive feminine ending *-ī* (SAKSENA, *EA*, §177.b.3, p. 116). The form *rāti* may have inherited the short vowel from its OIA predecessor and source *rātri*, etc. In the example of the pair *rāti – rātī* we can see the same type of gradual *tatsama* assimilation that has been dealt with above in the section of the *-a*$_5$ feminines (pairs like *āsa – āsā*, etc.). This type of variability is not due to the application of a grammatical rule (as is the case in pairs constituted by the rule of gender conversion), but has to do either with historical development, or with dialectal variability of the lexical unit itself (on the preference of Eastern dialects for short vowel endings, see KELLOGG, *GHL*, § 174, p. 113, and SAKSENA, *EA*, §185, p. 119, and §222, p. 142-143). For these reasons both such alternative forms have been included in the Morphemicon as separate lexical units.

The solutions outlined above follow the approach apparently chosen (but not described explicitly) by Miltner in his OHR; a different way of looking at the problem of gender conversion has been recently presented by ZAKHARYIN, 2007, p. 347: *-ī-* in words like *bakarī* has been treated as a representation of derivational morpheme followed by inflectional morpheme represented by a zero. The perceived need to maintain the symmetry of the derivational system then leads him to postulate a zero derivative morph for the masculine gender; in the opinion of the present author, this apparently consistent solution results in an unnecessary proliferation of zeros in the process of morphological analysis.

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In the texts of the present corpus we can find direct as well as oblique cases of both the singular and plural number. In the great majority of instances these formally identical endings are not followed by any postposition, so that their actual force can be inferred only from the context. Even then the exact meaning may be elusive, as can be seen in the verse 185.7 (see below, under the obl. sg. -$\tilde{\imath}_6$), or ambiguous, as in 256.1 (obl. sg. -$\tilde{\imath}_7$). The forms followed by a postposition have been interpreted as general oblique case. Dir. sg. -$\tilde{\tilde{\imath}}_1$ and possible dir. pl. -$\tilde{\tilde{\imath}}_2$ are allomorphs of -$\tilde{\imath}_4$ and -$\tilde{\imath}_5$; their nasal element is conditioned by a preceding nasal consonant.

-$\tilde{\tilde{\imath}}_1$/-$\tilde{\imath}_4$: *dir. sg. f.*

Nominative:

186.3 *kāṭata belī kū̃pala melhī; sī̃cataḍā̃* kumilā̃ṇī̃ "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"

408.1 *gura sevā kari bhagati kamāī, je tāī̃ maniṣā* dehī pāī "serve (or absolutive: serving) the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body" (lit.: "when the body of human being has been acquired by you")

419.3 *kahai kabīra* gujarī baurā̃nī "Kabīr says: the Gūjarī woman has gone mad"

Accusative:

419.1 *tana kari* maṭakī *manahi biloi, yā maṭakī mai pavana samoi* "having made [your] body a churning jar, churn with the mind, add *prāṇa* in this churning jar"

126.1 *tāna māna ḍhū̃ḍhā̃u coṭa na pāũ, voṣada* mūlī *kahā̃ lagāũ* "on [my] body, in [my] mind I search, [but] I do not / I cannot find the wound; where should I put the (healing) herb, the (medicinal) root?"

Vocative:

212.0 *bholī* mālanī *he gōbīdau jāgatau jaga deva* "ah, you foolish flower-seller, Gobinda, the waking one, is the Lord of the world!"

-$\tilde{\imath}_6$ *: obl. sg. f.*

212.1 *bhūlī mālaṇi pātī toṛai,* pātī pātī *jīva* "naive flower-girl, you pluck leaves, [and] in every leaf there is a soul" (locative)

185.7 kahaṇī rahaṇī *nija tata jā̃ṇai, yahu saba akatha kahā̃ṇī* "in speaking, in practice, he comes to know his own true/inner essence (or: "he

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knows the intrinsic/real essence of speaking and practice"); all this is incommunicable story" (locative, instrumental, or genitive)

261.2 *kāla* pāsī *mugdha bā̃dhyau kanaka kā̃mani lāgi* "the fool was tied by the noose of Kāl – because of gold and women" (instrumental)

186.3 *kāṭata* belī *kū̃pala melhī; sī̃cataḍā̃ kumilā̃ṇī̃* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered" (ergative)

82.2 makarī *ghari māṣī chachihārī* "in spider's house the fly strains buttermilk" (possessive genitive)

178.1 *kāyā* kalālī *lāhaṇi karihū̃, gurū sabada guṛa kīnhā̃* "I shall make my body a liquor seller's yeast, guru's word I have used as jaggery" (genitive or vocative)

408.1 *yā* dehī *kū̃ locai devā, yā* dehī *kari hari kī sevā* "gods pine for this body, with/in this body do the worship of Hari" (general oblique with acc. postposition marking direct object; the second *dehī* in instr. or loc.)

212.2 *ṭā̃caṇahārai ṭā̃ciyā, de* chātī *upari pāva* "the carver carved, having put [his] leg on the chest [of the sculpture]" (general obl. with loc. postposition)

459.1 *merī* pāṭī *mājhi liṣi srī gopāla* "write '*śrī gopāla*' on my writing slate" (general obl. with loc. postposition)

78.2 pahalī *eka eka kari dhyāvai bhī dūjā̃ kari mārai* "at first you contemplate [all beings as] one [unity], then making/seeing [them as something] other [than yourself], you kill [them]" (general oblique case and elided *bāra*)

-ī̃$_2$ / -ī$_5$: *dir. pl. f.*

224.0 *sātau āī gyā̃na kī ā̃dhī; bharā̃ma kī* ṭāṭī *sabai* uḍāṇī̃ "*sants*, the storm of the true knowledge has come; the whole/all bamboo-screen(s) of delusion has/have been blown away" (nominative; here both *tāṭī* and *uḍāṇī̃* can be interpreted either as sg. or pl. forms)

224.1 *hita cita kī* thū̃ṇī̃ girā̃ṇī "the pillars of passion and ego-consciousness [that uphold the roof] have been knocked down" (nominative)

257.1 saṣī sahelī *mā̃gala gāvai, duṣa suṣa māthai halada caḍhāī* "friends and companions sing an auspicious song, turmeric [the symbol] of sorrow and happines is being applied on my forehead" (nominative)

212.1 *jā murati kū̃* pātī *toṛai, so murati nrjīva* "the idol, for which you pluck the leaves, is soulless" (accusative)

-ī$_7$: *obl. pl. f.*

473.3 *yahu hīrā nrimolikā,* kauḍī *barai bīkā* "this priceless diamond [was]

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sold for [a couple of] *kauṛīs*!" (or sg.: "for [a mere] *kauṛī*!"; general obl. with postpositive word)

186.2 *pãca* saṣī *mili pavana payãpyau* "five companions met and gratified the vital breath" (ergative; but the interpretation of the finite verb *payãpyau* is uncertain)

256.1 *cāri* ṣuṭī *doi camaraṣa lāī, sahaji rahaṭavā dīyā calāī* "having fastened two leather straps on four pegs (or: "having fastened four pegs and two leather straps"), I set the spinning wheel in motion easily" (either obl.-locative or dir.-accusative)

C. Formative tadbhava affixes

1. aṇa- : *privative prefix*

aṇa- is a descendant of the OIA privative prefix *a-*, in Sanskrit words extended before consonants to *an-*. Later this extended form began to be used before both vowels and consonants (Kellogg, *GHL*, §629a, p. 369). Old Hindī scribes use variants with either retroflex or dental nasal. Compound words formed by this privative prefix followed by a participle, in the same way as the example quoted below, are found at several places in the verses of other Old Hindī authors, notably of Dādū Dayāl; Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. 2, p. 596, record *aṇadeṣī*, *aṇadeṣyā*, *aṇavãchita*, *aṇavãchyā*, and several others found in his *sākhīs*. In Kabīr's *sākhīs* included in the Rājasthānī MS 3190 (but not analysed in the present corpus of texts) several compounds of this formation are found, typically in opposition to unprefixed, non-negated words: thus in *sākhī* 29 of the section *citāvanī* (MS fol. 264a), *aṇaāyā* "not arrived" is contrasted with *āyā*; in *sākhī* 2, section *sãmrathāī* (MS fol. 280b), *aṇakīyā* "not done" is set against *kīyā*; in *sākhī* 22, section *besāsa* (MS fol. 279b), *aṇagāyā* "not sung" stands next to *gāyau*, etc. The fact that these pairs occur more often in *sākhīs* than in *pads* may be due to the generally more terse and pointed style of the former form.

In the present study, *tatsama* privative prefixes *a-* an *an-* have not been segmented as separate morphemical units; either they occur in *tatsama* or *semi-tatsama* words (*agocar-*, *acet-*, *anãt-*) whose internal composition is not the subject of the present analysis, or they occur as parts of *tadbhava* words understood as single morphemical units (*ajẽ̃n-*, *ayẽ̃n-*, *anahad-*).

185.6 *gāvanahārā kade na gāvai,* aṇabolyā *nita gāvai* "the singer never sings; the dumb/speechless one sings all the time"

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2. -ãnī- : *deriver of feminines*

In OIA we meet feminine nouns ending in *-ānī* chiefly in wife-names derived from masculine forms: *indrāṇī*, *bhavānī* etc. and *-nī* in several others (*rohiṇī*, *asiknī*: Whitney, *SG*, §1176d, p. 442, and §1223b,c, p. 469). Apart from these geniune fem. affixes there is in OIA a large number of feminines ending in *-inī* that are derived from masculine *in*-stems (mostly possessives) with the feminine affix *-ī* (*kām-in-ī* "loving or voluptuous woman", *māl-in-ī* "female florist" etc.). Later in the MIA period this combination of affixes became generalised and was used for converting to the feminine gender also of masculines other than the original *in*-stems; if added to masculine *a*-stems, the affix had the form *-anī* (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §445, p. 692-696).

In Old Hindī several variants of this affix may be found in one and the same word: thus, apart from the form *dulahãnī* "bride" occurring in the present corpus (with contact nasalization of the penultimate vowel), we can find forms *dulahinī*, *dulahini*, *dulahin*, and *dulahan* (*HŚS*, vol. 5, p. 2339). This free use of different variants of the affix can be seen also with *tatsamas* that were introduced and gradually assimilated in the NIA period: in the verse 212.0 we encounter the form *mālanī* "female florist" instead the correct *mālinī* – that the latter form was also used can be seen in the same verse in the Tivārī ed. of the KG which has *mālinĩ*.

In the present analysis the form *mālanī* has not been further segmented: in this word *-anī* could not be described simply as feminine affix, as it contains also the possessive or agentive function (*mālanī* is not simply a feminine converted from the masculine *māl-* "garland"; similar cases are *kãmani* in 261.2, and *suhāgani* in 444.0 and 444.2). These words as well as several other *tadbhavas* or *tatsamas* occurring in this corpus (*ḍãiṇi* "ḍākinī", "witch" in 444.3, *nāginī* "cobra", "*kuṇḍalinī* śakti" in 20.3, *sāpaṇi* "female snake" in 195.1) have been treated as single units.

1.0 dulahãnī *gāvahu mãgalacāra, hãma ghari āye rãma bhatāra* "sing, o brides, auspicious song(s), husband/bridegroom Rām has come to our/my house"

3. -ī : *deriver of feminines*

This is a portmanteu morph which carries also declensional functions. For the discussion of its etymology and application, see the section 1.B.3.b above dealing with feminine endings *-ĩ* /*-ī*.

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4. -āī- : *deriver of abstract nouns*

Hoernle, *CGGL*, §223, p. 112-113, explains the genesis of this affix as a result of compounding of several pleonastic affixes in the OIA/MIA period: the Sanskrit fem. suffix *-tā* could be extended by the pleonastic affix *-ka-* to *-tikā* – e.g. *miṣṭatā* or **miṣṭatikā* "sweetmeat", Prākrit *miṭṭha:iā* > Hindī *miṭhaī*; by adding the same affix for the second time, we would get the string **-katikā*, as in e.g. Sanskrit **miṣṭakatikā* > Prākrit *miṭṭhaa:iā* > Hindī *miṭhāī*. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §402, p. 661-662, however, finds this explanation unconvincing and suggests as a basis for the later developments a feminine verbal noun formed from the causative stem in *-āp-*: *-āp-ikā* > MIA *-āviā, -āwī* > NIA *-āī*. Apart from verbal roots this type of abstract nouns can be formed also from nominal stems (both nouns and adjectives) which are, according to Chatterji, treated as denominative verbal stems. His examples include Bengālī abstract nouns *bhālāi* "well-being", *miṭhāi* "sweetmeat", etc.

Occurrences of this affix in the present corpus include abstract nouns formed from verbal roots (*bilag-āī* "uniqueness", or perhaps "separatedness", *cilak-āī* "lustre", "radiance"), as well as nominal stems (from adjectives, as *adhik-āī* "plenty" or *bhal-āī* "well-being"), and also from fractional numerals (*aradh-āī* "one half"). Of particular interest are oblique cases of the noun *adhikāī* that can be understood as taking the function of adverbials (and translated accordingly in the MSH: as *adhika hokara* or *burī taraha se* in 123.0, and as *aura adhika* and *pragāṛha rūpa se* in 381.0, by M. P. Gupta and V. Sīha respectively).

4.a. -āī- + -0_4 *dir. sg. f.*

76.0 *maĩ sabanana maĩ ara maĩ na hữ saba, morī bilagi bilagi* bilagāī *ho* "I [am present] in all, and I am not [this] all; my uniqueness [is explained, or manifested?] in different ways"

76.1 *nā hãma bāra būḍha nāhĩ hãma, nā hamārai* cilakāī *ho* "I am not a boy, I am not an old man, mine is not the lustre [= vigour and virility of the mature age?], hey"

206.1 *sāta sūta de gāḍa bãhatara, pāṭa lagī* adhikāī "having used seven kinds of threads and seventy-two knots, plenty of cloth arose / was produced"

146.3 *tīni hātha eka* aradhāī, *aisā ãbara cīnhaũ bhāī* "three cubits and one half (i.e. the human body) – this heaven you should know/discover, o brother"

363.1 *je jārai tau hoi bhasma tana, rahaĩ krima jala ṣāī; sūkara svãna kāga kau bhachina, tā maĩ kahā* bhalāī *re* "if they cremate [them], then

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the body becomes / turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worms and water eat [them]; [they become] food for pigs, dogs and crows: what good/noble is in it?"

4.b. -āī- + -0_8 *obl. sg. f. used as an adverbial*

381.0 *rā̃ma nā̃ma sumirāṇa bina būḍata hai* adhikāī "without remembering Rām's name you (will) get bogged down even deeper" (or perhaps *-āī-* + *-0_4*, dir. sg. f.: "without remembering Rām's name plenty [of people] get drowned")

123.0 *rāma bina tana kī tāpa na jāī, jala mā̃ agni uṭhī* adhikāī "without Rām the heat/agony of the body does not abate; with great intensity the fire blazed up in the water/ocean"

5. -ī$_1$- : *deriver of abstract nouns*

The origin of this affix is to be sought in the OIA feminine and/or diminutive, or simply pleonastic affix *-ikā* > MIA *-iā* > NIA *-ī*. It used to be added directly to nominal stems; further differentiation of meaning of this affix as a deriver of abstract nouns is probably secondary and may have been influenced or reinforced in the NIA period by the homonymous Persian affix *-ī* for the abstract nouns (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §419, p. 673-674; Phillott, *HPG*, §97, p. 398-400).

In the present corpus the common feminine affix *-ī* (defined as portmanteau morph used for the conversion of masculines to the feminine gender; see in the section 1.B.3.b above), and the deriver of abstract nouns have been marked as two different morphological units: although they share common etymology and gender, on the synchronic level of description they have to be distinguished as carriers of two different functions. From the examples given below, the word *sãsārī* in 19.2 is of particular interest: we have here a *tatsama* word with *tadbhava* affix, an abstract feminine "worldliness" (more correct derivation is *sā̃sārikatā*), which is homonymous with another *tatsama* occurring in the present corpus, a genuine masculine possessive *sãsārī* "worldly person", "man of the world" (in 444.4).

29.0 *apaṇai bicāri* asavārī *kījai, sahaja kai pāiṛai pāva jaba dījai* "[the activity of the] riding upon one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's thought/mind) can be made (or: "is made") when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"

82.0 *kaisā̃ nagari karā̃u* kuṭavārī*, cācala puriṣa biciṣina nārī* "how should I do the policing of the town? The husband is fickle, the wife is clever"

82.2 *makarī ghari māṣī chachihārī, mā̃sa pasāri cīlha* raṣavārī "in spider's house the fly strains buttermilk, meat is on display under the supervision of a kite"

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19.2 *kã̃ma krodha dou kīyā balītā, chūṭi gayī* sāsārī "lust and anger have been used as an igniter; worldliness has disappeared"

6. -paṇ- / -pan- / -pau- : *deriver of abstract nouns*

The NIA affix *-paṇ-*/*-pan-* is used for derivation of abstract nouns from nominal stems to which it is joined by the nominal thematic vowel *-a_1-* or *-$ā_2$-*. Its immediate predecessor is the Apabhraṃśa form *-ppaṇa-*, descendant of the OIA (Vedic) affix *-tvana* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §231, p. 115; Tagare, *HGA*, §159, p. 341). The affix *-pau-* carrying the same function as *-pan-*/*-paṇ-* has its origin in the kindred OIA affix *-tva*, one of the most common Sanskrit derivers of abstract nouns. The variation in the quantity of the thematic vowel in two alternative forms of the same word *bālāpan-*/ *bālapaṇ-* (in 268.1 and 477.2) may be due to the compulsion of rhythm: shortening of the affix compensates the long ending vowel (for similar examples, see Kellogg, *GHL*, §84, p. 50).

338.1 *tũ̃bī aṭhasaṭhi tīratha nhāī,* karavāpaṇa *ta u na jāī* "the bitter gourd may bathe at sixty eight holy bathing places, still the bitterness does not disappear"

268.1 *bāra barasa* bālāpaṇi *ṣoyā* "twelve years in [his] childhood were lost"

477.2 bālapanã̃ *ke mīta hamāre, hamahi chāḍi kata cale ninãre* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you separated / gone away leaving me alone?"

139.0 *jã̃ pãĩ jã̃ũ* āpaṇapau *chuḍã̃vãna, te bīdhe bahu phãdā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps"

7. -iy- : *deriver of nouns of profession, occupation or relation*

This affix can be added to nouns, adjectives, and also to verbal roots to denote either a person who has (in a broad sense of the word) a relation to an entity, a thing, property, or activity, as their possessor, agent, habitual user, etc. Its OIA predecessor was the affix *-ika* with similarly broad range of functions. Six examples quotable from the present corpus show the broad possibilities of its application: *rogiyau* "patient", "the diseased one" in 185.1 and *bāvaliyā* "mad(man)" in 406.4 denote a patient of a mental or physical state (with a second possible meaning of *bāvaliyā* derived from a different nominal stem); *paharaiyā* "watchman" in 82.3 and *madaliyā* "drummer" in 12.1 an occupation (if the affix is not to be interpreted as the diminutive *-iyā-*), and *paḍhiyā* in 182.0, an adjective "learned", "well-read", a quality acquired by a habitual activity. Of particular interest is the word *laganiyã̃* in 115.3: the context of the whole *pad* and of the verse appears to favour the meaning

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"an investor", "one who puts his capital and trust into somebody". But as the base *lagan-* in the sense of "capital" is not attested in Hindī dictionaries, the derivation is somewhat speculative; the common meaning of the noun *lagan* being "attachment", "love", "affection", its derivative may have acquired the meaning of "well-wisher" or "patron".

182.0 *jāi pūchau gobĩda* paḍhiyā *pāḍita, terā kữna gurū kaũṇa celā* "go and ask Govinda, o learned *paṇḍit*, who is your guru, who is disciple?"

82.3 *mūsā ṣevaṭa nāva bila:iyā, mĩḍaka sovai sāpa* pahara:iyā "mouse is the boatman, boat is the cat, frog sleeps, snake is the watchman"

406.4 *kahai kabīra heka hĩ dhyāvo,* bāvaliyā *sãsārā* "Kabīr says: contemplate the One; the world is mad" (or, if *bāval-* = *bāvar-*, f., "net used in hunting", *bāvaliyā* can be read as "one who ensnares in his nets", also pertinent in the present context)

12.1 *dhaula* madaliyā *baila rabābī, ka:uvā tālã bajāvai* "bullock (or perhaps: "pigeon") is the drummer, ox is the rebeck player, crow gives the rhythm"

185.1 *navagraha māri* rogiyau *baiṭhā, jala maĩ byãba prakāsai* "bringing under his control the nine heavenly bodies (= symbols of five sense organs and four internal organs or *antaḥkaraṇas*), the [once] diseased one sat down: reflection shines on the water"

115.3 *guradeva gyữnī bhayau* laganiyữ*, sumirãṇa dīyā hīrā* "the wise Supreme guru was the investor/patron: he gave [me] a precious jewel/ /diamond [in the form] of *smaraṇa* (remembrance)"

8. -ī$_2$- : *deriver of possessives and nouns of occupation or relation*

In Sanskrit the affix *-in* forming possessive nouns and adjectives ("[one] having/possessing ...") could be added to nominal stems in *-a* or *-ā* "almost unlimitedly" (Whitney, *SG*, §1230, p. 471); already in the early stages of the OIA period it acquired the character of primary affix that could be attached directly to verbal roots, esp. at the end of compounds (*-vādin*, *-bhāṣin*, *-hārin*, etc.: *ibid.*, §1183, p. 447-448). It was popular through the MIA period, often stregthened by the almost ubiquitous pleonastic affix *-ka*; this **-in-ka* resulted in the Apabhraṃśa form *-i*(*ya*), as in *dehiya* (< **dehin-ka*), *joiya* (< **yogin-ka*), etc. (Tagare, *HGA*, §158.10, p. 337). In the NIA period it partly coalesced with the affix *-iyā*, *-ī* which developed ultimately from the OIA *-i-ka* and carried similar range of functions (see above, in the preceding section dealing with the affix *-iy-*). The contact with the Persian language in the NIA period may have further strengthened the productive force of this affix which has an exact parallel in the Persian affix *-ī* expressing relationship (as in *īrān-ī* "Persian"),

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or an agent (as in *jang-ī* "warrior"; for detailed treatment, see PHILLOTT, *HPG*, §97, p. 398-404).

Sometimes it is not easy to decide whether this final *-ī* should be treated as a *tadbhava* affix, or understood as an integral part (from the perspective of Hindī morphology) of an original OIA *in*-stem introduced as a *tatsama* unit in the NIA language. In the present analysis the words *anarāgī*, *gunī*, *bairāgī*, *sāsārī*, *sāthī*, *sinyāsī* have been treated as only partly assimilated *tatsama* borrowings and have not been analysed into their stems and (still Sanskrit) affixes. On the other hand, the affix *-ī$_2$-* has been isolated and treated as *tadbhava* in the Sanskrit borrowings *abhāgī*, *tapī*, and *sanehī*, as all of them have variant forms *abhāgiyā*, *tapiyā* and *sanehiyā* – a proof that their stems did combine with other *tadbhava* affixes (the form *tapī* is unknown to Sanskrit, anyway). In the word *rabābī* the affix is originally Persian, but here too we have the attested variant *rabābiyā* "*rabāb* player".

145.0 *pā̃ḍe kā̃una kumati tohi lāgī, rā̃ma na japahī̃* abhāgī "o *pāṇḍe*, what a foolish idea have you taken into your head? You do not revere [the name of] Rām, you wretch!"

275.3 *jogī jatī* tapī *sinyāsī, bahu tīratha bhrā̃manā̃* "yogin(s), recluse(s), ascetic(s), hermit(s), visiting of many places of pilgrimage"

8.3 *anabhai kathā kavana syū̃ kahiye, hai ko catura* bamekī "to whom can be told the story of [one's own] experience? Is anybody so clever and intelligent [as to be able to understand it]?"

421.1 *krodha paradhā̃na lobha bali dū̃dara, mana* maivāsī *rājā* "anger is the headman, greed is strong ruffian; mind is the king of the fort"

12.1 *dhaula madaliyā baila* rabābī, *ka:uvā tālā̃ bajāvai* "bullock (or: "pigeon") is the drummer, ox is the rebeck player, crow gives the rhythm"

381.4 *jana kabīra gura prasāda rāma kari* sanehī "*bhakta* Kabīr [says]: by the grace of the Guru make Rām your dear"

9. -vār$_2$- / -vāl- : *deriver of nouns of profession or occupation*

The origin of this affix is to be sought in the OIA noun *pālaka* "guardian", "protector"; in the NIA languages this word was transformed into affix denoting a person that either possesses a thing or has a relation to it as its producer, dealer, merchant, keeper, etc. In the verses 82.0 and 82.2 quoted below, this affix is followed by another, identified as the deriver of abstract nouns *-ī$_1$-*; the approximate meaning of the word is "safe-keeping", "custody". The change of medial *-l-* for *-r-* is a frequent feature, esp. in the Eastern dialects of Hindī: for more examples, see HOERNLE, *CGGL*, §30, p. 34, and §110, p. 63; KELLOGG, *GHL*, §95b, p. 57; VARMA, *LB*, §109, p. 54; CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §417, p. 670-671.

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82.0 *kaisaĩ nagari karaũ* kuṭavārī*, cãcala puriṣa biciṣina nārī* "how should I do the policing of the town? The husband is fickle, the wife is clever"

82.2 *makarī ghari māṣī chachihārī, mãsa pasāri cīlha* raṣavārī "in spider's house the fly strains buttermilk, meat is on display under the supervision of a kite"

444.1a *ṣasama marai yahu nāri na rovai, usa* raṣavālā *aurai hovai* "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep; somebody else becomes her protector"

444.1b raṣavālai *kā hoi vināsa, uta hi naraka ita bhoga bilāsa* "[when] the protector dies (lit.: "[when] comes the death of the protector"), there [is suffering in] hell, [just as] here [was enjoyment of] pleasure and lust"

10. -hār$_3$- : *deriver of agent nouns*

In the great majority of instances attested in the present corpus this affix denotes an agent of action which is expressed by an immediately preceding verbal noun of action (*gāvaṇa-*, *ṭẽcaṇa-*, *pīvana-*, *racana-*, etc.). Its origin has been traced to the OIA adjective *kāraka* "making", "doing", "acting" (Kellogg, *GHL*, §613.2, p. 355), although Chatterji, *ODBL*, §454, p. 701, is of the opinion that in this case the aspiration, the change of *-k-* into *-h-*, is difficult to explain. The examples quotable from the present corpus are either nouns (*racanahāra*), or adjectives (*potanahārī*) with short or extended endings.

Two words occurring in the corpus end in *-hārī* which is not appended to the noun of action: *balihārī* in 65.1 and 440.1, and *chachihārī* in 82.2 and 419.2. In both instances the segment *-hār-* does not appear to carry the function of deriver of agent nouns, and is probably of different origin (OIA √*hṛ-*, *harati*); its status as a genuine *tadbhava* affix is debatable. The meaning of the second of these two words remains unclear.

34.2 *nahī griha dvāra kachū nahī tahuvẽ,* racanahāra *puni nāhĩ;* jovanahāra *atīta sadā sãgi, e gũna tahẽ samẽhĩ* "no house, door, nothing is there, not even the Creator; [there is] Supreme Consciousness, transcendent [and] ever-present/immanent: there enter these *guṇas*"

187.2 *pai bina nirati karẽ bina bājā, jibhyā hīṇẽ gāvai;* gāvanahārā *kai rūpa na reṣā* "dance without feet, playing [the musical instrument] without hands: without tongue, he sings"; the singer has no form, no mark"

212.2 ṭẽcaṇahārai *ṭẽciyā, de chātī upari pāva; je yā mūrati sakala hai, tau* ghaḍaṇahārai *ṣāva* "the sculptor chiseled, having put his foot on the chest [of the chiseled statue of the idol]; when this idol is finished, does it devour the sculptor?"

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178.2 *mūde madana sahaja dhuni ūpajī, suṣamani* potanahārī "after/by sealing up [the oven] with wax (or: "with passion") in the cooling (or: "purifying") [tube of] *suṣumna*, the sound of the state of *sahaja* arose"

11. -ḍ- / -ṛ- / -r- : *pleonastic and / or diminutive*

The pleonastic affix *-ḍa-*, fem. *-ḍī-* was quite popular in the MIA period, particularly in the Western Apabhraṃśa and in folk poetry (Tagare, *HGA*, §158.23, p. 339). Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §441, p. 689-691, devotes considerable space to attempts at finding an OIA predecessor – for a consideration he offers the affix *-ta* used in the first place in formation of passive participles, but also as a secondary affix in nouns and adjectives. According to him, the retroflexion *-ta* > *-ṭa* > *-ḍa* > *-ṛa* "would seem to have been fairly common in the *spoken* language". He also notes the occasional change of the retroflex *-ṛ-* into *-r-*, a feature possibly attested in the present corpus too (in diminutives *bahuriyā* and *lahuriyā* in 253.1). Tessitori, *OWR*, §146, describes this affix as pleonastic and quotes one example of its use in the adverbial present participle *bhamantaḍã̃* – an exact analogy of the participle *sĩ̃cataṛã̃* found in the verse 186.3 of the present corpus. Frequent use of pleonastic sounds was highlighted as a typical feature of Rājasthānī dialects also by Grierson, *LSI*, IX.2, p. 15.

In the process of morphological analysis the noun *bahuriyā-* "newlywed wife" has not been segmented; but it is possible that it too contains three components – *bahu-* "wife", pleonastic affix *-r-*, and the diminutive *-iyā*; similar may be the internal structure of the word "*puvar-* + *-iyā-*, "spindle of the spinning wheel" (in 256.0). If the nominal stem of the latter word is *puv-*, one of the more important functions of the affix *-r-*/*-ṛ-* might be described as joining the diminutive affixes to nominal stems. But Kellogg, *GHL*, §616.2, p. 358-359, demonstrates with several examples that the morph *-r-*/*-ṛ-*/*-l-* has itself diminutive function and can combine with both feminine and masculine endings (e.g. *palaṅgaṛī* "a small bedstead", *khaṭolā* "a small bed").

186.0 *rãma gũna* belaṛī *re avadhū goraṣanāthi jãṇī* "o *avadhūta*, the plantlet of Rām's praise/*bhakti* was known to Gorakhnāth"

186.1 belaṛiyã̃ *doi ãṇī pahũ̃tī, selī* [*gaga*]*na pahũ̃tī selī* "two sprouts at the plantlet burgeoned, untended they shot out up to the sky, of their own accord"

186.3 *kāṭata belī kũ̃pala melhī,* sĩ̃cataḍã̃ *kumilãṇĩ̃* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"

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253.1 *hari merā pīva mai hari kī* bahuriyā, *rāma baḍe mā̃ī chuṭaka* lahuriyā "Hari is my beloved/husband, I am Hari's (newlywed) wife; Rām is great, I am little, tiny"

12. -k_3- : *diminutive*

One of the most widely used affixes of the OIA period was *-ka* which carried a number of different functions, one of them being a derivation of diminutives (Whitney, *SG*, §1222d, p. 467; for Hindī, Kellogg, *GHL*, §616.1, p. 358). An example of its survival into NIA period can be seen in the adjective diminutive affix, marked *-k_3-*; in the present corpus it occurs in the word *chuṭaka* "little", "tiny" in verse 253.1 quoted in the preceding section. Also worth of attention is the shortening and change of quality of the stem vowel: the same type of diminutive stem formation as observed in the pair *choṭ- – chuṭ-* can be seen at work with other diminutive affixes, e.g. in the pair *ghoṛ- – ghuṛ-* in *ghoṛā* "horse" – *ghuṛilā* "little horse" (*HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1408), *phoṛ- – phuṛ-* in *phoṛā* "abscess", "boil"– *phuṛiyā* "small boil", "pimple", or *beṭ- – biṭ-* in *beṭī* "daughter"– *biṭiyā* "daughter (in endearment)".

13. -iyā- : *diminutive*

One of descendants of the OIA feminine diminutive form *-i-kā* is the NIA feminine suffix *-ī* (see above, in the section 1.B.3.b dealing with the fem. morph *-$ī_4$*). The conversion to the feminine gender by means of this *-ī* may itself carry a diminutive sense; but more distinctly diminutive function has its uncontracted (or extended) NIA form *-iyā* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §258, p. 124; Kellogg, *GHL*, §616b, p. 358; for Bengālī, see Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §419, p. 672-673).

Of the total of four occurrences of this affix in the present corpus three have been given above, in the section dealing with the affix *-ṛ-/-r-* (verses 186.1 and 253.1). The fourth is:

256.0 *mana merau rahā̃ṭā rasana* puvariyā "my mind [is] spinning wheel, tongue [is] spindle"

14. -a_1- / -$ā_2$- : *nominal thematic vowel*

Nominal thematic vowel is a stem-final affix that joins certain formative *tadbhava* affixes (introduced in the sections 6., 7., 9., 10., 11. and 12. above) to their stems. The affix itself is semantically empty; it has been isolated as a connecting morphemical unit in the process of segmentation of affixed nominal stems. The morph is generally realized as a short vowel, only before the affix *-paṇ-/-pan-* its vowel is long: attested forms are *bālāpaṇa*, *bālāpaṇi*

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"childhood", and *karavāpaṇa* "bitterness". The short form in *bālapanã̃* (obl. sg.), appears to be exceptional; the shortening may be due to rhythmical reasons (in the verse quoted below it is attested in the majority of Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV*). Nominal thematic vowel has been identified also in the word *sãtajana* where the element *-jana* takes the function of an affix with the force of plural marker – originally a noun, by transposition endowed with a grammatical function, with semantic content weakened or lost.

It is not necessary to repeat *in extenso* examples that show the presence of this morph as all can be found in the preceding sections; here a short summary will suffice (thematic vowel is highlighted by hyphens): *pahar-a-ːiyā* "watchman" (82.3); *bel-a-ṛī* "plantlet" (186.0); *sĩ̃cat-a-ḍã̃* "by watering" (186.3); *sãt-a-jana* "the virtuous ones" (41.2); *bāl-a-panã̃* "of childhood" (477.2); *bāl-ā-paṇi* "in childhood" (268.1); *karav-ā-paṇa* "bitterness" (338.1); *āpaṇ-a-pau* "myself" (139.0); *das-a-vai* "tenth" (387.2); *kuṭ-a-vārī* "policing" (82.0); *raṣ-a-vālā* "protector" (444.1); *gāvan-a-hārā* "singer" (185.6); *chuṭ-a-ka* "little", "tiny" (253.1).

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CHAPTER TWO

NUMERALS

A. Cardinals

Cardinal numerals found in the analysed *pads* included in the present corpus are listed in the following table.

1	*ik-, ek-, hek-*	F *-a_{13}, -a_{14}, -ah$\tilde{i}_2$, -ai_{10}*; emphatic forms: *-ai_9, -0_3*
2	*da_2-, du-, dui, -do-, doi-, dūny-; dvai-*	F *-0_{11}*; *-0_{12}*; *du- + -tī-*; *do- + -vara*
3	*tĩny-, tīni-*	F *-0_{11}, -0_{12}*
4	*cāri-*	F *-0_{11}, -0_{12}*
5	*pãc-, pẽc-*	F *-a_{13}, -a_{14}*
6	*ṣaṭ-*	F *-a_{13}, -a_{14}*
7	*sāt-*	F *-a_{13}*
8	*aṭh-, aṣt-*	F *-a_{13}*
9	*naũ̃-, nau-; nav-*	F *-0_{11}, -0_{12}*; *-a_{13}*
10	*das_1-, dah-*	F *-a_{13}, -a_{14}*; *-$\tilde{au}_2$*
11	*gyārah-*	F *-a_{13}*
12	*$bār_4$-, bārah-*	F *-a_{13}*
14	*catrudas-*	F *-a_{14}*
16	*solah-*	F *-a_{14}*
19	*uganĩ̃s-*	F *-$\tilde{a}_{17}$*
20	*bīs-*	F *-a_{14}*
24	*cauvīs-*	F *-$\tilde{au}_2$*
30	*tīs-*	F *-a_{14}*
33	*tetīs-*	F *-$\tilde{au}_2$*
52	*bãhatar-*	F *-a_{13}*
68	*aṭhasaṭhi-*	F *-0_{12}*
70	*satari-*	F *-0_{11}*
80	*asī-*	F *-0_{11}*
84	*caurāsī-*	F *-0_{12}*
88	*aṭhyāsī-*	F *-0_{11}*

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100 000	*laṣ$_2$-, lāṣ-*	F *-a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$*
ten million	*koṭi-*	F *-0$_{11}$, -0$_{12}$*

a. *Direct and general oblique cases*
-0$_{11}$: *dir.*
-a$_{13}$: *dir.*
-0$_{12}$: *obl.*
-a$_{14}$: *obl.*

Already in the Apabhraṃśa cardinal numerals with the single exception of the numeral *eka* "one" had lost the distinction of gender, but still retained certain overt markers of the old inflection (Tagare, *HGA*, §105, p. 197). In the Old Hindī texts of the present corpus cardinals, again with the possible exception of the numeral *eka* "one", show in the direct and in all oblique cases a single common form and behave like indeclinable adjectives. In the present system of notation this form is identified as either direct or oblique case by the markers *-0$_{11}$* and *-0$_{12}$* respectively in the numerals ending in vowels other than *-a*; in the rest the final *-a* has been treated as a separable affix and marked as *-a$_{13}$* for the direct case and *-a$_{14}$* for the oblique; this approach makes room for possible modification of the stem with special aggregative affix consisting of a single diphthong (*das$_1$- + -ãũ$_2$*, similarly *cauvīsãũ*, *tetīsãũ*), and with affixes used for the derivation of ordinals (*dasavai*).

-0$_{11}$ *dir.:*

1.3 *sūra tetīsãũ āe, mũniyara* koṭi aṭhyāsī "all thirty three gods came to [watch] this show/wonder, and eigty eight myriads of ascetics"

146.3 tīni *hātha eka aradhāī, aisā ãbara cīnhãũ bhāī* "three cubits and one half (i.e. the human body) – this heaven you should know/discover, o brother"

-a$_{13}$ *dir.:*

212.5 e[ka] *na bhūlā doi na bhūlā, bhūlā saba sãsārā;* eka *na bhūlā dāsa kabīrā, jā kai rãma adhārā* "not one has erred, not two have erred, whole world has erred; the only one who has not blundered is the *bhakta* Kabīr who has Rām as his support"

310.1 pãca *cora gaḍha mãjhā, gaḍha lūṭaĩ dyaũsa ra sãjhā* "five thieves inside the fort: they loot the fort day and night"

448.0 *mānũ̃* aṭha *sidhi* nava *ni*[*dhi*] *tā kai harṣi haraṣi jasa bolai* "as if eight *siddhis*, nine treasures [were contained] in his joy, rejoicing he sings the praise [of God]" (or: "as if eight *siddhis*, nine treasures [were] his, constantly rejoicing ...")

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30.0 *jhăgarā* eka *naberau rāma, je apāṇā̃ jana setī kā̃ma* "settle one quarrel, o Rām, if [there is on your part] concern with your own devotee"

-0_{12} *obl.:*

212.4 tīni *devā̃ eka mūrati, karai kisakī seva* "a single idol of three gods – whom [of these three] do you worship?" (but *tīni* can be interpreted also as dir., *devā̃* as dir. pl., and *eka mūrati* as obl. cases; the expression is then translated "three gods in a single idol")

338.1 *tū̃bī* aṭhasaṭhi *tīratha nhāī, karavāpaṇa ta u na jāī* "the bitter gourd may bathe at sixty eight holy bathing places, still the bitterness does not disappear"

-a_{14} *obl.:*

77.1 eka *joti taĩ̯ saba utapānā, kaĩ̯uṇa vārāṇa kaĩ̯uṇa sūdā* "all have arisen from one light – who is *brāhmaṇa*, who is *śūdra*?"

114.1 *jaujana* eka *pramiti na jā̃naĩ̯, bātani hī̃ baikūṭha baṣā̃ṇaĩ̯* "they do not know [how it is to walk] the distance of single *yojana*, but in their talks they explain [how to get in] the paradise"

94.1 ṣaṭa *cakra kī kanaka koṭarī, basta bhāva haĩ̯ soī* "in the golden cell (or: "cells") of the six *cakras* the essence of [that] thing is asleep"

b. *Locative/instrumental*
-ahĩ$_2$: *loc./instr.*
-ai$_{10}$: *loc./instr.*

Of all the cardinals represented in the present corpus only *ek-* can be seen as retaining overt markers of inflection – the locative/instrumental sg. endings *-ahĩ$_2$* and *-ai$_{10}$*. Both are formally identical with the nominal endings *-ahĩ$_1$* and *-ai$_6$* /*-ai$_7$* respectively, but as all cardinals are here undestood as having already lost the distinction of gender, they have been treated as separate morphs. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 46, seem to identify all such forms as emphatic (that would be analysed, using the present notation and applied to the form *ekai* in the verse 421.3, as *ek-* + *-a$_{14}$* obl. + *-i$_{14}$*/*-ī$_{14}$* > *-ai$_9$* emphatic obl.); in their dictionary they do not consider the possible interpretation of *-ai* as a marker of non-emphatic obl. or loc./instr. cases. But the contexts in which these forms appear in the Kabīrian *pads* make both interpretations feasible. Overt obl. and loc. case markers for this numeral are attested in the Apabhraṃśa (Tagare, *HGA*, §105, p. 197-198) and also in contemporary Pañjābī of the Ādi Granth – Shackle, *GNG*, p. 29, lists several such forms, *inter alia eki*, *ekai*, and *ekatu* for the loc. sg. Tessitori, *OWR*, §80, also mentions special forms for the instr. pl.

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280.3 *bā̃bhaṇa gyārasi karahĩ cauvīsa͡ũ, kājī maha ramadā̃nā̃; gyāraha māsa kahau kyũ̃ ṣālī,* ekahĩ *mā̃hĩ samā̃nā̃* "*brāhmaṇas* celebrate the total of twenty-four *ekādaśīs* [in succession, separately, whereas] *qāzīs* [prescribe the single] month of Ramadān"; tell me, why are eleven months empty (i.e. without holy days), [and all the holy days] fit in one?" (or emphatically: "in a single one")

421.3 *vrahma agni le sahaja͡ĩ phūkī,* ekai *coṭa ḍhahāyā* "having taken the fire of *brahma* I kindled [the wick] easily (or: in the state of *sahaja*); with one (or emphatically: "with a single") blow I destroyed [the fort]"

B. Aggregatives

-u$_5$	P *-0*$_{11}$
-ũ̃$_2$	P *-0*$_{11}$, *-0*$_{12}$
-a͡ũ$_2$ dir.	P *cauvīs-*, *tetīs-*
-a͡ũ$_3$ obl.	P das-
-hũ	P *-0*$_{12}$
-hu$_1$	P *-0*$_{12}$
-hū$_2$	P *-0*$_{12}$

The aggregative affixes denoting a totality of things or persons understood as belonging together can be joined to both dir. and obl. forms of cardinals numerals. The origin of this affix which shows, in the texts of the present corpus, several allomorphs, has been sought in the OIA suffix *-taya*, used in the neuter to form collectives, e.g. *dvitayam* "a pair", "couple", *catuṣṭayam* "a set of four", "quaternion" (Kellogg, *GHL*, §250, p. 165-166; Whitney, *SG*, §1245a, p. 479); an alternative derivation offered by Tiwari, *ODB*, §419, p. 124, (with a reference to its original formulation by S. K. Chatterji) is from the pleonastic particle *khalu*. Tessitori's explanation of these forms as genitive-oblique (*OWR*, §81) appears to be less probable: the genitives in the Old Mārvāṛī end either in *-ha* (sg.), or *-hã* /*-ā̃nā̃* (pl.), a state of things inherited from the Apabhraṃśa (Tagare, *HGA*, §111, p. 199).

The affix *-a͡ũ* results from the merger of final *-a* of the stem with the aggregative *-ũ*$_2$. As the final vowel of the stem may denote either direct (*-a*$_{13}$), or oblique (*-a*$_{14}$) case, the diphthong too has to be marked as either direct or oblique.

113.3 *kā̃dha kāla suṣa kou na sovai, rājā rā̃ka* dou *mili rovai* "with Kāl (i.e. death) [sitting] on one's shoulder, nobody sleeps at ease / happily; king and pauper, both weep together"

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204.2 *astūti nidyā* dou *chāḍai, tajai mā̃na abhimā̃nā̃* "he [who] leaves both the praise and slander, abandons pride and vanity"

251.3 *sāṣata sunahā̃* dūnyū̃ *bhāī, vo nīdāī̃ vo bhā̃ukata jāī* "*Śākta* and dog, both are brothers: the former slanders, the latter keeps barking"

204.1 *rājasa tāmasa sātiga kahiye,* tīnyū̃ *terī māyā* "*rajas*, *tamas*, *sattva* – these three are said to be / are called your *māyā*"

325.2 *ākāsa gagana pātāla gagana,* dasā̃u *disā gagana rahāī* "the space/ /void is in the sky, the space/void is in the netherworld; in all ten directions is established / extends the void"

280.3 *bā̃bhaṇa gyārasi karahī̃* cauvīsā̃u "*brāhmaṇas* celebrate the total of twenty-four *ekādaśīs* [in succession, separately]"

1.3 *sūra* tetīsā̃u *kautiga āe, mũniyara koṭi aṭhyāsī* "all thirty three gods came to [watch] this show/wonder, and eigty eight myriads of ascetics"

439.0 *āvata jāta* duhũ *ghā̃ lūṭe, sraba tata hari līnhā̃* "when coming [to this world and] when leaving [it] – at both occasions [we are] robbed, all substance taken away"

280.4 *tīratha mūrati rā̃ma nivāsā,* duhu *māī̃ kahū* [corrected: *kāhū?*] *na herā* "places of pilgrimage, icons [as] dwellings of Rām? In both nobody found [Him]"

C. Collectives

Single occurrence of nominal affix added to a numeral does not represent sufficient evidence for a definite answer about its function. The present context indicates that the word may be a collective numeral, "[a group/collection of] nineteen [units]". Formation of collectives has been briefly dealt with by Kellogg, *GHL*, §242, p. 163. The forms he supplies by way of illustration (*battīsī* "a thirty-two", *cālīsā* "a forty") are in fact denumerative substantives: in Hindī dictionaries they are treated as nouns (see, e.g. *cālīsā* in *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1517, or *battīsī*, *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 3368). If this is the case of *uganī̃sā* in 206.0, the correct description of this affix is -$ā_7$ (obl. sg. m.).

-$ā_7$ *obl sg. m.:*

206.0 *nau gaja dasa gaja gaja* uganī̃sā, *puriyā eka taṇā̃ī* "nine *gaz*, ten *gaz*: of [this collection of] nineteen *gaz* the frame (for weaving) was stretched" (nine *gaz* are the nine doors of the body; ten *gaz* are the ten organs - five *jñānendriyas* and five *karmendriyas*; the collection of these nineteen units is the subtle body)

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D. Fractional numbers

2 ½	*aḍhāī-*	F *-0$_{11}$*, *-0$_{12}$*

From the point of view of morphology and syntax, fractions behave like the cardinal numbers and are therefore marked by the same case affixes. *aḍḥāī-* "two and half" (from the OIA *ardha-tṛtīya* > MIA *aḍḍhatīyā* > *aṛha:iyā*), the only fraction in the present corpus, occurs once in the direct, and once in the oblique case with postposition. The inverted sequence *sera aḍhāī* is dictated by the compulsion of verse.

206.2 *tulaha na tolī gajāha na māpī, pahajana sera* aḍhāī; aḍhāī *mā͂uhi je pāva ghaṭai, tau karakaca karai bajahāī* "[the weaver] did not weigh [the fabric] on a scale, did not measure [the length] in *gaz*; [it was] approximately two and half *ser*; if in two and half [*ser*] one quarter is missing, the remainder/fragment complains" (meaning is unclear; see the footnotes below the text of the *pad* in question)

E. Ordinals

"first"	*pahal-*	F *-ī$_{6}$*, *-a͂ī$_{10}$*
"second"	*du-*, *dū-*	F *du-* + *-tī-*, *dū-* + *-j$_{2}$-*; *dū-* + *-sar$_{2}$-*
"fourth"	*cau-*	F *-th$_{2}$-*
"tenth"	*das$_{1}$-*	F *-a$_{1}$-* + *-ṿ$_{2}$-*

Ordinals are treated exactly like adjectives; all forms occurring in the present corpus use for their inflection either short (*-a$_{4}$*), or extended nominal endings (dir. *-ā$_{5}$*, obl. *-ā$_{7}$*, *-e$_{2}$*, *-ī$_{6}$*, loc. *-ai$_{6}$*); the diphthong *-a͂ī* in *pahala͂ī* in 15.1 has been identified as adverbizing affix *-a͂ī$_{10}$* (itself transposed ending of loc./instr. sg. *-a͂ī$_{2}$*). In most instances these endings are preceded by derivative affixes that turn the numeral stems into ordinals. With lower numerals these affixes are irregular and have peculiar forms specific for each of them.

pahal- "first" has its own form underived from the cardinal *eka* "one"; in this it follows its Sanskrit predecessor *prathama-* and its reconstructed variants **prathila-*/**prathilla-* from which arose the attested MIA and Apabhraṃśa forms *pahila* and *pahilla* (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §536, p. 804; Tagare, *HGA*, §117, p. 203; Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 8648 and 8652, p. 488). In 78.2 after *pahalī* we should probably supplement *bāra* and read "at first".

78.2 pahalī *eka eka kari dhyāvai bhī dūjā͂ kari mārai* "at first you contemplate [all beings as] one [unity], but then making/seeing [them as something] other [than yourself], you kill [them]"

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15.1 pahalā̃ī *pūta pachā̃ī bhaī māī, celā kai gura lāgai pāī* "first [came] the son, [only] later was [born his] mother; guru takes seat at the feet of [his] pupil"

"second" : *-tī-*

"Second" is formed from the numeral base *du-*/ *dū-* variously with three different affixes reflecting NIA dialectal differences and probably also a more or less advanced stage of assimilation of borrowed *tatsamas*. The latter point is illustrated by the ordinal *dutī-*, an assimilated OIA ordinal *dvitīya* "second". The status of the syllable *-tī-* as a derivational affix is doubtful, as it is never encountered with any other numeral than *du-*; but it is exactly this form that has supplied the reason for the identification of *-tī-* as a separate morph – *du-* itself appears as a segmentable morphemical unit in other numeral forms (*duhū̃* "both"), as well as in compound lexemes that have not been segmented, in the present method of analysis, into their ultimate components, but still retain them as clearly visible and identifiable forms (*dubadhyā* in 387.0 in the present corpus and several other lexemes in other *pads* of the MS 3190).

261.3 *kahi kabīra raghunātha bhaja nara,* dutī *nā̃hī̃ koi* "Kabīr says: worship Raghunātha, o man, [for] there is no second/other [than Him]"

"second" : *-j$_2$-*

Apart from the numeral base *dū-*, the derivational morph *-j$_2$-* occurs also with the base *tī-* (*tīj-* "third", not found in the present corpus, but attested in other texts of the *DHL-NBhS*: see, vol. II., p. 766). This *-j-* developed in the MIA period from the suffix *-īya* of the OIA forms *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya*, OIA *-y-* being particularly susceptible to spirantisation. (Another example of the development of OIA *-ya-* into NIA *-j-* is the synthetic *-ījj-*passive abundantly attested in the texts of the present corpus.) Chatterji, *ODBL* I, §536, p. 805, reconstructed this development with the help of hypothetical intermediate MIA forms **dutiyya*, **duijja*; the latter variant (and also *tijjau* "third") was later confirmed by Tagare, *HGA*, §117, p. 203, as a form actually occurring in the Western Apabhraṃśa.

In our texts the variants of "two" with initial *b-* occur only in numerals above ten: *bāra*/*bāraha* "twelve"; *bīj-* for "two" is found in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and also in Old Mārvāṛī (Chatterji, *ibid.*, Tessitori, *OWR*, §82; its predecessor *bīa* and *bīya* was identified by Tagare, *ibid.*, as Southwestern Apabhraṃśa).

20.2 *mana mativālā pīvai rā̃ma rasa,* dūjā *kucha na suhāī* "the intoxicated mind drinks the nectar of Rām, nothing other pleases [it]"

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139.1 *jogī kahaĩ joga bhala nīkā, aura na* dūjā *bhāī* "the yogins say: yoga is fine, nice, and [there is] no other/second [like it], o brother"

"second" : *-sar$_2$-*

-sar$_2$- as a derivational affix is probably a NIA formation without any Apabhraṃśa precedent. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §452, p. 700-701, derives it from OIA *sara* "moving" of the root √*sṛ-*. Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 6676, p. 381, it. 6018, p. 343, and it. 13260, p. 766, sees in it a development of OIA multiplicatives *dviḥ* "twice" and *triḥ* "trice" extended with the lexeme **sarā-*^{2} "string", "garland": **dviḥsara-* "twofold". The logic of conversion of multiplicative into an ordinal remains unexplained; perhaps "[number] two in a string or line"?

285.4 *alā pāka tũ nā̃pāka kyũ, aba* dūsara *nā̃hĩ koi* "Allāh is clean, [so] how [could] you [be] unclean? Now / in this respect, nobody is different" (or: "in reality, [there is] nobody other [than Him]")

"fourth" : *-th$_2$-*

In the logic of the present analysis the status of this affix is similar to the derivational *-tī-* dealt with above in the ordinal *dutī-*: *-th$_2$-* too combines with single numeral stem, *cau-* "four". Like *du-*, this stem too occurs as the first part of a number of other numerals (e.g. *caurāsī* and *cauvīs-*, to name only those found in the present corpus), and compound lexemes (*cauhaṭ-* "crossroads", "square", "market-place", not in the present corpus, but found in the MS 3190, fol. 259a, *paracai kau ãga*, in *sākhī* 15a), and therefore deserves the status of distinct morphemical unit. Already in OIA *-tha-* served as derivational affix of numerals and was used not only in the ordinal *caturtha* "fourth", but also in *ṣaṣṭha* "sixth", and occasionally also in *pañcatha* "fifth" and *saptatha* "seventh" (Whitney, *SG*, §487c, p. 184). From its MIA/Apabhraṃśa descendant *cauṭṭha* the development led to NIA forms *cauṭhā* in Bengālī and Maithilī, and, with the loss of retroflexion, to *cauthā* in the western North Indian dialects and languages, from Old Avadhī through Braj and Khaṛī bolī to Old Mārvāṛī.

440.4 *kahai kabīra hamāre gobĩda,* cauthā *pada mo jana kī jyãda* "Kabīr says: o my Gobinda, the life of me, the true *bhakta*, [has reached] the fourth (i.e. the highest) stage"

204.1 cauthe *pada kũ jo jana cīnhaĩ, tinha hī parãma pada pāyā* "devotees who know/recognize the fourth (impersonal) state [of the soul] – only by these the highest stage has been reached"

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"tenth" : -v_2-

-v_2- is a NIA development of the OIA affix *-ma* used for derivation of ordinals 5, and 7-10: *pañcama*, *daśama*, etc. Tagare, *HGA*, §117, p. 203-204, has shown that Apabhraṃśa retained this affix in an unchanged form and generalized its application to all ordinals upto one hundred and further. In the later development of *-ma* into *-vā* the last vowel was nasalized in some dialects, and occurred without nasalization in others. In the verse quoted below the diphthong was left by the scribe without a nasalization mark, but other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the *MKV*, p. 494-495 (A322, V259, and Raj42;4) have the nasalized variant *dasavaĩ*.

387.2 *mãna mãjana kari* dasavai *dvāri, gãgā jamanã̃ sãdhi bicāri* "having performed the purification of mind at the tenth door, contemplate the union of Ganga and Yamuna"

F. Multiplicatives

"-fold" : *-vara*

Multiplicatives corresponding to multiplicative adverbs "twice", "thrice", etc. are formed with the obl. form of cardinal number followed by the postpositional word *-bāra*: for more detailed treatment of this morph, see the section 4.B.20 in the chapter Postpositions. *-vara*, on the other hand, has the force of an adjective and denotes multiple components of a whole (carrying the same meaning as the MSH affix *-harā* "-fold" in e.g. *doharā* "double", "duplex"). In the variant of the verse 421.0 quoted below, the MS Gop58;12 reads *dovaḍa* and *tevaḍa*; similarly, *HŚS*, vol. 5, p. 2384, and vol. 4, p. 2135, knows only retroflex variants *dovaṛa* and *tevaṛa*, respectively. The origin of all these variant forms may be found in the OIA *vāra-*, *m.*, which was used, *inter alia*, in the sense "(appointed or fixed) time", "(one's) turn". HŚS, however, regards the retroflex variants as *deśī* words.

421.0 *kyũ̃ līje gaḍha bãkā re bhāī,* dovara *koṭa,* tevara *ṣāī* "how can be taken that formidable fortress, o brother? [It has] double rampart, triple moat"

440.4 *tīni* bāra *patiyārā līyã̃, mana kaṭhora ajahũ̃ na patīnã̃* "three times the ordeal was set up, [but] even now the stubborn mind has not believed"

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CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

In its main features the system of pronominal inflection and derivation reflected in the analysed *pads* of Kabīr follows the general pattern common to the NIA languages. Demonstrative pronouns are used also in the role of the 3rd pers. of the personal pronoun, both sg. and pl.; notable is partial suppletivism with different stems for the direct and oblique cases: near demonstratives have the base for the dir. case 0_1-/y_1- against i_1-/y_1- for the oblique; analogical relation is v_1- against v_1-/u_1- for the far demonstrative and 3rd person, and s_1- against t_2- for the far demonstrative and correlative. Genitives of the 1st and 2nd pers. of personal pronouns have adjectival forms and are identical with possessive pronouns; in the singular number both western (*mer-*, *ter-*), and eastern, Avadhī forms (*mor-*, *tor-*) are represented. Special forms for the agentive case are recorded only for the personal pronoun of the 2nd person sg. (*taĩ*), and for the correlative, relative and interrogative/indefinite sg. (*tini*, *jini*, *kini*). Eastern influences were probably at work in the habit of using the honorific plural for the 1st pers. sg. pronoun: this undoubtedly eastern tendency described by Chatterji and Saksena for the Middle Bengālī and Avadhī, and noted also as an eastern element in Old Braj by Varma, is not mentioned in Tessitori's description of Old Mārvāṛī.

A. Personal

1. *1st pers. sg.*: hũ$_1$- + *dir.* -0$_{11}$

OIA 1st pers. pronoun *aham* > MIA **aha-ka-m* > *aha:aṃ*/**ha:aṃ* > Apa. *ha:uṃ* > NIA *ha:ũ*, *haũ*, *hũ*, *hõ* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430, p. 275; Tagare, *HGA*, §119A, p. 207). It is found in Old Braj as *haũ* (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.60, p. 148), Mārvāṛī *hũ*, *ha:ũ* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §83), or Pañjābī *ha:u*, *ha:uṁ* (Shackle, *ISLS*, p. 20, 101; Shackle, *GNG*, p. 59). Modern authors describing the evolution of Braj (Varma, *LB*, §157, p. 71) and Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §237(a), p. 163) agree that this pronominal form was gradually superseded by its alternative form *mayā*, derived ultimately from the OIA instrumental case of the same pronoun.

The texts analysed in the present study show just one example of this NIA form for the dir. case. When interpreting the *pads* of Kabīr the reader should be careful to distinguish the pronominal *hũ* from the homonymous

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form of the 1st pers. sg. pres. of the verb *h₁-* "to be". Often both words fit well in basically the same contexts. In the example quoted below the decision in favour of the pronominal form is motivated by the occurrence of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg. *tũ̃*, "you", "thou", which can be understood as standing in opposition to the 1st pers. *hũ̃*, "I" rather than to the present tense "[I] am".

477.1 *tũ̃ merā purīṣā* hũ̃ *terī nārī, tumha calatã̃ pāthara tāĩ bhārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife; leaving [me] you [are] harder than stone!"

2. *1st pers. sg.*: m- + *dir.* (*nom.*) -ãĩ$_3$ / -ai$_8$ *and erg.* -ãĩ$_5$ / -ai$_{11}$

OIA 1st pers. pronoun *aham*, instr. sg. *mayā* > MIA (Pkt.) *mae / ma:i* > Apa. *ma:ĩ / ma:i*, transferred to the dir. case (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430, p. 274; Tagare, *HGA*, §119A, p. 207). "The transfer is clearly due to a confusion in the minds of the ignorant of the two constructions of the subject with the verb" says Kellogg, *GHL*, §351, p. 209, reprovingly. Tagare, *HGA*, ibid., speculates that the nasalization in the final *-ĩ* may be due to the influence of Loc. (*-hĩ*) or Instr. sg. (*-ĩ*) of masc. *-a* stems. Chatterji, *ODBL*, §539, p. 808, too suspects an influence of nominal instrumental affix (*mayā* > **may'ēna* > *maĩ*).

As the relatively copious occurrences of this form in the texts analysed in the present study show, there is no functionally relevant distinction between nasalized and non-nasalized forms. Nasalization of the diphthong does not appear to be conditioned by phonological factors either (contact nasalization), as the examples in the verse 310.5 clearly show. In the case of this pronominal form, nasalization appears to be a random phenomenon.

If the predicate verb is the copula "to be" in the present tense, it is in most cases omitted. An exception is the verse 76.0 (*maĩ na hũ̃ saba*) where *hũ̃* takes the role of main verb with the meaning "to exist". In the past tense, ergative construction is expected if the predicate verb is transitive; but as the language of the analysed texts does not know the ergative postposition, there is no formal distinction between the direct and ergative case of the pronoun. In all quotable examples logical objects (i.e. grammatical subjects in the ergative construction), if expressed at all, are masculine in the singular number, so that any overt feature distinguishing the nominative sentence pattern from the ergative is missing.

Finally, a note on the marking of endings. Miltner, *OHR*, p. 77, designates the ending *-ãĩ$_3$* as "dir. / erg.", and lists the two pronominal bases *t₁-* and *m-* as morphs immediately preceding it. To conform to the actual distribution of morphs in the *pads* analysed in the present study, however, the designation dir. / erg. can be used only in the case of *m-* where the originally instrumental

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> ergative ending (*m*)-*ayā* + -*ena* > *(*m*)-*ay'ēna* > (*m*)-*aĩ* was subsequently extended to the nominative. In the case of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg. this extension did not take place and, consequently, the distribution of its endings is different: the ending -*aĩ*, in its origin identical with -*aĩ* used with the pronominal base *m*-, is limited to the ergative, the direct case having its own ending -*ũ̃*. The summary designation dir. / erg. is clearly out of place here. In the present study the problem has been solved by applying separate designation for dir. and erg. to both persons, as given in the following table. In the case of the pronoun of the 1st person the assignation of the dir. or erg. marker is based on the actual occurrence of the pronominal form in its respective syntactic context. It should be noted that this is not a purely descriptive procedure: e.g. in the verse 310.5 the decision has been made to understand the construction as ergative, even though, in the MSH, a similar sentence with a missing object is not – cf. the dir. case in the expression where the object is not expressed *maĩ samajhā*/*samajhī* "I (have) understood" and ergative in *maĩ ne yaha bāta nahĩ̃ samajhī* "I have not undestood this thing" (*bāta*, fem., logical object and grammatical subject of the sentence).

	dir.	erg.	obl.
m-	-*aĩ*$_3$ /-*ai*$_8$	-*aĩ*$_5$ /-*ai*$_{11}$	-*o*$_4$, -*ohi*
t$_1$-	-*ũ̃*$_1$	-*aĩ*$_5$ /-*ai*$_{11}$	-*o*$_4$, -*ohi*

Nominative (subject)

76.3 *jaga* maĩ *deṣũ̃ jaga na deṣi mohi* "I see the world, [but] the world does not see me"

76.0 maĩ *sabanana maĩ ara* maĩ *na hũ̃ saba* "I [am present] in all, and I am not [this] all" (note the homonymous forms of the pronoun and the locative postposition: in the manuscript under study both occur in two variant spellings *maĩ* and *mai*)

188.3 *kahai kabīra tāsa* mai *celā, jini yahu taravara peṣyā* "Kabīr says: of that [person] I [am] a pupil who has seen this tree"

1.1 *tana rata kari* mai *mana rata karihũ̃* "having painted [my] body red, I shall paint red [my] mind [too]" (or: "having inflamed [my] body with passion, I shall inflame [my] mind [too]")

257.0 mai *sāsuri pīva gũhunaĩ āī* "accompanied by [my] beloved, I came to the house of in-laws"

Ergative (agent)

310.5 *kahai kabīra* mai *jãnã̃,* maĩ *jãnã̃ mana patiyānã̃* "Kabīr says: I had gained the insight; [when] I had gained the insight, the mind was convinced" (arbitrariness in the nasalization of pronominal form)

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486.2 *kahai kabīra rā̃ma* mai *jā̃nyā̃* "Kabīr says: I have known Rām" (or perhaps *jā̃n*$_1$- without object: "I have gained the insight, o Rām!")

439.1 *māyā moha mada* mai *pīyā* "I drank the liquor of infatuation of *māyā*" (or: "the liquor of illusion and infatuation")

288.0 *jau* mā̃ī *gyā̃na bicāra na pāyā, tau* mā̃ī *yũ hī̃ janama gamāyā* "if I have not gained the insight into true knowledge, then I have wasted [this] birth to no purpose" (lit.: "just so")

315.4 *kahai kabīra* mā̃ī *pūrā pāyā* "Kabīr says: I have attained the full/fullness [of being]"

310.4 *paḍhẽ gunẽ mati hoī,* mā̃ī *sahajai pāyā soī* "by reciting and meditating arises [only a state of] mind / an idea – [but] in [the state of] *sahaja* (or: "spontaneously") I have reached Him [directly]"

3. *1st pers. sg.*: m- + *obl.* -o$_4$ / -o$_4$- + -hi$_2$

OIA *mahyaṁ* > MIA *maha / mahũ* > Apa. *maha / mahu* > OH *mo*; *mo* + (pleon.) obl. sg. suff. *-hi* = *mohi* (Tagare, *HGA*, §119A, p. 207; Bloch, *IA*, p. 188-189 [191]; Beames, *CGMALI* III, §63, p. 304-305); Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430, p. 275-276; in *CGGL*, §365.6, p. 195-196, he devotes a lengthy discussion to the origin, different forms and functions of the suffix *-hi*; his derivation from the Apa. genitive affix looks (particularly in the light of later research by Tagare, *ibid*., §81, p. 119-120, and §83, p. 130) problematic, but his notes on its frequent occurrence in Old Hindī in the function of dative and accusative case are correct.

A different solution was propounded by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §541, p. 810-811: OIA *mama* > Apa. **mā̃wa* > NIA *mo-*; the form *mohi* is explained as locative in *-hi* (used in Middle Bengālī for the dative-accusative). Chatterji devotes several pages (*ibid*., §499, p. 745-749) to the explanation of the genesis of this affix, which, "exceedingly common with the pronouns, in the form of «-hi», and the present-day Western Hindī oblique «-ai, -ē» is derived from the earlier «-a-hi»." As the most probable source of this affix, he offers OIA locative forms **-dhi*, **-bhi*, **-bhim*, *-smin*. Also, in his analysis of Old Kosalī forms represented in the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, Chatterji offers the same etymology of the form, explaining the Hindī sentence *mohī̃ tarhi ke baṛhāvihā̃ti*, translated into Sanskrit by the author of the UVP as *mama tarhi ke saṃvardhayitāraḥ*, as really representing "**mama-dhi* (for *māṃ*) *tarhi ke vardhāpayiṣyanti*" (*UVP*, §66, p. 47). Saksena, *EA*, §237, p. 163, agrees with Chatterji to the extent of identifying the affix *-hī̃* in the obl. case *mohī̃* (and also in *hamahī̃, tohī̃* and *tumhahī̃*) as the ending of obl. case – "a general oblique". Partly disagreeing with Chatterji about its etymology, Saksena (*EA*, §207, p. 133-134) anticipates the conclusions of Tagare and believes that the origin of *-hī̃* is to be sought in the OIA pronominal locative ending *-smin* > MIA *-mhi* > NIA *-hī̃*, *-hi*.

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Still another possible explanation of the origin of this form is offered by Kellogg: MIA **ma-su* (OIA possessive *-sva*, or OIA abl. pl. *-bhyas* > MIA *-su*) > MIA *mahũ* > NIA *mo* (Kellogg, *GHL*, §353a., p. 210); McGregor, *LIO*, §3.75, p. 151-152, suggests the derivation of the dir. and probably also the indir. object forms in *-hi*(*ṃ*) from the OIA nominal ending *-sya*.

Taking into account etymological considerations only, the correct segmentation of these forms might be *mo-*, *mo-* + *-hi*$_2$, rather than *m-* + *-o*$_4$, *m-* + *-o*$_4$*-* + *-hi*$_2$; from the point of view of synchronic analysis, however, it may be preferable to segment the morphs carrying the notion of "1st pers. sg." and "2nd pers. sg." as *m-* and *t*$_1$*-* respectively, and treat the remaining parts common to both pronouns (*-er-*, *-o*$_4$, *-or-*, *-ãĩ*$_5$) as separate affixes.

The simple unextended form *mo* is used with postpositions, and also when a noun is in apposition with the pronoun, as in the verse 440.4. Here the construction *mo … kī* denotes genitive relation. The extended form *mohi* is employed when the pronoun itself is used as a direct or indirect object. The dative, apart from expressing the indirect object, may be used also as the dative of experiencer.

Simple oblique case + postposition

440.4 *kahai kabīra hamāre gobĩda, cauthā pada* mo *jana* kī *jyãda* "Kabīr says: O my Gobinda, the life of me, the true *bhakta*, [has reached] the fourth (i.e. the highest) stage"

315.2 *kãma colanã̃ bhayā purã̃nã̃,* mo pãĩ *hoi na ã̃nã̃* "the dress of lust/ /passion has been worn out, there is not any other one with me" (or: "does not fit me"; i.e. I do not have any other to wear)

Dative (indirect object)

47.0 *so baikũṭha kahau hai kaisā, kari pasāva* mohi *dehau* "say, what is the paradise like, [which,] by your grace, you will give me?"

47.1 *je mere jiya doi jãnata hau, tau* mohi *mũkti batāvo* "if you know my soul [and yourself] as two [separate entities], then tell me [the way of] liberation"

Dative of subject (experiencer)

325.0 *e jīva āi ra kahã̃ gayau, tātãĩ* mohi *bairāga bhayau* "having come to this world, where has gone this living being / soul? – From this [thought] a detachment from worldly affairs has arisen in me"

315.0 *iba* mohi *nācibau na āvai, merau mana madalā na bajāvai* lit. "now, dancing does not come to me (i.e. "I do not feel like dancing"): my mind does not play the drum [any more]"

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459.0 *nahĩ chāḍaũ bābā rãma nāma,* mohi *aura paḍhana syũ kaũna kãma* "I shall not abandon [the recitation of] Rāma's name, o father; what is the use to me of learning other things?" (or: „of further learning?")

Accusative (direct object)

76.3 *jaga maĩ deṣũ jaga na deṣi* mohi "I see the world, [but] the world does not see me"

47.0 *rãma* mohi *tāri kahã lai jaihau* "Rām, having ferried me across, where will you take [me]?"

459.1 mohi *kahā paḍhāvai ālajāla* "why do you teach me nonsense?"

4. *2nd pers. sg.*: t_1- + *dir.* -$\tilde{u}_1$; t_1- + *erg.* -$a\tilde{i}_5$ / -ai_{11}

Hoernle's (*CGGL*, §430, p. 276-277) hypothetic derivation of both *tũ* and *taĩ* from OIA gen. sg. or obl. (an extension into pronominal flection of his observation that obl. sg. and dir. pl. or even dir. sg. of nouns have often identical forms) was not accepted by later scholars. As the point of departure he reconstructs MIA *ta-*/*tu-* (<OIA *tva-*) + gen. or obl. suff. *-hi /-hu /-ha* (nasalized or not), which would give the forms *ta:i*, *ta:ĩ*, *ta:u*, *tuha*, *tuhã*, *tuhũ*. From this set of variants could have developed, in Hoernle's opinion, not only Hindī *tũ* and *taĩ*, but all the different forms extant in other NIA languages.

Tagare, *HGA*, §120, p. 214, reconstructs on the basis of close scrutiny of forms occurring in the Apa. literature the development as OIA *tva-* > MIA *tuvaṁ*, *tumaṁ* > Apa. *tuhuṁ*, *tuhũ*; the Apa. *-h-*, absent in earlier MIA stages, he explains by supposed analogy of OIA *asma-* : *aha-* ~ **tuṣma-* : *tuha-*, which in the Apa. stage would give *amha* : *haũ* ~ *tumha* : *tuhũ*. Reconstruction on similar lines, although less well documented by extant forms, was made already by Beames, *CGMALI* III, §65, p. 309-310. He sees no difficulty in deriving from the Apa. form *tuhã* the NIA variants *tũ* and *tũ*. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §547, p. 816-817, presents simpler line from OIA *tvam* > MIA *tuṁ* > NIA *tũ, tũ*.

Beames, Tagare and Chatterji agree in seeing the separate development of *taĩ* from the Apa. instr. *ta:iṁ*, *taĩ*; Tagare supposes a common termination *-iṁ* or *-ĩ* added to the pronominal base *ta-* < OIA *tva-*; Beams sees an exact analogy with the development of the 1st pers. sg. pronoun *maĩ*; and Chatterji again derives the final nasalisation from hypothetival OIA instr. *tvayā* + nominal ending *-ena* > **tvay'ena* > MIA *taē*, Apa. *taĩ*.

In contrast to the formal identity of nom. and. erg. in the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg., nom. and erg. of the 2nd pers. sg. are clearly distinct in their form as well as in their employment: *tũ* is used in the nominative only and denotes grammatical subject, whereas *taĩ* / *tai* is ergative: in the verses 249.1 and 408.1, quoted below, the verb agrees with its logical object (turned grammatical

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subject) which happens to be masculine pl. in the first case, and feminine sg. in the latter. The employment of the ergative construction in both instances is thus clearly visible.

Nominative

473.3 *kahai kabīra suni kesavā,* tũ *sakãla viyāpī; tumha samãna dātā nahĩ, hama se nahĩ pāpī* "Kabīr says: listen, o Keśava, you [are] all-pervading; there is no giver like you, there is no sinner like me"

145.2 *jãmaṇa marãṇa tãĩ tau* tũ *chūṭai, suphala hvãĩhi saba kãmã̃* "then (if) you free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying, all [your] undertakings will be successful"

338.2 *je ridai sūdha mana gyãnī, tau* tũ *kahā birolai pãnī* "if [you are so] pure in [your] heart [and so] wise in [your] mind, then why do you churn the water (= do the ritual bathing)?"

96.0 *jīvarā* tũ *jāigau mãĩ jãnã̃* "[o my] soul, thou wilt depart, I know"

Ergative

249.1 tãĩ *saba rājā bhūpati mãge, more rãma dhiyãnã* "you asked all kings and potentates [for a *dakṣinā*]; [but] mine [was] contemplation of Rām"

408.1 *gura sevā kari bhagati kamāī, je* tãĩ *maniṣā dehī pāī* "serving the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body"

384.0 *divãnã̃* tai *dĩna visāryau re* "o fool, you have cast aside the true faith!"

5. *2nd pers. sg.*: t_1- + *obl.* -o_4 / -o_4- + -hi_2

MIA *ta-*/*tu-* (<OIA *tva-*) + obl. suff. *-hi* > MIA **tahu*, *ta:u* > NIA *to* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430, p. 277-278; see above, under 2nd pers. sg., dir. case). Tagare, *HGA*, §120, p. 215, Bloch, *IA*, p. 189 [191], Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §549, p. 817, derive the oblique Apa. and NIA base *to-* from OIA gen. sg. *tava*. Tagare does not go beyond the Apa. period, leaving the form *tohi* unexplained – the only affix recorded by him that might be taken into account in tracing the origin of the NIA form is *-hiṁ* added to the dat., gen., abl. sg. base *tu-* (apparently an isolated occurrence, quoted from Rāmasiṁha's *Pāhuḍa-dohā*). Bloch, although not stating it explicitly, most probably understands *-hi* to be the same nominal oblique suffix he postulates in his explanation of the form *mohi*. In this he agrees with Beames, who, however, derives the base *to-* from the Apa. gen. sg. *tuhaṃ* (*CGMALI* III, §65, p. 310). The most extended discussion devoted to the origin of the affix *-hi* is found in Chatterji's *ODBL*, §499, p. 745-749 (for a brief summary, see above, under the obl. of the 1st pers. sg. pronoun). The forms *tohi* and *tora* are naturally seen as parallelling the 1st pers. sg. obl. and gen. *mohi* and *mora* (*UVP*, p. 50).

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In the analysed texts of *pads* there are two occurrences of the dative and two of the accusative, both showing one base form with the postposition *kũ̃* and one extended form *tohi*. Comparison with other versions included in the MKV edition shows the same forms used in all MSS, with the exception of the no. 440: here the pronoun takes different forms: MS 3190/440.2 and V290 have *to kũ̃*, whereas A353, J35, C149, Gop60;3 write *tohi*; AG870;4, which differs from the rest in language and arrangement of verses, reads *tujhu*. *tohi* is the Avadhī form, but used also in Old Braj bhāṣā literary works together with the shorter *to* + case postposition. *tujh-*, current in Mārvāṛī and also the northern dialects of Khaṛī bolī, Sirhindī and Pañjābī, is not represented in the present corpus. Both datives quoted below denote the experiencer (one with the verb "to be", the other with the verb *lāg-*, both in constructions widely used also in MSH), accusatives point to direct objects.

Dative of the subject (experiencer)

8.0 *gura prasādi akali bhaī* to kũ̃ "by the grace of Guru you have been endowed with reason"

145.0 *pā̃ḍe kā̃una kumati* tohi *lāgī* "o *pāṇḍe*, what a foolish idea have you taken into your head?"

Accusative (direct object)

440.2 *mahāvata* to kũ̃ *mārũ̃ sāṭī* "[hey,] *mahāvat* (elephant driver), I shall beat you with a club"

29.2 *cali baikũṭha* tohi *le tārũ̃* "going to heaven, I shall take you along with me"

6. *1st pers. pl.*: hãm- / ham- + *dir.* (*nom., acc.*) -a_{13}

OIA Ved. *asma-* > MIA *amha*, *amhe* > NIA Hi. *ham* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430.3, p. 278-279; Beames, *CGMALI* III, §64, p. 308). Two peculiar features of this pronoun, one concerning the form and the other its use, should be noted. From the morphological point of view, the direct, ergative and indirect case look exactly the same. Only the accusative/dative has its own form *hamahi* (see below). In view of the previous analysis which has led us to postulate the direct, oblique and ergative cases as separate categories for the sg. of the personal pronoun (see the discussion under the *m-* + dir. (nom.) -*ā̃*$_3$ /-*ai*$_8$ and erg. -*ā̃*$_5$ /-*ai*$_{11}$ above), it seems reasonable to mark the formally identical endings of the dir. and erg. case as separate entities in the pl. also. Comparison of the constructions *hãma bigare* in the verse 147.0 and *hãma isa kā pāyā bheva* in 444.4 clearly shows the different syntactic status of the pronoun in these two contexts – a difference which leaves no formal trace on

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the morphological plane, but is important for the correct understanding of these types of constructions.

The other peculiarity concerns the use of the 1st pers. pl. pronoun in contexts where the 1st pers. sg. would be expected. Of the examples given below only the first two (139.2 and 200.1) are obvious plurals; the other cases are either ambiguous, or the plural form should be understood to mean singular (e.g. in the verses 249.2 and esp. in 147.0 where *maĩ* and *hãma* are used side by side and refer to the same subject). The habit of substituting plural forms of the 1st pers. pronoun for the singular ones is a feature observable in several NIA languages; it has been brought to completion in Bengālī where *āmi* (< old pl. *āmhe*, *āmhi*) now stands for the ordinary sg. number. In the more western NIA languages and dialects this process, delineated by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §542, p. 812-813, as "Old Plural > Honorific Singular > Ordinary Singular", manifests itself only as a tendency, according to him, "due unquestionably to Eastern influence". Saksena, *EA*, §235, p. 162, for example, notes that in Modern Avadhī the sg. form of the pronoun of the 1st person is used less frequently than the plural and that the latter replaces the former. Similarly Varma, *LB* §159, p. 72, writes that in Old Braj the obl. and dir. forms of the plural often take the place of those of the singular, and adds that this tendency is even more marked in Modern Braj. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.60, p. 148, mentions this peculiarity only briefly when discussing the 1st pers. sg. form *hauṃ* which "occurs commonly as 1st sg. pron., [...] but *hama*, which is usually 1st pl., [...] can probably be used as its equivalent." This kind of substitution is occasionally met with in Khaṛī bolī also and has been noted by grammarians (e.g. Kellogg, *GHL*, §259, p. 171), but in MSH this tendency never asserted itself to the extent of becoming the rule.

Nominative (subject)

139.2 *pāḍīta gũnī sūra kavi dātā, e ju kahaĩ baḍa* hama *hĩ̃* "scholars, experts, heroes, poets, benefactors – [all] these say: »the great ones are we, indeed!«"

200.1 *jā kārāṇi* hama *upajaĩ binasai, kyũ̃ na kahau samajhāī* "due to what cause are we born and die – why do you not explain?"

41.0 hãma *na maraĩ marihai sãsārā* "we do/will not die [even when] the [whole] world will die"

41.3 *hari marihai tau* hãma *hũ̃ marihaĩ, hari na marai* hãma *kāhe kũ̃ marihaĩ* "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (= is not mortal), why (or: "how") shall we die?"

249.2 *pūraba janama* hãma *bãbhana hote* "in my previous birth I was a *brāhmaṇa*/*bābhan*"

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147.0 *saba dunī sayẽnī maĩ baurā,* hãma *bigare bigirai jini aurā* "whole world is wise, [only] I am mad; I have become insane, let nobody else become insane" (i.e.: let the others keep what they think is mental sanity, I am not a model to follow)

23.5 *aba mãna ulaṭi sanātana hūvā, taba* hãma *jẽṇyẽ jīvata mūvā* "now the mind having turned around became eternal; at that moment, by obtaining the [saving] knowledge, I died [to this world] while still being alive"

Accusative (direct object)

1.3 *kahai kabīra* hama *byāhi cale haĩ, puriṣa eka abināsī* "Kabīr says: the One bridegroom eternal has come (lit.: "have come") to take me as his bride" (thus according to modern Hindī interpreters: Gupta, *KG*, p. 141, translates *mujha* [*nārī*] *ko eka aura avinaśvara puruṣa vyāha cale haĩ*; similarly, Siṃha, *KV-S*, p. 188: *mujhe eka avināśī puruṣa vyāha kara le jā rahe haĩ.*)

7. *1st pers. pl.*: hãm- / ham- + *obl. / erg.* -a_{14} *and obl.* -a_{14} + -hi_2

OIA Ved. *asma-* > MIA *amha* > Apa. *amha-* + *-hiṃ* > *amhahiṃ / amha:iṃ / amhaĩ* > NIA Hi. *hamahĩ / hamaĩ / hamẽ* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430.3, p. 278-279; *-hiṃ*: §365.6.-7, p. 195-199; Beames, *CGMALI* III, §64, p. 309; Tagare, *HGA*, §§119, 119A, p. 208-210). The discussion of the origin of the ending *-hĩ* with respective references has been summarized under the heading *m-* + *-o_4-* + *-hi_2* above.

From the point of view of usage of the obl. form, a particularly interesting instance is the genitive of possession standing as appositional adjunct to the noun *ghari* in verse 1.0. Varma, *LB*, §158, p. 71, mentions this function of the oblique under the rubric of the 1st pers. sg. pronoun oblique *mo* (plural number or other persons are not noted) and gives several examples, inter alia, *mō mana harata* "il prend mon cœur" ("he steals my heart"). This reminds us of possessive genitives in Sanskrit where constructions *mama manaḥ* or *asmākaṃ gṛhe* are in no way less common than adjectival *māmakaṃ manaḥ* or *asmadīye gṛhe*. Ergative constructions show clearly in verses 23.0, 76.3, 444.4., and also 477.4 where the first *hama* is in nom. case, and the second in ergative. In the analysed texts the extended form *hamahi*, current in both Old Avadhī and Braj (but absent in Old Mārvāṛī), has been found only in the force of the accusative, the dative being expressed by the simple form with the postposition *kũ* (in the verse 41.0). But occurrences of both variants are too few to allow any general conclusions concerning their distribution.

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Ergative (agent):

23.0 *aba* hãma *sakala kusala kari mãnã̃, svãtī bhaī jaba gobĩda jãnã̃* "now, I have understood everything as wholesome/beneficient, I have found the peace of mind [only] when I knew Gobinda"

76.3 *trigũna rahita phala rami* hãma *rāṣila* "free from the three *guṇas,* enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]"

444.4 *aba* hãma *isa kā pāyā bheva* "now I have exposed her secret"

477.4 *hama kāhū sãgi gaye na āyai, tumha se gaḍha* hãma *bahuta basāye* "I neither [ever] departed nor arrived with anybody; [in the past] I occupied many [such] forts like you" (says soul to the body; first *hama* in dir. case)

Simple obl. case without postposition (genitive of possession):

1.0 *dulahānī gāvahu mãgalacāra,* hãma *ghari āye rãma bhatāra* "sing, o brides, auspicious song(s), husband/bridegroom Rām has come to our/my house"

Simple obl. case + postposition:

473.3 *kahai kabīra suni kesavā, tũ sakãla viyāpī; tumha samãna dātā nahĩ̃,* hama *se nahĩ̃ pāpī* "Kabīr says: listen, o Keśava, you [are] all-pervading; there is no giver like you, there is no sinner like me"

477.3 hãma *syũ̃ prīti na kari rī baurī, tumha se kete lāiyai ḍhaurī* "do not fall in love with us/me, o you foolish one; how many others like you are attached in love [towards me]!"

221.3 *kãma krodha māyā mada machara, e sãtata* hãma *māhĩ̃* "lust, anger, delusion, pride, jealousy – these [are/dwell] in us continuously"

41.0 hãma *kũ̃ milyā jīvãvanahārā* "we have met Him who gives life"

Accusative (direct object):

429.3 *kahi kabīra hari darasa diṣāvo,* hamahi *bulāvo ki tumha cali āvo* "Kabīr says: show your splendour/*darśan*, o Hari! Either summon me, or come [to me] yourself"

477.2 *bālapanã̃ ke mīta hamāre,* hamahi *chāḍi kata cale ninãre* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you gone away leaving me alone?"

8. *2nd pers. pl.*: tumh- + *dir.* (*nom., acc.*) -a_{13}

In the development of OIA *yuṣma-* > Apa. *tumha / tumhe* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §490, p. 280-281) it is difficult to explain the change of the initial *y-* to *t-*. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §550, p. 819, explains the form as taken over from the

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sg. *tvam*, *tvayā*, *tubhyam*, etc. The formation *tuṣme* after the analogy of the pronoun of the 1st pers. *asme* and the sg. stem *tu-* (*tva-*) is suggested also by Kellogg, *GHL*, §358, p. 212. Tagare, *HGA*, §120A, p. 215, postulates OIA **tuṣma-* > Pāli *tumha* (in Pāli the actual forms of nom. and acc. are *tumhe*) > Braj *tuṁh*, *tumhã̃u*. Varma, *LB*, §165, p. 75, notes *tumh* (as opposed to *tum*, the most common form in the whole Braj area) as limited to the eastern region (Kānpur) and characterizes it as Avadhī pronunciation. The form *tumhaẽ* was usual in the Old Braj as obl. case (*ibid.*, p. 76). It may be noted that *tumha*, occurring in the present corpus as unique form for both the dir. and obl. case, is regarded as standard in Old Avadhī of Tulsī and Jāyasī (Saksena, *EA*, §237, p. 165-166). Old Mārvāṛī has *tumhe* as the general form of the nom.-acc., and *tumha*, *tumhã̃* of the gen.-obl. (Tessitori, *OWR*, §87).

The person addressed is either in the sg. – as, e.g. in 477.1, which is a dialogue between the soul and body, or 429.3, where it is used to address the God – or in the pl., as in the verse 285.1. Often the number can be ascertained only with reference to the broader context of several verses or whole *pad*. However, comparison with the use of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg. *tũ̃* shows that for addressing a single person the sg. number is generally preferred – but it also should be noted that, in the majority of instances retrievable from the present corpus, the persons addressed are either reprimanded, or pressed with provocative questions, and generally do not appear to be held in high esteem. On the other hand, *tũ̃* is also used with reference to the God (473.3) and soul (96.0). It appears that rules for choosing the 2nd pers. sg. or pl. are not yet fully stabilized – similar fluctuations have been reported also by McGregor, *LIO*, §3.61, p. 148-149. The verb "to be" as the predicate is regularly omitted (eg., in 473.0).

477.1 *tũ̃ merā purīṣā hũ̃ terī nārī,* tumha *calatã̃ pāthara tãĩ bhārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife; leaving [me] you [are] harder than stone!" (says the soul to the body; note the use of *tũ̃, hũ̃* and *tumha*; the verb "to be" is omitted)

429.3 *kahi kabīra hari darasa diṣāvo, hamahi bulāvo ki* tumha *cali āvo* "Kabīr says: show your splendour/*darśan*, o Hari! Either summon me, or come [to me] yourself" (addressing of God)

439.3 *hãma nãhĩ* tumha *nāhĩ̃ re bhāī, rahe rã̃ma bharapūrā re* "neither me nor you [shall endure], o brother; only Rām in his plenitude shall last" (the person addressed is probably sg.)

275.1 *jau* tumha *pāḍita paḍhi guni jã̃nãũ, bidyā byākurãṇã̃* "even if you are a *paṇḍit*, having studied and philosophised, you (may) know science, grammar" (the person addressed is probably sg.)

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97.2 *kāũṇa puriṣa ko kā kī nāri, abhiātari* tumha *lehu bicāri* "who is the husband, who is whose wife? Concentrate on [what is] within [your heart]!" (the person addressed may be either sg. or pl.)

285.1 *kahā̃ the* tumha *kyanā̃ kīye, akali hai saba nesa* "where are you from, by whom created? All [your] understanding is destroyed" (persons addressed as pl.: *pīrs*, *murīds*, *qāzīs*, *mullāhs*, *darvīshes*)

473.0 tumha *saraṇāgati kesavā, rāṣi rāṣi murārī* "you [are my] asylum, o Keśava, save, save [me], o Murārī!" (addressing the God, verb "to be" omitted)

9. *2nd pers. pl.*: tumh- + *obl.* -a_{14}

For etymology, see above, under the direct case. In the present corpus occurrences of the obl. case both with and without postpositions are rare. In 473.3 *tumha* should be understood as non-possessive obl.-gen.: a phrase equivalent to *tumhāre samāna* in MSH. Similarly in 477.4 the postpositive word -s_2- is best understood as governing the obl. case – again like in the MSH (for various uses of the postpositive word *sā* in MSH, see Poříźka, *HLC*, §*12, p. 573-577).

281.0 *mīyā̃* tumha *syū̃ bolyā̃ bani nahī̃ āvai* "*mīyā̃*, you are impossible to talk to" (adressee is sg.)

473.3 tumha *samā̃na dātā nahī̃, hama se nahī̃ pāpī* "there is no giver like you, there is no sinner like me" (addressing God)

477.4 *hama kāhū sāgi gaye na āyai,* tumha *se gaḍha hāma bahuta basāye* "I neither [ever] departed nor arrived with anybody; [in the past] I occupied many [such] forts like you" (says soul to the body)

B. Possessive

1. *1st pers. sg.*: m- + *genitive and possessive* -er- / -or-

MIA *maha-* (= gen. of *ha:ũ*) + -(*k*)*ero-*/-(*k*)*ara-* > **maha*(*k*)*era:u* / **maha*(*k*)*arā* > Apa. *mahera:u* / *mahārā* > NIA *merau*, *merā*, *māro*, etc.; MIA *mahu-* (= gen. of *ha:ũ*) + -(*k*)*ara-* > NIA *mora*, or by assimilation to *tora* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §451, p. 304-305; Beames, *CGMALI* III, §66, p. 311-314; Bloch, *IA*, p. 190 [193]). The initial MIA forms *maha* and *mahu* go back to the OIA dative *mahyam*, but were used in the MIA, together with *mama*, for the genitive (Pischel, *GPS*, §418, p. 294; Tagare, *HGA*, §119A, p. 207).

As far as the derivation is concerned, a matter of some controversy has not been the pronominal form as a whole, but rather the origin of the genitival affix. Hoernle, *CGGL*, §377, p. 230-237, is firmly of the opinion that the correct chain is OIA *kṛta-* > [**karita* > **kario* > **kairo*] > MIA *-kera-*/*-kara-*.

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This used to be added either to emphasise the gen., or to distinguish the gen. sense from other possible senses of the obl. case; in the literary Prākrits it was not joined to the genitive case of the pronoun as a postposition, but was compounded instead, as in *tumha-kero*, *amha-kero*; from these compounds developed the Apabhraṃśa form *tumhārā*, etc. But in the Apabhraṃśa it is added also to the obl. case, or, as Hoernle says, "pleonastically to the gen." Of course, the usage can be called pleonastical only if a particular form of the obl. case to which it is appended is still recognisable as gen.: *amhahã kera:u*, *tumhahã kera:u*. Hoernle considers the derivation of *-kera-* from OIA *kārya* to be untenable on both semantic as well as phonetic grounds. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §503, p. 753, on the other hand, sees no problem in deriving *kera* from *kārya*, through the intermediate step with metathesis **kaira*. He finds support in Pischel, *GPS*, §176, p. 130, who supplies several examples of this kind of metathesis (both Pischel and Chatterji use the term "epenthesis") and mentions explicitly the Mahārāṣṭrī form "*kera* = *kārya* (gehörig; ...)". *kṛta* as the initial form of the chain is rejected by Chatterji (the possibility of intermediate **karita* is not considered by him), as *kṛta* would later develop into forms like *kaṭa*, *kaḍa*, *kada*, *kaa*, *kida*, *kia* in MIA – acceptable only as possible precursors of the genitive postposition in Hindī. The same author, commenting on the form *mora* attested in the *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, explains its origin thus: *mama* > **mãwa* > *mo*; *mo* + *kara* > **mo-ara* > *mōra* (*UVP*, §67, p. 50). Whatever is the correct explanation, and there can be more than a single one, from the point of view of morphological analysis the segment *-er-/-or-* is well justifiable on both historical and descriptive grounds.

This possessive affix is followed by nominal endings expressive of the gender, number and case; the resultant form has the force of possessive pronoun and is used like other pronominal adjectives. However, the forms of oblique case of the the first and second person do not have necessarily always possessive meaning: if the following word is not a noun, the oblique case has not the function of an attributive pronominal adjective, but is to be understood as the oblique case (gen., loc., etc.) of the personal pronoun itself. In this function it occurs in the so-called inflected genitives of possession (which are in fact old locatives; see an example in verse 390.4 below), and also before postpositions (so possibly in *mere sãga* in 398.3 below, if *sãga* is interpreted as a postposition; the phrase then means "with me". Cf. also the MSH postpositional phrases *mere pāsa* "with me", *mere se loga* "people like me", etc.).

There is a clearly discernible regional distribution of the *-er-* and *-or-* variants of the possessive morph in the 1st and 2nd pers. sg.: Khaṛī bolī, Braj and other dialects of Western Hindī use the *-er-* form (Mārvāṛī has *-ār-*), whereas the Eastern Hindī dialects (Avadhī, Bhojpurī, Māgadhī and Maithilī) take

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-or-. Used in rhyming pairs, the forms *mor-* and *tor-* occur in 121.0, 123.2, 402.0 and 429.0. It is perhaps not without interest that in these *pads*, with the exception of no. 402, we find several other grammatical forms that are probably of eastern origin: *kete*, *tete*, and *bakasa*(*u*)*hu* in *pad* no. 121, *tumha* in nos. 123 and 429. *Pad* no. 76 shows, apart from the pronominal adjective *morā*, one instance of the past participle in *-il-*, *rāṣila*, another eastern form. Other forms worthy of special attention include the set form of the locative of possessor (the so-called possessive genitive; for more details, see the section 4.1.b below) *more* and *mere* in 249.1, 390.4, and possibly also in 398.3 (where it can be interpreted also as dir. pl.), and several instances of ellipsis where the noun this possessive form depends upon is omitted (268.0, 410.1 twice, 439.1; for similar cases, see Kellogg, *GHL*, §696, p. 415-416). But still another interpretation of *merī* should be noted: Sīha's *KKK*, p. 273, understands the reduplicated form *merī merī* in 268.0 as a noun meaning *mamatva*, "attachment"; also *HŚS*, vol. 8, p. 4016, knows *merī* as a noun, an equivalent to Skt. *ahaṃkāra*. *merī* may thus denote an attitude of looking upon things as being "mine", substantivized with the meanings "egotism" or "vanity".

a. m- + -er- + -$ā_5$ / -$ī_4$ / -$ī_6$ / -e_2 / -e_{10} / -e_4 / -ai_6 / -au_1

146.4 *kahai kabīra jo ãbara jãnai, tā hī syũ* merā *mana mãnai* "Kabīr says: who knows [this] heaven, with him indeed my mind agrees" (dir.-nom. sg. m.)

187.0 *avadhū so jogī gura* merā, *jo ihi pada kā karai naberā* "O *avadhūta*, that yogī is my guru, who makes out / solves this *pad*" (dir.-nom. sg. m.)

459.2 *begi chuḍãvau* merau *kahyau mãni* "I shall get you released immediately, [but] heed my word" (dir.-acc. sg. m.)

459.3 *rãma chãḍũ tau* mere *gurahi gāri* "[if] I forsake Rām, then [it will be taken as] an insult to my guru" (obl.: loc. > dat. sg. m.)

65.0 *nrimala nrimala rãma gũna gāvai, so bhagatā* merai *mani bhāvai* "[he, who himself] pure, sings the pure praises of Rām, that *bhakta* is dear to my heart" (loc. sg. m.)

280.0 *alaha rãma jīũ tere nãī; bãde pari mihari karau* mere *sãī* "Allāh, Rām, I live in/by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!" (voc. m.)

390.4 *musalamãna kahai* mere *eka ṣudāi, kabīrai kau svãmī saba ghaṭi rahyau samāi* "The Muslim says: I have One God; Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures" (locative of possessor – the so-called inflected genitive of possession)

398.3 *kahai kabīra* mere *sãga* [*na*] *sātha, jala thala mãhi rāṣai raghunātha* "Kabīr says: mine are no bonds, no company; on land and at sea it is

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Raghunāth who protects me" (locative possessive; or, taking *sãga* as postposition, obl.: "with me there are no companions")

419.0 *hari kau bīlovanau bīloi* merī *māī* "churn / prepare [the product of] churning (i.e. butter) for/of Hari, o my mother" (voc. f.)

459.1 merī *pāṭī mãjhi liṣi srī gopāla* "write '*śrī gopāla*' on my writing slate" (obl. sg. f.)

268.0 merī merī *karatã janama gayau* "thinking of (lit.: "doing") 'mine', 'mine', the life passed away" (dir.-acc. sg. f.)

439.1 *māyā moha mada mai pīyā, mugdha kahai yā* merī *re* "I drank the liquor of infatuation of *māyā* (or: "the liquor of illusion and infatuation"); the deluded one will say: ‚this is mine!'" (dir.-nom. sg. f.)

410.1 *jaba laga mai mai* merī *karai, taba laga kāja eka nahĩ sarai* "as long as you practice [only] 'me, me, mine', until then a single undertaking will not succeed" (dir.-acc. sg. f.)

410.1 *jaba yahu mai* merī *miṭi jāi, taba prabhū kāja savārai āi* "when this 'me' and 'mine' disappears, then Lord shall come and (help) accomplish the task" (dir.-nom. sg. f.)

b. m- + -or- + -a_4 / -$ā_5$ / -$ā_6$ / -$ī_4$ / -e_1 / -e_{10}

249.1 *tũ bãbhaṇa mãĩ kāsī kā julāhā, cīnhi na* mora *giyãna; taĩ saba rājā bhūpati mãge,* more *rãma dhiyãnã* "you are a *brāhmaṇa*, I am a weaver from Kāśī; you do not recognize my wisdom; you asked all kings and potentates [for a *dakṣinā*]; [but] mine [was] contemplation of Rām" (dir.-acc. sg. m., and locative of possessor; for the frequent use of "weak form" with short or absent final vowel in nom. and "standard form" in the obl. cases, see HOERNLE, *CGGL*, §431, p. 282)

429.0 *bina darasãni kyũ mana mãnaĩ* morā "without *darśan* how can my mind believe?" (dir.-nom. sg. m.)

402.0 *jau mai baurā tau rãma torā, loka marãma kā jãnai* morā "I may be mad, but still [I am] yours, o Rām; what does the world know about my heart?" (dir.-acc. sg. m.)

1.1 *rãma deva* more *pahũnẽ āye hai* "the God Rām have come as my bridegroom" (nom. or obl. sg. m.: *more pahũne* [*ke rūpa mẽ*]?)

121.0 *hari jananī mai bālika torā, kāhe na auguna bakasauhu* morā "Hari, [you are] mother, I am your child; why do you not forgive my transgressions?" (dir.-acc. pl. m.)

76.0 *mãĩ sabanana mãĩ ara mãĩ na hũ saba,* morī *bilagi bilagi bilagāī ho* "I [am present] in all, and I am not [this] all; my uniqueness [is explained] in different ways" (dir.-nom. sg. f.)

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2. *2nd pers. sg.*: t_1- + *genitive and possessive* -er- / -or-

For Hoernle, *CGGL*, §430, p. 277, quoting the Hindī grammar of De Tassy, the immediate predecessor of the pronominal base is the form *taha*, an obvious parallel to the 1st pers. sg. *maha*. Tagare, *HGA*, §120, p. 215, however, considers this form likely to be a scribal error, the correct form being *tuha*. The fusion of this form with the suffix *-kera* into *terā* is not seen as a problem by the authors of historical grammars. Analogical formation parallelling the 1st pers. sg. *merā* may perhaps help fully explain this form. The eastern variant *torā* is not problematic in this respect. The origin of the possessive suffix *-er-/-or-*, has been dealt with above, in the section on the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. sg.

a. t_1- + -er- + -$ā_5$ / -$ī_4$ / -e_2 / -au_1

direct case

92.1 *re jiya* terā *ko nahĩ, kalapi laihu jini bhāra* "o soul, you have nobody (lit.: "your is nobody" – adverbal genitive with the force of predicative complement) [to help you in this world?], do not lament the burden [you have to bear]" (exact meaning of this difficult half-verse is uncertain)

381.1 *dārā suta greha neha, sãpati suṣadāī; yā mahi kachū nāhi* terau*, kāla āvadhi āī* "attachment to wife, son, house, wealth that give [you] pleasure – nothing of this is yours [when] the time of death has come!"

182.0 terā *kũna gurū kaũṇa celā* "who is your guru, who is [your] pupil?"

408.5 *yahu* terau *ausara yā* terī *bāra* "this is your opportunity, this is your time"

oblique case

280.0 *alaha rãma jīũ* tere *nãī* "Allāh, Rām, I live in/by your name"

b. t_1- + -or- + -$ā_5$

123.2 *tumha pĩjarā mai suvanā* torā "you are a cage, I am your parrot"

3. *1st pers. pl.*: hãm- / ham- + *genitive and possessive* -ār-

OIA *asma-* + -**karita* or *-kārya* (see the discussion under *m-* + *-er-/-or-*), or *-karaka* > MIA *amhaarao* > Apa. *amhāra:u-* > NIA *hamārau / hamāro / hamārā*. The reconstruction of the genitive/possessive suffix as *-karako* is Kellogg's who in his *GHL*, §363, p. 213, refers to Hoernle's quotation from Mṛcchakaṭi which has the form *amhakelake* (for *amhakerake*). Tessitori, *OWR*, §84,

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is more straightforward and derives the OWR *amhāra:u* (and the identical Apa. form) from Skt. **asmat-kāryakaḥ*. The OWR ending is for the dir. m. *-a:u* and for the loc., used also for the dat., *-ai* and *-aĩ* (*amhārai*, *amhāraĩ*). Of western origin are probably also the same masc. endings in the possessive pronouns *hamārau* and *hamārai* which occur in the present corpus (in the verses 76.3 and 76.1; it is perhaps worth noting that the same *pad* contains also the Eastern forms *morī* and *rāṣila*). VARMA, *LB*, §160, p. 73, characterizes the forms *merau* and *hamārau* as rare in Braj; the oblique in *-ai* / *-aĩ* he does not mention at all.

This pronoun is similar to the sg. possessive pronoun *mer-*/*mor-* both in its uses and its syntactical constructions which include also the genitives of possession. The substitution of plural forms for the singular is a manifestation of the same tendency observable in the personal pronoun *hama* (see above, section 3.A.6).

direct case: nominative

102.3 *eka dina hvaigā hvāla* hamārā "one day [this] will be our/my state [too]"

280.6 *kabīra pūgarā alaha rãma kā, hari gura pīra* hãmārā "Kabīr is the child of [both] Allāh [and] Rām; Hari is my guru [as well as] *pīr*"

76.3 *trigũna rahita phala rãmi hãma rāṣila, taba* hãmārau *nãu rāma rāī ho* "free from the three *guṇas*, enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]; then, my name is Lord Rām"

477.2 *bālapanã̃ ke mīta* hamāre*, hamahi chāḍi kata cale ninãre* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you left me alone and gone away?"

440.4 *kahai kabīra* hamāre *gobĩda, cauthā pada mo jana kī jyãda* "Kabīr says: O my Gobinda, the life of me, the true *bhakta*, [has reached] the fourth (i.e. the highest) stage" (vocative)

direct case: accusative

221.4 *kahai kabīra dhīra mati rāṣau, sāsati karau* hãmārī "Kabīr says: keep my mind firm, direct me [on the right path]" (lit.: "do my directing" or "do the directing of me")

oblique case: locative of possessor („inflected genitive of possession")

1.2 *rãma deva sãgi bhāvari lehũ̃, dhani baḍa bhāga* hãmāre "with the God Rām I shall circumambulate the matrimonial fire, very auspicious is my fate" (here *-e*$_2$ ~ *-ai*$_6$)

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76.1 *nā hãma bāra būḍha nāhĩ hãma, nā* hamārai *cilakāī ho* "I am not a boy, I am not an old man, mine is not the lustre [= vigour and virility of the mature age?], hey"

76.2 *voḍhana* hamārai *eka pachevarā* "to cover myself mine is a single mantle"

oblique case: locative

444.3 hamārī *dṛṣṭi parai jaisī ḍ̃āiṇ̃ī* "to me she looks like a demon (*ḍākinī*)"

4. *2nd pers. pl.*: tumh- / th_3- + *genitive and possessive* -ār-

For etymology, see *ham-* + *-ār-* and *tumh-* above. From the examples quotable from the corpus of analysed texts we can highlight the verse 281.1 with its locative of possessor (the so-called genitive of possession and relationship) and several parallels to this construction mentioned above: e.g. *musalamã̃na kahai mere eka ṣudāi* in 390.4, or *voḍhana hamārai eka pachevarā* in 76.2. In the verse 459.4 we have the western form *thārau*, a single incidence in the whole corpus, closely related to the Old Mārvāṛī *thāro* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §86). *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 778, lists several isolated occurrences of these pronominal forms (*thārau*, *thāre*, *thārī*) in the works of Kabīr, Gorakhnāth, Dādū and Hardās.

direct case: nominative

440.0 *aho mere gobĩda* tumhārā *jora, hastī bakibā hastī tora* "o, my Govinda, [that was] your [show of] might: [when the *qāzī* ordered:] let the elephant be incited, set the elephant [on him]!" (interpretation uncertain)

280.6 *jetī aurata maradã̃ siraje, e saba rūpa* tumhārā "as many women [and] men were created, these [are] all to your likeness" (relates to God)

direct case: accusative

459.4 *kāḍhi ṣaṛaga kopyo risāi,* thārau *rāṣaṇahārau mohi batāi* "having drawn [his] sword, having got angry he became infuriated: «tell me, [who is] your protector?»" (*thārau* can be understood also as nom.)

oblique case: locative of possessor („inflected genitive of possession")

281.1 *murasida pīra* tumhārai *ko hai, kahau kahã̃ thī āyā* "who is your preceptor (*murśid*), [who is your] *pīr*? Say, where has he (or: „have you") come from?"

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oblique case: locative

236.0 *gobĩde* tumhāre *bana kãdali merā mana ahere ṣelai* "Govinda, in your forest of sensual enjoyments my mind goes hunting" (loc. without postposition)

C. Reflexive

1. āp- + *dir.* -a_{13} / -$ā_{12}$
   āp- + *emphatic dir.* -$aĩ_4$

OIA *ātmā-*, "soul", generally employed in sg. for all three persons as reflexive pronoun, changed in the MIA into *appā* > NIA *āpa / āpā*.

In the analysed texts the short and the long forms appear to be only variant spellings of the same word carrying no difference in meaning, as the comparison of the examples in 23.4 and 281.3 below clearly shows. The use of the reflexive form *āpa* in the sense of honorific pronoun of the 2nd person is not attested in the present corpus; such use may be a relatively recent innovation, originally limited to the dialects of the Midland (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §592, p. 847-849). The form *āpaĩ* in 182.0 is most probably result of merging of the emphatic particle with the final vowel of the pronoun. Another occurrence of this form has been found in *sākhī* 13, MS 3190, fol. 266b (*mãna kau ãga*): *kabīra mãna gorṣa mãna gobidau, mãna hī aughaṛa hoi; jau mãna rāṣai jatāna kari, tau āpaĩ karatā soi.* "Kabīr, the mind is Gorakh, the mind is Gobinda, the mind is *aghorī* (the ultimate yogī); who exerts [himself] and controls [his own] mind – he himself is the [true] creator." Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 29, also explain *āpaĩ* as *svayã*, *āpa hī*.

direct case: nominative

23.6 āpa *na ḍarũ̃ na aura ḍarāũ̃* "I do not fear myself, nor do I frighten others"

147.3 *kãma krodha dou bhaye bikārā,* āpa *hĩ* āpa *jarai sãsārā* "lust and anger – these two corruptions arose, [and] the world burns of its own accord"

182.0 *āpaṇaĩ rūpa kũ̃* āpa *hĩ jãṇaĩ,* āpaĩ *rahai akelā* "only he knows his own form, only he himself remains alone (i.e. not associated with any particular form or role)" (*āp-* with two variant forms of the emphatic particle)

387.3 *guna atīta jasa nriguna* āpa*, bhrãma jevarī jaga kīyau sāpa* "as the Self / He himself, beyond [all] qualities, [is] without attributes; [so

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on the other hand] by [the power of] illusion the rope-world has been made [by Him] (= presented as) a snake"

200.2 āpā *para ãnãda nahĩ būjhai; bina anabhai kyũ chūṭai* "[mind] itself does not / cannot understand the bliss of *paramārtha*; [but] without [authentic] experience how can it liberate itself?"

direct case: accusative

23.4 āpa *jãṇi ulaṭa le* āpa*, taba nahī byāpai tīnyũ tāpa* "having known myself, having turned myself [inwards] – then the triple affliction does not engulf [me]" (or: „know yourself, turn yourself [inwards], then the triple affliction will not engulf [you]")

281.3 āpā *jãni aura kũjānãĩ, tau hvai bhisti nijī kī* "knowing / having known oneself, one knows others; [that] then becomes / will become one's own paradise"

āpa / āpā with synthetic passive

114.3 *kahãĩ sunẽ kaisãĩ patiyāiye, jaba laga* āpa *tahã̃ nahĩ jāiye* "by [mere] talking [and] listening how can one believe – until one does not go there oneself"

92.2 *aura marata kā roiye, je* āpā *thira na rahāi* "when others die, why should one weep – when oneself is not allowed to stay (permanently)?"

2. āpaṇ$_1$- / āpan$_1$- + *dir.* -a$_{13}$

The OIA stem *ātman-* was widened by the popular suffix *-a-ka-* to *ātman-a-ka-* > Apa. *appāṇa-* (Tagare, *HGA*, §129, p. 274). From this can be derived both the NIA *āpaṇ-/ āpan-* and short *apaṇ- / apan-*. Pischel, *GPS*, §401, p. 281, on the other hand, postulates a conversion of the strong form *ātmā-* to a-stems resulting in new nom. sg. **ātmānaḥ* > MIA *appāṇo*. Beames, *CGMALI* III, §73, p. 329, believes that this *āpaṇa* derives from the oblique cases of the MIA sg.: instr. *appaṇā* or gen. *appaṇo*. The encroachment of the oblique "upon the realm of the nominative" has been considered by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §591, p. 847.

The form *āpanapau* has been translated by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 28, as *ātmasvarūpa*, supported with the quotation *apanãĩ mãĩ rãgi āpanapau jānũ̃*, "rejoicing within myself / my Self, I know my own essence/ /myself." Tessitori, *OWR*, §92, explains the form *āpaṇapa-* as intensive originating in Apa. **appaṇ-appa-* and refers to similar form in the Old Baisvāṛī (and also to reduplicative formations like *hātho-hātha*, etc.). In the OWR he

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interprets *āpaṇapa:u* as the accusative to the nominative *ãpa*. This would be equivalent in meaning (and probably related etymologically) to the MSH *apane āpa ko* and would also fit well into contexts supplied by Kabīr's *sākhīs* 4, 5, and 6 of the *nĩdyā kau ãga* in the MS 3190, fol. 289b. The construction in question is in all three *sākhīs* identical, one example may suffice:

kabīra āpaṇapau na sarāhiai, para nĩdiye na koi; ajahũ lãbã dīhaṛā, na jãṇũ kyā hoi //4// "Kabīr, one should not praise oneself, nor should be anybody else reproved; days are still long (i.e., "many days are still ahead of me"), I do not know what may happen." *apane ko* as the MSH equivalent of this form, illustrated by the quotation from one of the *sākhīs* mentioned above, is given by Sĩha, *KKK*, p. 23. *HŚS*, vol. 1, p. 449 and 236-7, on the other hand, understands the form *āpanapau*/*apanapau* as a noun derived from the pronoun *apanā* with the affix *-pau* or *-pā*; as the MSH eqiuvalents are given, *inter alia*, *ātmabhāva*, *ātma svarūpa*, *nija svarūpa* ("one's self", "one's [proper] nature"), but also *ahãkāra*, *garva*, *mamatā*, *abhimāna* ("self-conceit", "pride", "vanity"). Both these mutually opposite meanings may fit in the context of the verse 139.0 – *āpaṇapau chuḍãvãna* can be interpreted either as "to get liberated oneself", or "to get liberated from the false ego-sense".

With the single exception of the extended form *āpaṇapau* which is in accusative (or, on the other line of interpretation, in the obl.-ablative), all other examples are in the nominative, either sg., or pl. (formally identical), standing as subjects of the sentence.

145.3 āpaṇa *tau munijana hvai baiṭhe, kā syũ kahũ kasāī* "now, you yourself have become (a self-appointed) sage, [so] whom shall/should I call a butcher?"

149.0 āpana *dehī caravā pãnī, tāhi nīdahi jāhi gãgā ãnĩ* "they themselves pass [you just a single] cup of water, [but] they slander those who brought the river Ganga [down to earth]" (here *āpana* can be segmented into *āpa na* with the meaning "they themselves do not pass ...". See the note 1 under the respective *pad*)

149.1 āpana *būḍaĩ aura kũ byāvaĩ* "they themselves drown and with them they drag down others"

149.2 āpana *ãdha aura kũ kahai kãnã̃* "himself blind, he will call others »one-eyed«"

139.0 *jã̃ paĩ jãũ* āpaṇapau *chuḍãvãna, te bīdhe bahu phãdā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments] (or: "in order to get liberated from false self-conceit"), these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps"

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3. *Reflexive possessive* (*by transposition*)
āpaṇ$_2$- / āpan$_2$- + *obl. sg. m.* -ãĩ$_1$
apãṇ- / apaṇ- + -$\tilde{ã}_6$ / -ai$_4$

This form is most probably derived from the MIA gen. sg. *appaṇa / appāṇa* (OIA < *ātman-a-ka-*) of the reflexive pronoun (Tagare, *HGA*, §129A, p. 277; Saksena, *EA*, §254, p. 199, explains the form *appāṇaṃ* as gen. pl.) that was often used with possessive meaning. Gradually this word began to be considered and used as an adjective, taking the necessary endings for gender and case (Beames, *CGMALI* III, §73, p. 330; Kellogg, *GHL*, §380, p. 220). Unsettled usage showing the genitive of the reflexive pronoun "of oneself" and the possessive reflexive pronoun "own" as existing side by side is attested by the text of *Vīsaladevarāsa* (ed. by J. D. Smith). Here the phrase "the lady wrote [a letter] in her own hand" is expressed at one place as *āpa hastai liṣī goraṛī* (reflexive "oneself"), at another *liṣī dhaṇa āpaṇai hātha* (obl.-instr. of reflexive possessive "own"; the respective verses are numbered as 83.3 and 84.1). However, as the reflexive pronoun itself may have the extended form *āpaṇ-/ āpan-* (see above), it may be difficult to decide whether any particular occurrence of e.g. *āpaṇãĩ* is to be understood as oblique (genitive of possession) of the reflexive pronoun, or as oblique of reflexive possessive adjective (as, for example, in 182.0 below, where the locution *āpaṇãĩ rūpa* can be translated into Skt. either as *ātmano rūpam*, or *ātmakīyaṃ rūpam*). Decisive evidence in favour of the adjectival usage is found in the feminine form *āpaṇī* or *āpanī*. This is not available in the texts analysed in the present study, but occurs elsewhere in the MS 3190 (fol. 263a, *citāvanī kau āga*, *sākhī* 1: *kabīra naubati āpaṇī dina dasa lehu bajāi; e pura pāṭaṇa e galī bahuri na deṣasi āi* "Kabīr, for ten days you (may) play your drum; [then] you will not return and see this city, quarter, this lane again"; cf. also *pad* 367 in the present corpus). The instances collected below have been therefore interpreted as possessive pronouns.

The reasons for the alternation of the long and short vowels resulting from different outcomes of reductions of the MIA groups -aC^{1}C^1- (in the present case of the Apabhraṃśa pronominal base *appaṇa-*) remain unclear. Smith, *Vīsaladevarāsa*, p. 158, notes by way of example the pair *āpaṇau* : *apaṇau* and several other words where this alternation occurs.

There is, however, no reason to analyse these possessive pronouns into basic form *āp-* and a peculiar suffix *-n-* termed "deriver of possessives", and joined to the base by means of nominal thematic vowel *-a-* (Miltner, *OHR*, p. 88). It seems more appropriate to treat these possessives as forms developed from the obl.-gen. case of the personal reflexive pronoun.

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182.0 āpaṇāĩ *rūpa kũ̃ āpa hĩ̃ jãṇāĩ̃* "only he knows his own form"
257.3 āpanau *puriṣa mũṣa kabahũ̃ na deṣyau* "[I have] never seen the face of [my] own husband" (probably a scribal error for the correct obl. sg. āpanai)
29.0 apaṇai *bicāri asavārī kījai, sahaja kai pāiṛai pāva jaba dījai* "riding one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's thought/mind) can be done/accomplished [only] when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"
30.0 *jhãgarā eka naberau rāma, je* apãṇã̃ *jana setī kã̃ma* "settle one quarrel, o Rām, if [there is on your part] concern with your own devotee"

D. Near demonstrative

1. *Pronouns: pronominal roots + pronominal affixes*

a. y_1- + *dir. sg. m.* (-aha_2), -ahu_1, -au_3
y_1- + *dir. sg. f.* -$ā_9$

OIA *eṣa-* > MIA *esa-* > Apa. *eha-*; m.: *ēhu*, *ehu*, *ihu*; f.: *ēha*, *iha*, *ēya* > NIA m.: *yahu*, *yaha*; f.: *yā* (Tagare, *HGA*, §124, 124A, p. 231-235; Chatterji, *ODBL*, §567, p. 832-834, postulates as the relevant Apa. form **ēaha*). *yaha* was the regular form in the Old Braj where it was used for both genders (Varma, *LB*, §174, p. 80-81); apart from it, Varma mentions also *yahu* and *yau*, Avadhī influences, as current in eastern districts of the Braj area.

y_1- + dir. sg. f. -$ā_9$ is ascribed by Varma to Modern Braj only. Frequent use of *yahu* for feminines thus appears to point to the east: in Old Avadhī of Jāyasī and Tulsī *yahu* is quite common. In contrast to Braj (and also to Mārvāṛī and Mevāṛī) Avadhī did not develop separate forms for the masculine and feminine gender, *yaha*, *yahu*, *eha* and *ehu* being used in the dir. sg. for both.

In the corpus of analysed texts, the rule seems to be to use the form -ahu_1 for dir.-nom./acc. sg. of the masculine gender only, the dir. sg. of feminine being expressed by the morph -$ā_9$ (occurring also with the interrogative/ /indefinite and relative pronominal roots k_1- and j_1-). The only exception to this is found in the *pad* 444 where -ahu_1 is used twice (in the verse 1 and 3) for subject which is feminine. As far as masculine endings are concerned, for the dir. sg. m. there is a single occurrence of the form -aha_2, in *ṭeka* of the *pad* 172. It should be noted that the *pads* 171-175 are written on the fol. 204b at the very end of the Rāga *gauṛī* section, filling what was originally a mostly empty page; the writing is clearly by a different hand and the *pads* are most probably a later addition. The grammatical forms, if different from those appearing in the main body of the text, therefore should not be taken

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as representative of the language of the original manuscript. In 408.0 the use of *yau*, instead of the regular *yahu*, may have been preferred out of consideration for the immediately following emphatic particle *hī* – *yahu hī* might sound a bit clumsy. The near demonstrative pronoun is used both as sentence subject (as in, e.g. 408.5: *yahu terā ausara yā terī bāra*) and as attribute (e.g. 444.1: *yahu nāri na rovai*).

y_{1}- + *dir. sg. m.* (-aha$_{2}$), -ahu$_{1}$, -au$_{3}$

direct case: nominative as sentence subject

146.2 *je tumha deṣau so* yahu *nā̃hī,* yahu *pada agāma agocara mā̃hī* "what you can see that is not this (i.e. the real sky or heaven); this is at an inaccessible, invisible place"

185.7 *kahaṇī rahaṇī nija tata jā̃ṇai,* yahu *saba akatha kahā̃ṇī* "in speaking, in practice, he comes to know his own true/inner essence; all this is incommunicable story"

444.3 *sāṣita kai* yahu *pīḍa parā̃iṇi, hamārī dṛṣṭi parai jaisī ḍā̃iṇī* "she is close on the heels of the *Śākta*; to me she looks like a demon (*ḍākinī*)" (subject is fem.: *nāri* and *bicārī* from the verse 1 and 2)

408.0 *bhaji gobyā̃da bhūli jini jāhi, maniṣā̃ janama kau* yau *hī lāha* "worship Govinda, do not forget, this is the real gain of the birth of man" (i.e. of the birth in the form of a human being; on the problematic form *jāhi* as written in the MS, see the note in the respective *pad*)

direct case: nominative in attributive position

172.0 *dharanī akāsa doũ nahī hote, taba* yaha *nāda kahā̃ thā̃ũ* "[when] there was neither earth nor sky, where was this Nanda then?"

473.3 yahu *hīrā nrimolikā, kauḍī barai bīkā* "this priceless diamond [was] sold for a [mere] *kauṛī!*"

410.1 *jaba* yahu *mai merī miṭi jāi, taba prabhū kāja savārai āi* "when this 'me' and 'mine' disappears, then Lord shall come and (help) accomplish the task" (*mai* is used as noun)

444.1 *ṣasama marai* yahu *nāri na rovai* "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep" (*yahu* with the fem. *nāri*)

direct case: accusative

288.1 yahu *sā̃sāra hāṭa kari jā̃nā̃ũ* "I know this world to be a marketplace"

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y_1- + *dir. sg. f.* -$ā_9$

direct case: nominative as sentence subject

408.5 *yahu terau ausara* yā *terī bāra* "this is your opportunity, this is your time"

439.1 *māyā moha mada mai pīyā, mugdha kahai* yā *merī re* "I drank the liquor of infatuation of *māyā* (or: "the liquor of illusion and infatuation"); the deluded one will say: ‚hey, this/she is mine!'" (*merī*: here used either as noun, meaning "*ahaṃkāra*", or followed by ellipsis of a noun as "property", "thing", "matter" etc.)

439.1 *dyaũsa cāri bhalaĩ mana rãjai,* yā *nahĩ kisa kerī re* "for four days (i.e., "for a short time") [she, i.e. *māyā*] may well please the mind, [but] she does not belong to anybody"

direct case: nominative in attributive position

410.2 *jaba yahu syāla syãgha kữ ṣāi, taba phūlaigī* yā *banarāi* "when this jackal devours the lion, then this big tree will blossom"

212.2 *je* yā *mūrati sakala hai, tau ghaḍaṇahārai ṣāva* "when this idol is finished, will it devour the carver?"

285.2 *kurãnã̃ katebã̃ asu paḍhi paḍhi, phikari* yā *nahĩ jāi* "by reading the Qurān and the Books in such a way (or: "quickly/spluttering"), this anxiety/worry does not disappear"

direct case: accusative

185.5 *ãbara barasai dharatī bhījai,* yā *būjhai saba koī* "sky rains, earth gets wet – this [thing] understands everybody" (ellipsis after *yā*: "thing", "fact", "phenomenon")

b. y_1- + *obl. sg. m. and f.* -$ā_{10}$

This form is, according to Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §567, p. 832, descendant of the Apa. obl. sg. **eaha*. Tagare, *HGA*, §124A, p. 236, does not mention this form, but reports very similar *ēyaha* (together with *eyassa* and *eyassu* where the OIA precursor *etasya* is still apparent) as dat.-gen.-abl. sg. current in the Western Apabhraṃśa around the year 1200. The history of the suffix can therefore be reconstructed as OIA -*asya* > MIA -*assa*, -*aha* > NIA -*ā*. It combines with all the pronominal roots represented in the present corpus of *pads* to express the obl. sg. case: thus we have the far demonstrative *vā*, correlative *tā*, relative *jā*, and interrogative/indefinite *kā*. *yā* which may have developed from this obl. sg. of the old near demonstrative is found in Old as well as in New Braj bhāṣā; in the East, it is extant in texts of Nūr Muhammad (Saksena, *EA*, §243, p. 183-184).

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In the texts of the present corpus it is used with nouns of both genders whose obliquus is marked – with single exception – by a postposition: gen. f. *kai*, acc. *kũ̃*, loc. *mai*. In 408.1 we find the instrumental expressed by the bare obl.: *yā dehī kari hari kī sevā* "with this body do the service/worship of Hari".

448.2 *aisī je upajai* yā *jīya kai, kuṭila gā̃ṭhi saba ṣolai* "when such [detachment from objects of sensual perception] of this mind is born, every complicated knot comes loose"

15.4 *kahai kabīra* yā *pada kũ̃ būjhai, tā kũ̃ tīnyũ̃ trībhuvana sūjhai* "Kabīr says: [who] understands/solves this *pad*, the three worlds will be comprehensible to him"

381.1 *dārā suta greha neha, sãpati suṣadāī;* yā *mahi kachū nāhi terau, kāla āvadhi āī* "attachment to wife, son, house, wealth that give [you] pleasure – nothing of this is yours [when] comes the time of death!"(or: "nothing of this is yours, [for look:] the time of death has come!")

419.1 *tana kari maṭakī manahi biloi,* yā *maṭakī mai pavana samoi* "having made the body a churning jar, churn with the mind, add *prāṇa* in this churning jar"

408.1 *gura sevā kari bhagati kamāī, je tāī̃ maniṣā dehī pāī;* yā *dehī kũ̃ locai devā,* yā *dehī kari hari kī sevā* "serving the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body; gods pine for this body, with this body (or: "in this body") do the worship of Hari"

c. i_1- + *obl. sg. m. and f.* -hi_1

Used with both m. and. f. nouns (e.g. *ihi pada*, *ihi bidhi*), this pronominal form has parallels in the obl. sg. of relative *jihi* and far demonstrative/correlative *tihi*, also occurring in this corpus. *-a-hiṁ*, *-hī̃*, *-hi*, was obl.-loc. sg. ending in Apabhraṃśa (< OIA *-a-smin*; Tagare, *HGA*, §83, p. 130; Hoernle, *CGGL*, §438, p. 290; Saksena, *EA*, §248, p.191). The segmentation i_1- + -hi_1 isolates the proximate demonstrative morph *i-* (derived ultimately from the OIA pronominal base *eta-*) which occurs in several other pronominal forms and pronominal adverbs: obl. pl. i_1- + -na_2 (in opposition to the far demonstrative u_1- + *-na*), obl. sg. i_1- + *-sa* (opp. to u_1- + *-sa*), pronominal adverbs of place i_1- + *-ta* "here" (opp. to u_1- + *-ta* "there") and i_1- + *-hā̃* (opp. to u_1- + *-hā̃*). The form *ihi* has been determined by Kellogg as belonging to the dialect of Kanaujī: dir. sg. with variants *yihu* an *ihu* and its obl. sg. *ihi* (Kellogg, *GHL*, Table X. Dialectic Pronominal Declension – Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun). It was used also in Braj, as, e.g. Ṭaṇḍan's *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 127, attests, and is found in *pads* and *sākhīs* of Dādū Dayāl. In Old Avadhī of Jāyasī and Tulsī we encounter frequently its eastern variant *ehi* – only the collocation *ehi bidhi* ("in this way", "in this manner") occurs in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* more

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than eighty times. It is perhaps unnecessary to treat *ihi* as emphatic (as do CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 33, when they explain *ihi* as *isa* + *hī*, *isī*, quoting *ihi kabīra kachu pāī ho* as an example).

78.0 ihi *bidhi jīva kā bhrãma na jāī* "in this way the delusion of the soul does/will not disappear"

187.0 *avadhū so jogī gura merā, jo* ihi *pada kā karai naberā* "o *avadhūta*, that yogī is my guru, who makes out / solves this *pad*"

76.3 *trigũna rahita phala rãmi hãma rāṣila; taba hãmārau nẫu rāma rāī ho; jaga maĩ deṣữ jaga na deṣi mohi;* ihi *kabīra kachu pāī ho* "free from the three *guṇas*, enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]; then, my name is Lord Rām; I see the world, [but] the world does not see me; of this [state], Kabīr has acquired some [knowledge]"

d. i_1- + *obl. sg. m. and f.* -sa
i_1- + *obl. sg. m. and f.* -sa- + *dat./acc. sg.* -hi_2

Occurring in the verses 444.4 and 440.2, this form is typical for Khaṛī bolī. CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §567, p. 832-833, suggests this descent: OIA *etasya* > MIA **etissa*, **edissa* > **eissa* > NIA *isa*. TAGARE, *HGA*, §124A, p. 236, reports forms *eyassa* and *eyassu* as dat., gen., abl. sg. of the pronoun *ea-*, *eya-* (< *etad*) in the Western Apabhraṃśa around 1200 CE. and notes possible development of *ea-* > *e-* > *i-* (p. 241). i_1- + *-sa* has its counterpart in the obl. sg. of the far demonstrative u_1- + *-sa*, probably an analogical formation. In both cases *-sa* figures as clearly defined affix with unproblematic etymology (OIA *-sya* > MIA *-ssa* > NIA *-sa*). The proximate demonstrative obl. sg. *isa*, together with its interrogative/indefinite counterpart *kisa* (for the probable development of which see below, in the section 3.H.1.j) may have served as a model for the formation of relative *jisa* and correlative *tisa*: *-isa* thus established itself as the regular pronominal obl. sg. ending.

Interesting is the form *isahi* where the obl. sg. of pronoun is combined with -hi_2, another popular suffix denoting the obl. case. Added to pronominal bases, the force of this suffix narrows the sense from general obl. to the expression of the dative and accusative cases. In the analysed texts, we can find it in personal pronouns *mohi*, *tohi*, *hamahi / hãmahi*. For a more extensive discussion of the origin of this suffix, see the section 3.A.3: *m-* + -o_4, *m-* + -o_4- + -hi_2 above.

444.4 *aba hãma* isa *kā pāyā bheva* "now I have exposed her secret"

440.2 *mahāvata to kữ mārữ sāṭī,* isahi *marāũ mārữ kāṭī* "[hey,] *mahāvat* (elephant driver), I shall beat you with a club, [and] him I shall get killed, I shall cut [him] to pieces"

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e. i_1- + *obl. pl. m. / f.* -na_2

The suffix *-na_2* (with *i_1-* in a single occurrence in 312.1) is descendant of the OIA gen. pl. *-ānām* through the MIA *-aṇaṃ*. To authors of grammatical treatises the derivation is so obvious as requiring no detailed comment (Kellogg, *GHL*, §372, p. 217-218; Beames, *CGMALI* III, §68, p. 317-320; Saksena, *EA*, §242, p. 180)

312.1 *beda purā̃na sumriti guna paḍhi paḍhi, paḍhi guni marama na pāyā; sājhyā gāvatrī aru ṣaṭakaramī,* ina *tāī dūri batāyā* "studying (in turn / / continuously) the qualities of Vedas, Purānas and *smṛtis*, studying and meditating [you have] not grasped the essence (or: "[their] essential meaning"); *sandhyā*, *gāyatrī* and the six duties of *brāhmaṇas* – from these [this essence / essential meaning was] said to be far away"

f. 0_1- + *dir. sg. m.* -e_6

The form *e*, segmented here as *0_1*-(near demonstrative) + *-e_6* (dir. sg. of pronouns) is probably originally the dir. pl. of the near demonstrative *yaha / yahu* occurring rarely in Braj (Varma, *BV*, p. 73). Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §567, p. 832, and Kellogg, *GHL*, Tab. X, enter it as dir. pl. of the Rājasthānī proximate pronoun. Only *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 667, gives as an equivalent of Old Hindī *e* the MSH sg. *yah*. This is also the sense of all four occurrences quotable from the corpus of analysed texts. From the point of view of morphological analysis it appears practical to treat *-e_6*, itself not analysable into smaller components, as an affix rather than pronominal root: the occurrence of a parallel form of far demonstrative *v_1-* + *-e_6* justifies this approach; and the near demonstrative morph *0_1-* is present also in several pronominal adjectives and adverbs (*aba*, *aisā*, etc.). In the sentences below the pronoun is used attributively.

19.1 *guṛa kari gyā̃na dhyā̃na kari mahūvā,* e *bhau bhāṭhī bhārā* "having used the (true) knowledge as *guṛ* (jaggery), the concentration as *mahuā* flowers, and this world as fuel for the oven" (*or:* "as a fee payable for using the oven")

145.2 *beda paḍhyā̃ kā* e *phala pā̃ḍe, saba ghaṭi deṣe rā̃mā* "what [is gained] by studying the Vedas? [It is] this fruit, *pāṇḍe* – [that] you see Rām in every creature"

325.0 e *jīva āi ra kahā̃ gayau* "having come to this world, where has gone this living being / soul?"

g. 0_1- + *dir. pl. m.* -e_7

From the point of view of etymology what we have here is the proximate pronominal base *i- ~ e-* combined with the plural ending *-e_7*. The form corre-

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sponds to OIA nom. pl. *ete* which changed in the MIA to *ede* and *ee* (Pischel, *GPS*, §426, p. 302). In the Apa. the attested forms for nom. and acc. masc. are *ei*, *ēī*, *ee* and *ē* (Pischel, *ibid.*; Tagare, *HGA*, §124, p. 233-235). *ē* as nom. pl. was current also in Old Mārvāṛī and Old Avadhī; in Old Avadhī Saksena notes the alternative forms *yē* and *yei* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §89; Saksena, *EA*, §243, p. 181-185), Varma, *LB*, §174, p. 80, mentions it as a rare variant of *ye* in Old Braj (mostly in poems of Bihārī Lāl). The pronominal form *e* is thus the result of fusion of two homonymous morphs, one of the pronominal base and the other of the ending. Analytic description based on the general observation that Hindī pronouns consist, at the minimum, of two elements – pronominal base and an ending – faces here the problem how to treat a pronominal form consisting of a single phoneme.

The problem can be solved by introducing as the pronominal base the near demonstrative morph 0_1- which, moreover, can be classified as one member in the systemic opposition (contrastive distribution) to the relative pronoun *je* and the far demonstrative/correlative *te*: in the analysed texts both the pronominal relative base j_1- and far demonstrative/correlative base t_2- combine also with the pronominal plural morph -e_7. It should be added that in several cognate dialects (Khaṛī bolī, Braj) this pronominal base is represented by the non-zero variant *y*-. Seen in this wider synchronic context, 0_1- can be understood also as an allomorph of y_1-. The etymology of the form given above answers also the question about the origin of the ending: it may be identified with the same pronominal plural termination -*e* in Sanskrit. This pronominal form occurs invariably in the position of sentence subject.

The graphic representation generally employed by the scribe of the analysed manuscript for the vowel *e* standing either at the beginning of a word or after another vowel is ऐ, not ए as in MSH; but its pronunciation is *e*, not *ai*, as can be deduced from other words written with this sign (*eka*, *ekādasī*, *gae*, *bhae*, etc.).

139.1 *lā̃ucita mū̃ḍita mū̃ni jaṭādhara,* e *ju kahā̃ī sidhi pāī* "[those] with their hair torn out, shaven ascetics [and those] with matted hair – [all] these say: »The final goal has been attained [by us]«"

221.3 *kā̃ma krodha māyā mada machara,* e *sātata hā̃ma māhī̃; dayā dharā̃ma gyā̃na gura sevā,* e *prabhū supinai nā̃hī̃* "lust, anger, delusion, pride, jealousy – these [are/dwell] in us continuously; compassion, piety, wisdom, devotion to the guru – these, o Lord, [are] not [present even] in a dream"

280.6 *jetī aurata maradā̃ siraje,* e *saba rūpa tumhārā* "as many women [and] men were created, these [are] all to your likeness"

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439.0 *kusala ṣema aru sahī salãmati,* e *doi kā kũ dīnhã̃ re* "happiness, welfare and well-being – to whom [were] these two given?"
288.2 *jāmana marāṇã̃* e *ũ doi thāke* "birth and death/dying, both these [processes] have come to a stop"

2. *Pronominal adjectives and adverbs*

a. i_1- + *pronominal adverb of place* -ta

Varma, *LB*, §242, p. 124, introduces the form *ita* as adverb of place with the meaning "here" used in the Old Braj bhāṣā (together with parallel forms *uta* "there", correlative *tita*, interrogative *kita* and relative *jita*). *ita* and *uta* are mentioned also by McGregor, *LIO*, §3.204, p. 194. The proximate demonstrative morph is here followed by a suffix denoting place. The origin of this suffix was sought by Hoernle, *CGGL*, §438.1, p. 289-291, §438.7. p. 297, and §469. p. 313, in the OIA pronominal adjectives of quantity *iyat-*, *kiyat-*, *tāvat-*. In the Apa., according to him, the obl. (loc. sg.) of the quantitative pronoun *ettia* was *ettahe*, which became the point of departure for further development of variety of NIA forms, for the Hindī *ita-*, etc. This hypothesis was later accepted by Kellogg, *GHL*, §638, p. 377, who had thus discarded his own earlier derivation from the OIA adverbial suffix with locative sense *-tra*. The Apa. *ettahe* has been accepted as pronominal adverb of place also by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §604, p. 858-859, and Tagare, *HGA*, §153B, p. 330-331; however, both these authors do not derive this Apa. form from the OIA adjective of quantity, but from the line of pronominal adverbs *atra*, etc. (Chatterji: *atra* = **itra* > *etta*, etc.; Tagare: *atra* = **ittha* > *etthu*, *ettahe*, etc.). In the present corpus the single occurrence of *ita* "here", with the sense "in this world" in the verse 444.1 stands in opposition to its far demonstrative counterpart *uta* "there", "in the netherworld".

444.1 *raṣavālai kā hoi vināsa, uta hi naraka* ita *bhoga bilāsa* "[when] the protector dies, there [is suffering in] hell, [just as] here [was enjoyment of] pleasure and lust"

b. i_1- + *pronominal adverb of place* -hã̃

The proximate demonstrative morph is here combined with the suffix *-hã̃*. Again, there is no unanimity of opinion concerning its origin. Hoernle, *CGGL*, §469, p. 315, faithful to his theory which looks for the origin of NIA pronominal forms in the OIA pronominal adjectives of quality and quantity (*ibid.*, §438, p. 289), derives *yahã̃* and *tahã̃* from Apa. qualitative pronominal bases *eha* and *teha* and the obl. suffix *-hã*: hence the Apa. form *ehahã*, Eastern Hindī *ihã̃*, Western Hindī *yahã̃*. He drew attention to the note of Hemacandra who had described the Apa. *tahã̃*, *jahã̃* and *kahã̃* as ablative

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forms. TESSITORI, *OWR*, §98, and CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §607, p. 859, look for different set of ablatives as source forms for these NIA adverbs: OIA abl. sg. *etasmāt, yasmāt, tasmāt, kasmāt* > MIA **eamhā, jamhā, tamhā, kamhā* > Apa. **eahā̃, jahā̃, tahā̃, kahā̃*. VARMA, *LB*, §242, p. 123-124, does not mention *ihā̃*, a regular Avadhī form, as current either in the Old or Modern Braj; but *BBSK*, vol. I, p. 116, knows it as *yahā̃, isa jagaha,* and adds several textual examples.

In the texts analysed in the present study there is a single occurrence of this adverb in the verse 280.5 where the actual form *ihĩ̃* is most probably a scribal error for the correct *ihā̃* (attested by other MSS).

280.5 *dila* hī *ṣoji dilāĩ dila ṣojāũ, tau* ihĩ̃ hĩ̃ *rā̃ma rahimā̃nā̃* "searching for the heart, search for the heart of/in the heart (i.e. "for the innermost of the heart"), for it is only here [where] Rām Rahmān [dwells]" (the correct reading here is probably *ihā̃*; see the footnote below the text of the *pad*)

c. i_1- + *pronominal adverb of time* -ba

The pronominal adverb of time *iba* is based on the combination of initial proximate pronominal morph *i_1-* and a shortened form of the affix *-aba* used in derivation of adverbs of time. Our grammarians are strangely silent on this form; the reason may be that it was used neither in the Old Avadhī of Jāyasī and Tulsī nor in the Old (or Modern) Braj. Everywhere from Mārvāṛī in the west to Maithilī in the east the forms with initial *a-* are the most widely used ones; only CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §602, p. 856, lists the variants *ebe / ibe* as archaic and poetic forms of the adverb of time used in the New Bengālī period. KELLOGG, *GHL*, §637, p. 374, mentions in the footnote the form *yība* as current in the Sahāranpur district of the U.P. In this variant the presence of the proximate demonstrative morph *ya- ~ i-* is clearly discernible. On the other hand, the entry *iba* in the *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II: Global Index, p. 621, shows that this adverb is of relatively frequent occurrence in the *pads* ascribed to Dādū Dayāl and also in the *pads* of Raidās. Both authors use *iba* and *aba* side by side; so does Kabīr – in the *pad* 315, we have, beside the form *iba* in the *ṭeka* quoted below, also *aba* in the verse 3. In contrast to pronominal adverbs of place *ita* and *ihā̃*, *iba* has no counterpart beginning with the far demonstrative morph *u_1-*. For the derivation of the morph *-aba* with temporal sense, see further below, in the section e. (*0_1- + -aba*).

34.3 *taba ko ṭhākura* iba *ko sevaga, ko kā kai visavāsā* "then (previously) one [was] a chief, now one [is] a servant. Who can one expect [to become next time]?" (lit.: "one [is] in the expectation/hope of whom?")

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315.0 iba *mohi nācibau na āvai* lit. “now, dancing does not come to me” (i.e. “I do not feel like dancing”)

d. 0_1- + *pronominal adjective and adverb of quality* -as_2-, -ais-

-as_2- and -*ais*- appear to be two allomorphs of the morph denoting pronominal adjectives of quality (or likeness); apart from the near demonstrative pronominal base 0_1-, they combine with the relative j_1-, far demonstrative/ /correlative t_2-, the allomorph -*ais*- also with the interrogative k_1-. The OIA predecessor of this series is the root *dṛś*- and its derivative *dṛśa*-, which was used as an affix and combined with pronominal roots to form pronominal adjectives of quality; those relevant in the present context are *tādṛś-/ tādṛśa*-, *yādṛś-/ yādṛśa*-, and *kīdṛś-/ kīdṛśa*-. In the MIA period this affix became -*disa*- or -*risa*- (intervocalic -*d*- > -*ḍ*- > -*r*-) and then -*isa*- through the loss of -*d*- or -*r*- in the medial position when this consonant was preceded by a vowel of the pronominal base. Thus in the Apa. period we find, inter alia, forms *a:isa* (Tagare derives from **a-dṛśa*; according to Pischel, the form is better explained as analogical formation to *ta:isa* and *ja:isa*), *ja:isa* < *yādṛśa*, *ta:isa* < *tādṛśa*, and *kerisa*, *ka:isa* < *kīdṛśa*, or by analogy to *ta:isa* (Pischel, *GPS*, §121, p. 97-98, and §245, p. 172; Tagare, *HGA*, §131.5-6, p. 281; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §600, p. 853-854). These are direct predecessors of the NIA forms *aisā*, *jaisā*, *taisā*, and *kaisā*. The shorter form -*as*- occurs in Old Avadhī as an allomorph of -*ais*- (Saksena, *EA*, §264, p. 207-209; also Kellogg, *GHL*, §325, p. 200, and Tab. XIV); as it is not attested in Old Braj (neither Varma, *LB*, nor McGregor, *LIO*, mention it), it can be classified, in our texts, as an eastern influence; with the pronominal base 0_1-, it is represented by a bare two incidences against nineteen of the longer form. The economy of description and the regard to the shorter allomorph perhaps justifies the isolation of the other form as (0_1-/j_1-/t_2-/k_1- +) -*ais*- instead of (*a-/ja-/ ta-/ ka-* +) -*is*-, which would be, from the standpoint of historical development, the more accurate solution.

In the texts analysed in the present study, the longer form -*ais*- combines with the nominal endings of dir. sg. m. -$ā_5$ and -au_1, dir. and obl. pl. m. -e_1 and -e_5, and dir. sg. f. -$ī_4$; the example 256.2 below shows it combined with the adverbizing affix -$a\tilde{i}_{10}$. Of the shorter variants, the form *asu* in 285.2 appears to be a bit problematic: here the morph -*u* is either an adverbizer, or the word *asu* is not a pronominal form at all: for its possible meanings, see the footnote under the text of the *pad*.

29.3 *jana kabīra* aisā *asavārā, beda kateba dahū thaĩ nyārā* “*bhakta* Kabīr is such rider – aloof from both the Vedas and the Qurān”

148.2 aisā *eka acābhā deṣyā, jābaka karai kehari syũ leṣā* “I have seen such a strange thing: a jackal settles accounts with a lion”

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402.2 *thorī bhagati bahuta ahãkārā,* aise *bhagatā milaĩ apārā* "little devotion, great pride – such devotees are innumerable"
149.0 aise *logani syữ kā kahiye* "what to say to such people"
177.4 *satagura milai ta pāiye,* aisī *akãtha kahã̃ṇī* "if one meets the Supreme guru, then such unspeakable story is (or: "can be") received"
256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū* aisaĩ*, bina kātẽ nistaribau kaisaĩ* "mother-in-law says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?" (adverbizer -$a\tilde{i}_{10}$)
145.1 *beda purã̃ṇa paḍhata* asa *pã̃ḍe, ṣara cãdana jaisaĩ bhārā* "*pāṇde*, you understand ("read") Vedas and Purāṇas in such a way, as does an ass the load of sandalwood" (adverbial use)
285.2 *kurã̃nã̃ katebã̃* asu *paḍhi paḍhi, phikari yā nahĩ jāi* "by reading the Qurān and the Books in such a way (or: "quickly/spluttering"), this anxiety/worry does not disappear" (possibly adverbial form)

e. 0_1- + *pronominal adverb of time* -aba

The adverbial morph *-aba* designating time can be combined with morphs of near demonstrative 0_1-, indefinite/interrogative k_1-, relative j_1-, and far demonstrative/correlative t_2-. 0_1- can be seen as a member of a set of four forms, three of which have overt non-zero markers, and thus fulfills the criterion for introducing zero morphemes (posited, somewhat arbitrarily, by Elson and Pickett, *Beginning Morphology and Syntax*, p. 47). The series of adverbs *aba* "now", *kaba* "when?", *jaba* "when" (rel.), and *taba* "then" reminds us of similar OIA set *kadā*, *yadā* and *tadā* (direct descendants of which are the Old and dialectal Hindī forms *kada*, *jada* and *tada*); this parallellism has inspired several authors to look for causes of the change of the original OIA dental into the NIA labial occlusive. Beames, *CGMALI* III, §81, p. 257, suggests the incorporation of the affirmative particle *hī* or *hū*; Tagare, *HGA*, §153, p. 330, opts for the particle *vā*: *kadā* (*kadvā*) > *kabbe*, *yadā* (*yadvā*) > *jabbe*, *tadā* (*tadvā*) > *tabbe*. Different solution has been offered by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §602, p. 856-857: according to him, the basis is to be sought in the OIA *eva*, *evam* "thus". "Corresponding to «ēvá, ēvám» > *ebbaṁ which in the Apabhraṃśa stage easily affiliated itself to the pronominal base «ē- < -ēta», it is exceedingly likely that other analogous pronominal adverbs were evolved, like «*tēvá(ṁ), *yēvá(ṁ), *kēvá(ṁ)», in Early MIA., which would become «*tĕvvaṁ > *tĕbbaṁ» etc.; or «*tavvaṁ > *tabbaṁ» etc. through substitution of the pronominal bases in «-a-», namely «ta-, ya-, ka-»." The longer forms ending in *-ē* or *-ai* are, in his opinion, originally locatives formed by the locative affix *-ahi*, *-ahĩ* > *-ē*, *-ai*. This hypothesis appears to be in no way less probable than the old attempt of Hoernle, *CGGL*, §469, p. 313, who

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tried to derive pronominal adverbs of time from pronominal adjectives of quantity: *emva* + loc. sg. *-hiṃ* or *-iṃ* > *emvahiṃ* "now" which was later contracted into *evai*, *ebai* and subsequently shortened into Hindī *abai*. *evahiṁ* with the equivalent meaning *adhunā* is mentioned also by Tagare, *ibid.*, as a form occurring in the Southern Apabhraṃśa.

408.3 aba *nahĩ bhajisi bhajisi kaba bhāī* "if you will not worship now, when will you worship?"

253.3 aba *kī bera milãna je pẽu, kahi kabīra bhau jali nahī āũ* "this time, if I am able to meet [Him] – Kabīr says: I shall not fall in the snare of this world [again]"

f. 0_1- + *pronominal adverb of manner* -yũ$_1$

The pronominal adverb of manner *-yũ$_1$* combines with the interrogative *k_1-*, relative *j_1-*, far demonstrative/correlative *t_2-*, and with the near demonstrative *-0_1*, which is followed either by *-yũ$_1$*, or by its short variant *-yũ*. The origin of the adverbial morph is to be sought probably in the OIA pronominal adverb *eva* "so", "just so" which in the MIA became nasalized *ẽva*; this hypothesis presupposes analogical OIA forms **yeva*, **teva*, **keva* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §98; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §610, p. 860); according to others this *ẽva*, *eṃva* comes from the old pronominal adjective of quantity *iyat-* (hypothesis developed by Hoernle, *CGGL*, §438, p. 289-299, and §469, p. 313-314, and adopted by Kellogg, *GHL*, §640, p. 378). Beames, *CGMALI* III, §81.3, p. 262-264, believes that the adverbial form has its origin in the OIA suffixes *-mant* and *-vant* added to pronominal bases. In the Apabhraṃśa Hemacandra mentions and texts supply also the interrogative *kẽva* and *kĩva*, demonstrative *tẽva* and *tĩva*, and relative *jẽva* and *jĩva* (Pischel, *GPS*, §261, p. 181; Tagare, *HGA*, §153C, p. 331-332). These appear to be analogical formations made by adding the adverbial morph as affix to pronominal roots. In the westertn dialects of Hindī the corresponding NIA forms are *yũ, yõ, yaũ, kyũ, kyõ, kyãu, jyũ, jyau*, etc.

145.4 *nārada kahai byāsa* yũ *bhāṣai, suṣadeva pūchau jāī* "Nārada tells [it], Vyāsa says so, go and ask Śukadeva"

200.2 *āsā pāsa ṣãḍa nahĩ pāṛai,* yũ *mana sũni na lūkai* "[when] you do not break and rip the noose of longing – in this case [your] mind does/ /will not merge into [the state of] *śūnya*"

288.0 *jau maĩ gyãna bicāra na pāyā, tau maĩ* yũ *hĩ janama gamāyā* "if I have not gained the insight into true knowledge, then I have wasted [this] birth to no purpose" (lit.: "just so")

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E. Far demonstrative and third person

1. *Pronouns: pronominal roots + pronominal affixes*

a. v_1- + *dir. sg.* -o_2
v_1- + *dir. pl.* -ai_3
v_1- + *obl. sg. m. and f.* -$ā_{10}$

It may come as a surprise to the student of Old Hindī that the origin of one of the most common pronominal forms, which is used both as far demonstrative and 3rd pers. sg. personal pronoun, is entirely obscure. There is no corresponding form in the Prākrits or Apabhraṃśa that could be, with any degree of certainty, understood as a precursor of the NIA pronominal root *v- ~ u-*. Hoernle's theory of the development of NIA pronominal forms from the MIA pronominal adjectives of quality and quantity (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §438, p. 289-291) was not accepted by later scholars; some of them suspended their judgement, pointing to the need of further research (Beames, *CGMALI* III, §68, p. 316-320; Kellogg, *GHL*, §365, p. 214). Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §§572-577, p. 835-839, sees its remote origin in the OIA demonstrative base **ava-*, attested solely by the Ṛgvedic gen. and loc. du. form *avōḥ*. He believes that although this pronoun was later ignored by the literary languages, it lived on in popular speech and poetry and resurfaced in the Apa. period as *ō*. In this he drew inspiration from Pischel, *GPS*, §432, p. 307, who had noted the nom.-acc. pl. form *oi*, with the possible derivation from **ave*, stem **ava-*, attested in the Iranian languages. Chatterji quotes several examples of the far demonstrative forms *ō* and *ōi* from Hemacandra and *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*, but Tagare, *HGA*, §121, p. 219, and Bloch, *IA*, p. 148 [149] and 195 [198], devote them but a very short note. Saksena, *EA*, §242, p. 180-181, offers a different explanaton, pointing to analogical forms of the near and far demonstrative pronouns, where *i-* and *e-* stand against *u-* and *o-* as initial sounds. The forms of the far demonstrative pronouns then may have developed as new analogical formations with the already existing proximate demonstrative pronoun *e- ~ i-* which served as a model. It is perhaps not without interest that the OIA Vedic **ava* taken by Chatterji as starting point has its counterpart in the Old Persian whose New Persian descendant is the far demonstrative and 3rd pers. sg. personal pronoun *ō*, *ū*. The parallel existence of these Persian forms after the introduction of the Persian language in the wake of the Islamic conquest of North India may have influenced the propensity to analogical formations already existing at the beginning of the NIA period.

The dir. sg. ending -o_2 appears also with pronominal roots k_1-, j_1- and s_1-, forming the dir. case *ko*, *jo* and *so*. It is the direct descendant of the OIA nom.

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sg. m. pronominal ending *-aḥ* (*-o* in external sandhi before short *a-* and voiced consonants) of the same pronouns: *kaḥ / ko*, *yaḥ / yo*, *saḥ / so*. According to Chatterji in *UVP*, §67, p. 50-51, this *-o* in NIA developed through an intermediate stage in which the pleonastic affix *-ka-* was inserted between the root and the original ending: thus *sa-ka-ḥ* > MIA **sako*, **sago*, **sa:o* > *sa:u* > NIA *sō*; the direct derivation from *saḥ* through *sō* (i.e. without the suffix *-ka-*) results in the NIA *su*. The allomorph *-u*, indexed here as *-u_4*, occurs in the texts analysed in the present study with the relative and correlative pronominal roots in dir. sg./pl. forms *ju* and *su*.

For the endings dir. pl. *-ai_3* and obl. sg. m. and f. *-$ā_{10}$*, see the sections devoted to the contracted emphatic forms (1.A.4) and the near demonstrative *y_1-* (3.D.1.b) respectively. *vai* in 367.2 can be interpreted also as indeclinable emphatic particle "but", "after all".

In the present study *v_1-* is used to denote both demonstrative (367.2) or correlative (251.3), and 3rd pers. sg. personal pronoun (443.3). The obl. sg. is always followed by a postposition.

v_1- + *dir. sg.* -o_2

129.1 vo *ũkāre jagu upajai, bikāre jagu jāi* "in/through the *omkāra* (i.e. *praṇava*) that world is born, in/through decay the world perishes"

444.3 *sãta bhajai* vo *pāchī parai* "[when] the *sant* runs away / flees [before her], she (i.e. *māyā*) pursues [him]" (or*:* "the *sant* worships and she teases [him]")

251.3 *sāṣata sunahã̄ dūnyũ̄ bhāī,* vo *nīdaĩ* vo *bhaũkata jāī* "*Śākta* and dog, both are brothers: that one slanders, that one keeps barking"

v_1- + *emf. dir. pl.* -ai_3

367.2 *kahã̄* vai *loga kahã̄ pura paṭãṇa, bahuri na deṣisi āi* "where are those people (or: "but where are the people"), where is the quarter, the city [you have lived in]? You will not see [them] again having come [back]"

v_1- + *obl. sg. m. / f.* -$ā_{10}$

251.4 *ãmrita le le nība sicāī, kahai kabīra* vā *kī bã̄ni na jāī* "[even if] the *nīm* tree is constantly watered with nectar, Kabīr says: its [bitter] nature does not disappear"

440.2 *hastī na torai dharai dhiyã̄na,* vā *kai hridai basai bhagavã̄na* "the elephant does not crush [Kabīr], he stops in contemplation: Bhagavān (God) resides in his heart"

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187.3 *kahai kabīra bicārī; aparãpāra pāra parasotama,* vā *mūrati kī balihārī* "having pondered Kabīr says: on the opposite shore of the boundless is the Supreme Being; to that idol/icon oblation [is due]"

b. u_1- + *obl. sg. m. / f.* -sa

The form *usa* appears to be analogical formation built on the model of obl. sg. of the near demonstrative *isa* (for which see the section 3.D.1.d above). u_1- is the allomorph of v_1-; the former is used with affixes beginning with a consonant (*-sa*, *-ta*), the latter with vocalic ones (*-ā*$_{10}$, *-ai*$_{11}$, *-o*$_2$). For the derivation of the affix *-sa* (OIA gen. sg. *-sya* > MIA *-ssa* > NIA *-sa*) see also the section on the near demonstrative i_1-.

The obl. sg. Khaṛī bolī forms *isa* and *usa* are used in parallel with the Braj (and Kannaujī) obliques of sg. near demonstrative *yā* (and *ihi*) and of sg. far demonstrative *vā* respectively. In our texts *usa* is rare form. In one instance (444.1) it is used without a postposition (the sense is either gen. or dat.); in another (78.4) in a strange form *ustā* (*-st-* written as conjunct consonant; see the note under the text of the *pad*), perhaps a Panjābism?

444.1 *ṣasama marai yahu nāri na rovai;* usa *raṣavālā aurai hovai* "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep; somebody else becomes her protector"

78.4 *dila nahĩ pāka pāka nahĩ cīnhã̃,* ust*ā ṣoja na jã̃nyã̃* "when the heart is not pure, [it] has not recognized the Pure; [it] has not known its trace" (or: "[it] has not got a clue about it")

2. *Pronominal adverb*

u_1- + *pronominal adverb of place* -ta

Again, an analogical formation to *ita* "here". For the origin of the affix *-ta*, see the discussion under the near demonstrative, section 3.D.2.a above.

444.1 *raṣavālai kā hoi vināsa,* uta *hi naraka ita bhoga bilāsa* "[when] the protector dies, there [is suffering in] hell, [just as] here [was enjoyment of] pleasure and lust"

F. Far demonstrative/correlative

1. *Pronouns: pronominal roots + pronominal affixes*

a. s_1- + *dir. sg.* -a_{12} / -u_4 / -o_2

The suppletive forms *s-* ~ *t-* which alternate as bases of the demonstrative pronoun (used also as 3rd sg. personal pronoun) go back to the IE period.

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In the OIA the stem *sa-* was used only in the nom. sg. masc. and fem.; all other cases as well as numerous pronominal adjectives and adverbs were formed from the stem *ta-* (or *tad-*, in the description of traditional Indian grammar). This division has survived through the MIA into the NIA period in the general pattern where *s-* is reserved for the dir. sg. and *t-* is used as a base of all other pronominal forms, including adjectives and adverbs. All three variants of the dir. sg. s_1- + -a_{12} / -u_4 / -o_2 occurring in the present corpus go back to OIA *saḥ* (before all consonants and vowels except *a-* only *sa*, before short *a-* changed in *so*). Kellogg, *GHL*, §366, p. 214-215, and Chatterji in *UVP*, §67, p. 50-51, are of the opinion that the longer NIA form *so* (*sō*) must have its origin in the pronominal form extended by a pleonastic affix *-ka-*: **sa-ka-ḥ* > MIA **sako*, **sago*, **sa:o* > *sa:u* > NIA *sō*; the direct derivation from *saḥ* through *sō* (i.e. without the affix *-ka-*) is said to result in NIA *su*. However, neither Pischel nor Tagare mention any of the intermediate forms postulated by Chatterji. (Kellogg's hypothesis that this pleonastic affix may have survived in the Mārvāṛī relative forms *jako* and *jiko*, however, was not endorsed by Tessitori, *OWR*, §90, who explained them as compound forms made up by combining the relative with the indefinite pronoun *ko*.) Tagare, *HGA*, §123, p. 220-222, registers only *so* and *su*; according to him, the latter form reflects the widespread use of the ending *-u* in the formation of the direct case in the Apa. period. The survival of *sa* used occasionally for the nom. and acc. is explained by him as being due to "conservative forces", i.e. tendencies toward linguistic sanskritisation active all through the MIA (and partly also in the NIA) period. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.58-59, p. 147-148, introduces *so* and the relative *jo* as stressed and *su* and *ju* as unstressed variants. In LIO as well as in our texts the enclitic exclusive emphatic particle -$\tilde{\imath}_{14}$ occurs only with the stressed variant *so*. According to Varma, *LB*, §181-182, p. 84, the distribution of the longer and shorter forms *so / su* and *jo / ju* in poetry is sometimes governed by considerations of the metre.

These demonstrative, as well as the relative and interrogative/indefinite pronouns, have no separate forms for the masculine and feminine gender and are used for both. The pronoun *so* is in most cases a correlative with the force of subject of the sentence, with the *jo / ju* in the relative clause often unexpressed.

In 285.4, *kabīra karãma karĩma kā, karãṇī karai sa jãnai soī*, the pronoun *sa* may seem superfluous (it is missing in other MSS included in the MKV); in MS 3190 it can be interpreted as accusative sg. referring to *karãma*. The meaning is not entirely clear: "Kabīr (or adjective "great", "immense"?), mercy [is quality] of the Merciful; [who] does what ought to be done (*karãṇī*), he verily (*soī*) will know that (*sa*)."

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s_1- + *dir. sg.* -a_{12}

129.4 *jyũ sãpati tyũ bipati hai, karatā karai* sa *hoi* "just as [there is] prosperity, there [also] is calamity; [what] the Creator ordains, that happens"

s_1- + *dir. sg.* -u_4

182.3 *sūrā hoi* su *parãma pada pāvai, kīṭa patãga hvai sabai jariyā* "he who is/becomes a hero (or: "the Sun"), attains the supreme state; having become worms or moths, all [others] burnt away"

182.4 *dīpaka bina joti, joti bina dīpaka, hada bina anāhada sabda bāgā; cetanā hoi* su *ceti lījyau* "lamp without flame, flame without lamp; without limits, the sound of *anāhata* resounded; [if] there is comprehension, let this be comprehended" (or *lījyau* as optative of the active voice: "let him comprehend [it]")

325.3 *kahai kabīra rãma na mana chāḍũ, sahajaĩ hoi* su *hoī* "Kabīr says: I shall not forsake Rām in my mind; [after all,] what is [experienced] in *sahaja*, that is Him"

s_1- + *dir. sg.* -o_2

288.1 *ceti sakai* so *cetau re bhāī, mūriṣa mūla gamāyā* "[who / if one] is able to think, let him think, o brother; the silly one has squandered his capital"

96.0 *jo deṣyā* so *bahuri na peṣyā māyā syũ lapaṭānã* "who/what had been [regularly] seen, is [one day] not sighted again – engulfed/absorbed in *māyā*"

65.0 *nrimala nrimala rãma gũna gāvai,* so *bhagatā merai mani bhāvai* "[he, who himself] pure, sings the pure praises of Rām, that *bhakta* is dear to my heart"

b. t_2- + *dir. sg.* -e_6

In texts of the present corpus the demonstrative pronominal root t_2- (for its etymology, see the preceding section) is combined with an affix which in the western Hindī dialects (Braj) is reserved for the dir. case of plural, but in the eastern parts of the Hindi area (Avadhī, Bhojpurī, Magadhī, Maithilī: Kellogg, *GHL*, Table XI) is used also in the dir. case of the singular number. In the nominal (and also pronominal) flection the nom. sg. in *-e* is characteristic feature of the Eastern Apabhraṃśa. Tagare, *HGA*, §80, p. 108-109, and §123, p. 222, explains it as result of the change of the pleonastic nominal affix *-aka* first into *-aya* and then in *-e*. (For more extensive discussion of the origin of the nominative affix *-e* in Eastern NIA languages, see Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §497, p. 740-744.)

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Closer inspection of the three instances of the dir. sg. *te* quotable from the present corpus of texts may lead to doubts about its actual status: in 288.4 and in 372.1 the sg. number of the subject *te* is inferred only from the sg. of the predicate verbs *hārai*, *ḍārai* and *karai*. As in these verbal forms the distinction between sg. and pl. is marked only by the nasal sign added in the plurals (*hārai̐*, *ḍārai̐* and *karai̐*), and as the nasalization in the manuscript in consideration is not always consistent, a feeling of uncertainty persists. Moreover, other manuscripts that contain this *pad* show this locus with *te* and plurals of the verbs: e.g. in the *pad* 288, AG793;4 has unambiguously plural forms *hārahi* and *jānahi*. On the other hand, eastern forms in the texts of the Jaipur MS 3190 manuscript are nothing unusual; and Varma, *LB*, §182, p. 84, mentions occasional use of the sg. *te* by poets of the Braj too.

288.4 te *kabahũ̃ na hārai je jā̃ni ḍārai pāsā* "he never loses who casts the dice prudently / with deliberation"

315.1 *ubhara thā* te *sūbhara bhariyā, trisnā gāgari phūṭi* "what was empty, that was filled [so as to be] full to the brim (or: "was filled with a clear/radiant [substance]"); the jug of thirst burst"

372.1 *ghara bana doũ̃ sami karai,* te *biralā sā̃sāra* "[who] makes no distinction between house and forest, such [person] is rare in the world"

c. t_2- + *dir. pl.* -e_7

In the opinion of Tagare, *HGA*, §123, p. 223-224, the dir. pl. form *te* has not undergone any change from the OIA period down to NIA. But Chatterji, in *UVP*, p. 51, sees in it OIA instr. pl. *tebhiḥ* > MIA *tehi*, contracted to *te* and used as the nominative; according to him, OIA *te* should result in NIA **ti*. The form *te* occurs in Hindī dialects, including Braj (Varma, *LB*, §180, p. 83), Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §240, p. 170-178; §242, p. 179-180) and Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §90). In comparison with the OIA stage the only actual change is the loss of gender distinction of the NIA form which is now used for both masc. and fem. subjects.

In our texts this form occurs always as correlative; the apropriate form of the relative pronoun j_1- is often left unexpressed and has to be inferred from the structure of the sentence. Of the examples given below only the first three can be identified unequivocally as plural forms. In 315.3 the plural fits well with the adjective *bahu*; but if this *bahurūpa* is taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound in the same way as the repetition of the same word in the second *caraṇa*, the pronoun *te* – and also the relative *je* – could be understood as being in the sg. number (i.e. t_2- + -e_6, j_1- + -e_6). In 185.8 and 186.3 *jogī* can be both sg. and pl.; predicate verb is missing and so is the relative pronoun in the following clause.

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127.2 *yahu sãsāra sakala hai mailā, rãma kahãĩ* te *sūcā* "this whole world is dirty; clean are those [who] say [the name of] Rām"

139.0 *jã̃ pãĩ jã̃ũ āpaṇapau chuḍãvãna,* te *bīdhe bahu phãdā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps"

381.2 *ajāmela gaja ganikā, patita krama kīnhã̃;* te *u utari pāri gaye, rãma nãma līnhã̃* "Ajāmela, the elephant, and the courtesan commited sinful deeds; having crossed, even they reached the other shore, with the name of Rām"

315.3 *je bahu rūpa kīyā* te *kīyā, aba bahurūpa na hoī* "the many forms/ /roles that were assumed [by me], they were assumed; now he who would take [these] many forms/roles is not here [anymore]" (or, with the first *bahurūpa* also taken as *bahuvrīhi*: "what the multiform one has done, he has done")

185.8 *kahai kabīra* te *biralā jogī, dharaṇi mahārasa cāṣyā* "Kabīr says: rare are those yogīs [whose] *dharaṇi* (= *kuṇḍalinī śakti*) tasted the nectar"

186.3 *kahai kabīra* te *biralā jogī, sahaji nirãtara jã̃ṇī* "Kabīr says: rare are those yogīs [by whom this plant of Rāma *guṇa*] is experienced permanently in the state of *sahaja*"

d. t_2- + *obl. sg.* -asa / -āsa
t_2- + *obl. sg.* -isa

OIA gen. sg. m. and n. of the demonstrative pronoun *sa-/ tad-* was *tasya* > MIA *tassa*. Attested forms of dat.-gen.-abl. sg. in Western Apabhraṃśa around the year 1200 CE are *tasu*, *tāsu*, *tassu*, *tassa* (Prākritism), *taho* and *tahu* (Tagare, *HGA*, §123A, p. 226-227). In the NIA period the sibilant forms are characteristic of Western dialects of Hindī: Khaṛī bolī, Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §90), the language of *Pṛthvīrājarāso*, and also for Pañjābī. *tasa* and *tāsa* are direct descendants of the Apa. forms, long vowel in *tāsa* being compensatory lengthening for the reduction of the double sibilant. In the examples quotable from the analysed texts both *tasa* and *tāsa* are used as oblique cases: *tāsa* obviously with the force of genitive, *tasa* – if understood as parallel to the following *tā kai* – as locative (for *-kai*, see the section 4.B.2 below). In Old Avadhī the corresponding form of obl.-gen. sg. is *tāsu* (with parallel forms *jāsu* and *kāsu* for the relative and interrogative/indefinite respectively). Saksena, *EA*, §242.2, p. 180, does not see them as Apabhraṃśa loanwords, but derives them from the general obl. sg. form *tā* extended with another affix *-su* (in the same way as the general obl. function of *tā* was narrowed by another affix *-hi* to form dat./acc.). This might be considered as an alternative explanation for the form *tāsa*; but as the affix *-sa* itself denotes, in the analysed texts,

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the general oblique, it does not seem to be suitable extension to narrow the sense of the obl. sg. *tā*.

The form *tisa* (single incidence) is simple obl. sg. used here with a noun in the locative case. The origin of pronominal suffix of obl. sg. *-isa* has been treated in more detail in the sections 3.H.1.j (interrogative/indefinite k_1- + obl. sg. *-isa*) and 3.D.1.d (near demonstrative oblique i_1- + *-sa*). In the present corpus the number of incidences of the three pronominal obl. sg. forms – near demonstrative, correlative and indefinite obl. sg. *isa, tisa* and *kisa* respectively – is too small to allow any broader conclusion about their possible specialized meanings – e.g. *-asa /-āsa* for the genitive, *-isa* for the general obl. case.

t_2- + *gen. sg.* -asa / -āsa

186.0 *rā̃ma gũna belaṛī re avadhū goraṣanāthi jā̃ṇī, nā̃* tasa *mūla na chāyā tā kai, vṛradhi karai bina pā̃ṇī* "O *avadhūta*, the plantlet of Rām's praise/*bhakti* was known to Gorakhnāth; hers [is] no root, [hers is] no shadow, she grows without water"

188.3 *kahai kabīra* tāsa *mai celā, jini yahu taravara peṣyā* "Kabīr says: I [am] a pupil of that [person] who has seen this tree"

t_2- + *obl. sg.* -isa

177.3 *pyā̃da pare jīva kahā̃ rahai, koī bheda laṣāvai; jīvata* tisa *ghari rāṣiye* "when the body decays, where does the *jīva* reside? Can anybody explain [this] secret? While living, let it be kept within that house"

e. t_2- + *obl. sg.* -$ā̃_9$ / -$ā_{10}$
t_2- + *obl. sg.* -$ā_{10}$ + *exclusive emphatic particle* -$hī_2$
t_2- + *obl. sg.* -$ā_{10}$ + *dat. / acc.* -hi_2

For details on the origin of the obl. sg. pronominal affix *-$ā_{10}$* (OIA *-asya* > MIA *-assa*, *-aha* > NIA *-ā*), see the section 3.D.1.b above. The general obl. sg. form *tā* (in one instance *tā̃* due to contact nasalization) is in most cases, whether used as adjective or as substantive, followed by a postposition which specifies the case: *tā jana kau* (gen.), *tā hī syū̃* (instrumental/ablative with inserted exclusive emphatic particle). In the verse 221.1, on the other hand, the form *tā* is used, probably with the force of locative, without any postposition.

The affix *-hi_2* denoting dat./acc. case (more on this affix see above, in the section 3.A.3 on 1st pers. sg. pronoun) must be added directly to the oblique form, i.e., is used only when the pronoun is used substantively: *tāhi na jholai* (acc.); in adjectival position, when *tā* is followed by a noun, the case is expressed by separate postposition: *tā̃ mulanā kū̃* (dat.).

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t_2- + *obl. sg.* -$\tilde{a}_9$ / -a_{10}

390.3 *kāla purisa kā maradaĩ mãna,* tã *mulanā kũ sadā* [*sa*]*lãmã̃* "[who] crushes the pride of the god of death (or: "of the henchman of the god of death"), to that *maulānā* [is] always [due reverential] salutation"

448.0 *rãma carāṇa jā kai hridai bas*[*a*]*ta hai,* tā *jāna kau mana kyũ ḍolai* "in whose heart dwells Rām's foot, why should wobble the mind of that man?"

221.1 *bhau jala tirāṇa carāṇa citāmaṇi,* tā *cita ghaṛī na lāyau* "the feet [of the God], the wish-fulfilling gem [necessary] for the crossing of the ocean of existence – I did not fix my mind on it [even] for a moment!"

t_2- + *obl. sg.* -a_{10} + -hi_2

146.4 *kahai kabīra jo ãbara jãnai,* tā *hī syũ merā mana mãnai* "Kabīr says: who knows [this] heaven, with him indeed my mind agrees"

t_2- + *obl. sg.* -a_{10} + *dat. / acc.* + -hi_2

448.1 *jahã̃ jahã̃ jāi tahã̃ sacu pāvai, māyā* tāhi *na jholai* "wherever he goes, he enjoys happiness, *māyā* does not torment/upset him"

f. t_2- + *obl. sg.* (*loc.*) -ihi

The affix *-ihi* appears to be historically connected to *-hi*$_1$ occurring in the obl. sg. of the near demonstrative pronoun *ihi* (see above, in the section 3.D.1.c) and probably also to dat./acc. affix *-hi*$_2$. Different explanations of its origin have been summarised by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §499, p. 745-750. Taking into account existing hypotheses of the derivation from OIA pronominal locative sg. *-a-smin* through Early MIA *-a-ssiṁ*, *-a-hiṁ*, Late MIA *-ahi*, *-ahiṁ* to NIA *-hĩ*, *-hi*, he puts forward his own theory which takes as point of departure an old OIA locative suffix **-adhi*, not found in Sanskrit, but attested in Pāli as *-dhi*, whose other form may have been **-bhi*, **-bhim*. This, according to him, might be another source of the MIA and NIA *-hĩ*, *-hi*.

In texts of the present corpus the affix *-hi* is pronominal; preceded by general pronominal obl. sg. forms *-a*$_{14}$, *-ā*$_{10}$, *-o*$_4$, and *-sa* it forms dat./acc. case; in the Morphemicon it has been marked as *-hi*$_2$. However, in the near demonstrative, relative and correlative forms *ihi*, *jihi* and *tihi*, it takes more often the force of the locative. In this respect it has closer affinity with *-hi*$_1$ mentioned above. In these relative and correlative forms it can be best segmented as *-ihi*, an affix with its own specific form and function. The vowel *-a-*, fully explicable by the historical development of the form (and found

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in the Braj forms *jāhi* and *tāhi*, and also in the Old Mārvāṛī loc. sg. *jahĩ* and *tahĩ*), was here superseded by *-i-*, perhaps as a result of the analogical formation in which the near demonstrative *ihi* was either seen as a model, or was itself joined directly as an affix to pronominal roots j_1- and t_2-. Worthy of note in this respect are also alternative forms *jihĩ* for Braj obl. sg. and Mārvāṛī loc. sg. (Varma, *LB*, §183, p. 84; id., *BV*, p. 76; Tessitori, *OWR*, §90). Nasalized form *tihĩ* occurs also in the LIO where it is partly interchangeable with the general obl. sg. form *tā*, but not in "expressions of instrumental and agentive force" (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.79-83, p. 153). In different Hindī dialects prevailing functions of this affix appear to be those of the locative and the instrumental cases. For other aspects and dialectal variants, see Tagare, *HGA*, §83, p. 130; Hoernle, *CGGL*, §438, p. 290; Kellogg, *GHL*, Table XI; Saksena, *EA*, §248, p.191.

178.3 *nījhara jharai ãmīrasa nikasai,* tihi *madi rāvala chākā* "the stream of the liquid trickles, *amṛta* oozes out; with this liquor the king (i.e. the soul) has become intoxicated"

g. t_2- + *erg. sg.* -ini

The far demonstrative/correlative and relative forms of instr. sg. *tiṇi* and *jiṇi* are attested in Western Apabhraṃśa around 1200 ce. Tagare, *HGA*, §123, p. 222, explains the final *-i* as possibly originating from OIA extended instrumental **tena-cit* > *teṇa-i* > *tiṇi* (more frequently occurring Apa. instr. sg. forms being the unproblematic *teṇa* and *tiṇa*). Pischel, *GPS*, §427, p. 303, records one occurrence of the instr. sg. *jiṇi* in the *Prākṛta-piṅgala*, but rejects it – perhaps overhastily – as wrong spelling for the correct *jiṇa* = *jiṇā*. The instr. sg. *tiṇi* and *jiṇi* are known to have existed in Old Mārvāṛī too (Tessitori, §90).

In texts of the present corpus *tini* appears in contexts where it can be interpreted as instr./erg. of plural as well, but several quotable examples of *jini* show it to be unambiguously instr. of the singular number (see in the section 3.G.1.d below, j_1- + *-ini*). It is important to stress this point because Kellogg, *GHL*, Table XI (Braj), and McGregor, *LIO*, §3.85-89, p. 154, identify these forms as ag. of plural. In our texts both these pronominal forms occur in agentive contexts where the intended meaning appears to be active.

The affix *-ini* appears to have a variant *-yanã*: it occurs once in the interrogative *kyanã* where the context indicates that the form is to be interpreted as erg. sg. (*tumha kyanã kīye* lit. "by whom have you been created?" in 285.1).

12.0 *hari ke ṣāre baṛe pakāye, jini jāre* tini *ṣāye* "Hari's cakes are fried salty; [only he] who (has) baked them, ate (or: "has eaten") them" (lit. "by whom baked, by him eaten")

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406.2 *mana mai mailā tīratha nhāvai,* tini *baikuṇṭha na jā̃nā̃* "unclean in [his] mind, he bathes at a *tīrtha* (place of pilgrimage); he has not known the paradise" (lit.: "by him the paradise is/was not known")

h. t_2- + *obl. pl.* -ina / -inha

OIA gen. pl. *-ānām* (which invaded also pronominal declension, as in *teṣām* > **tānām*) > MIA *-aṇaṃ*. Tagare, *HGA*, §123A, p. 228, classifies the dat.-gen.-abl. pl. *tāṇaṃ* and *tāṇa* as Prākritisms, genuine Apa. forms being *tāhaṃ*, *tāhã*, *tahaṃ*, *tahã*. Chatterji, *ODBL* I, §150, p. 306, and *ODBL* II, §558, p. 823-824, treats the development of non-Bengālī pronominal obl. plurals only in the most general terms; more detailed is his treatment of these forms in the introduction to *UVP*, §67, p. 51: the Old Kosalī obl. pl. *tenha* (in Paṇḍita Dāmodara's text on p. 19, l. 27: *"tenha mā̃jhã kavaṇa e" – tayosteṣāṃ vā madhye katamo 'yam?*) is analysed as nom. pl. *te* (result of OIA *tebhiḥ* > MIA *tehi* > *te*) + MIA gen. pl. *teṇam* (for OIA *teṣām*); the aspiration is explained as the influence of the oblique suffix *-hi*: thus *teṇa* > *tenha*. Here the origin of the medial *-e-* (which might be later weakened into *-i-*) and of the aspiration is explained as the product of the conflation of several originally separate forms. Alternative solution is suggested by Bloch, *IA*, p. 193 [196], who sees the parallelism between the Pañjābī singular and plural forms *so* : *tis* and *se* : *tinh-*. In the present corpus the affix *-ina* is attested also in combination with the interrogative/indefinite pronominal root k_1-.

It should be noted, however, that in certain contexts doubts may arise as to the origin and status of the nasal consonant of the affix: by derivation from the OIA instr. sg. *tena* we get such NIA forms as *tinahi* and *tinai* in the language of the AG (used for loc. or ag. sg.); and *teṇa:ī̃* and *tīṇa:ī̃* in Old Mārvāṛī (with the force of instr. and loc. of both numbers: Shackle, *GNG*, p. 141; Tessitori, *OWR*, §90). In the analysed texts this second possibility should be borne in mind when interpreting the verse 408.4. Here all Rājasthānī MSS have the verb in sg. (either *lāgau*, or *lāgai*); the following pronominal form *tina* can be understood either as plural followed by the exclusive emphatic particle *-hī* / *-hī̃* (the alternative chosen in the present corpus), or as integral pronominal form, most probably loc. or ag. sg. (as in the language of AG). Singular number (not attested in this form in other Hindī dialects) would fit better in the present context. (For similar ambiguities of the meaning of *tina* in verses of Dādū Dayāl, see, Thiel-Horstmann, *Crossing*, §2.4.3., p. 33.)

In those examples quoted below where *tina* is undisputedly simple obl. pl., the precise meaning of the form is further specified by following postposition. In both agentive contexts (408.4 and 204.1) the postposition is not expected and both *-hī* and *-hī̃* fit in well if seen as exclusive emphatic particles.

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149.0 *je nara bhae bhagati tāĩ nyāre,* tina *tāĩ sadā ḍarãṇe rahiye* "men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*: one should always remain frightened by them"

288.4 *je jana jāni japāĩ jagajīvana,* tina *kā gyãna na nāsā* "those *bhaktas* who, having known the Lord / Soul of the world, repeat His name (or: "those *bhaktas* who attentively repeat the name "Jagajīvana"), their wisdom has not perished"

408.4 *sevaga so jo lāgau sevā,* tina *hĩ pāyau nirãjana devā* "(devoted) servant is he who has persevered in service; only by that [sg.: "man" / pl.: "people"] has been attained the God *Nirañjana* (the Unqualified)"

204.1 *cauthe pada kũ jo jana cīnhaĩ,* tinha *hī parãma pada pāyā* "devotees who know/recognize the fourth (impersonal) state [of the soul] – only by these the highest stage has been reached"

2. *Pronominal adjectives and adverbs*

a. t_2- + *pronominal adjective of quality* -as_2-, -ais-

The adjective affix has been discussed above, in the section 3.D.2.d (the near demonstrative *0_1-* + *-as_2-*, *-ais-*). The single quotable instance of the anaphoric form *taisā* in the expression *jaisā ... taisā* ("like ... like", "as is ... so is") in the verse 406.1 resembles closely its Sanskrit predecessor *yādṛśaḥ ... tādṛśaḥ* with the same meaning. Of similar kind is the phrase *jasa kāsī jasa magahara usara* in 486.2. where the second *jasa* is probably a scribal error for the anaphoric *tasa* attested by all other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV. The shorter variants *jasa* and *tasa* are eastern, Old Avadhī forms; interestingly, a text closely resembling that of the *pad* 486 is found also in *Bījak* (*Śabda* 103), but there the locus in question has the variant reading *kyā kāsī kyā magahara ūsara.* Saksena, *EA*, §266, p. 210, describes the shorter variants as later and simpler formations; but his own quotations from works of Jāyasī, Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad show both variants in current use.

486.2 *jasa kāsī jasa* (corr.: *tasa?*) *magahara usara, hṛdai rãma jau hoī re* "as is Kāśī, so is the barren Magahar, [no difference between them] when Rām dwells in the heart"

406.1 *jala kai majani jau gati hoī, tau mĩnã nita nhāvai; jaisā mīnã* taisā *narā, phiri phiri jonī āvai* "if the final deliverance is [achieved] by (ritual) immersion in water, then [surely,] the fish perform the bath continuously; like fish, like man (or: „man [is/behaves] like fish"): again and again returns into the womb"

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b. t_2- + *pronominal adjective of quantity* -et-

The pronominal adjective affix *-et-* may have its origin in OIA suffix *-yant /-yat* occurring in pronominal adjectives *ki-yant* "how much", "how large" and *i-yant* "so much", "so large". The extant MIA forms *kettiya*, *kettia*, and analogically formed relatives *jettia*, *jittia*, *yettika*, *yettia*, and demonstratives *tettia*, *tittia*, *tettika*, show previous addition of still another adjective affix, probably *-tya /-tiya* (**ki-yat-tiya*, **ya-yat-tiya*, etc.: PISCHEL, *GPS*, §153, p. 116; CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §601, p. 854-855; TAGARE, *HGA*, §131, p. 281). The NIA variant *-et-* (as in *kete*, *tete*, *jetī* in Kabīr's *pads* of the present corpus) is common to large tracts of the Hindī speaking area, Eastern as well as Western (as in Old Avadhī *ketā*, *jetā*, *tetā*, Old Mārvāṛī *keta:u*, *jeta:u*, *teta:u*: SAKSENA, *EA*, §264, p. 208-209; TESSITORI, *OWR*, §93), whereas the central ones are characterized by *-it-* (e.g. Khaṛī bolī *itanā / ittā*, *titanā / tittā*, Old Braj *ito*, *tito*).

121.1 *suta aparādha karai dina kete, jananī kai citi rahaĩ na* tete "[no matter] how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, so many / all these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

c. t_2- + *pronominal adverb of time* -aba, -abai

Different hypotheses concerning the possible origin of the temporal affix *-aba* have been discussed above in the section 3.D.2.e (*0_1-* + pronominal adverb of time *-aba*); it is not necessary to repeat them here.

In the verses analysed in the present corpus, *taba / tabai* is used in the temporal sense "then", "at that time", and often also as conjunction following conditional clause which may be introduced by the relative *jaba* with the sense of "if". An instance of the use of *jaba* (– *taba*) in conditional clause is found, e.g. in the *pad* 310 (see the example below). The form *tabai* (in the verse 19.4 quoted below) can be interpreted as emphatic form "just/only then", the diphthong being result of fusion of the final *-a* with the emphatic exclusive particle *-$ī_{14}$*: analogous form *jabai*, a combination with the relative morph *j_1-*, occurs in the verse 47.2.

34.3 *tūṭai badhai badhai puni tūṭai, jaba* taba *hoi bināsā;* taba *ko ṭhākura iba ko sevaga, ko kā kai visavāsā* "[whatever] snaps / wears out, [that] joins / grows up; [whatever] joins / grows up, [that] snaps / wears out again; time and again comes the destruction; then (previously) one [was] a chief, now one [is] a servant. Who can one expect [to become next time, in the next birth]?" (lit.: "one [is] in the expectation/hope of whom?")

310.1 *jaba gaḍhapati sabalā hoī,* taba *lūtai na sakai koī* "if the commander of the fort is strong, then nobody can loot it"

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310.2 *ãdhiyāre dīpaka cahiyai,* taba *basta agocara lahiyai* "in the darkness lamp is wanted; then invisible thing is revealed" (lit.: "is received")

27.1 *jaba laga bharaĩu nalī kā bheva,* taba *laga tūṭai merau rãma sãneha* "as long as I keep wiring the shuttle (lit.: "fill the hole of the shuttle"), so long my love of Rām keeps snapping"

19.4 *pūrau milyau* tabai *suṣa upanau, tana kī tapati bujhãṇī* "[when I] reached the fullness, then the bliss was born; the fever of the body was extinguished"

139.2 *jahã kā upanã tahã bilãnã, hari pada bisaryā* taba hĩ "from where he had been born, in that he merged; then (or: "at that moment") Hari's presence was forgotten"

d. t_2- + *pronominal adverb of place* -ahã / -ahuvã

The origin of the affix used for the derivation of adverbs of place from pronominal roots has been discussed above in the section 3.D.2.b (near demonstratives, i_1- + *-hã*). Apart from the regular form *-ahã* used with the roots t_2-, j_1- and k_1-, the present corpus supplies one instance of longer form t_2- + *-ahuvã*, reminding us of Early Avadhī adverbs of place *tahavã, jahavã* and *kahavã* (Saksena, *EA*, §361, p. 303-304; Kellogg, *GHL*, Tab. XXIV, classifies these forms as belonging to Rivāī). In Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa* we meet also the form *tahũ* (7.109.2: *khela:ũ tahũ bālakanha mīlā* "even there I would play together with boys" – there = in my previous incarnation) where the final vowel is interpreted as inclusive emphatic particle (see also Tivārī, *Tulasī-śabdasāgara*, p. 202, *tahũ – vahã bhī, usa jagaha bhī*). This does not appear to be the case of *tahuvã* in the verse 34.2 of the present corpus; but it is perhaps not without interest that the reference to the transcendental region by the same adverbial form is found in *Gorakha-bānī*, *pad* 7.1 (Baḍathvāl's ed.): *bāī nahĩ tahũvã bādala nãhĩ, bina thābhã bābai mãḍapa racīyā* "there is no wind there, no clouds; the Lord has created a pavilion without columns". In the present texts too the adverb *tahã*, whether used as correlative or far demonstrative, refers often to the reality of "the great beyond".

19.3 *trīkuṭa koṭa mãĩ madala bājaĩ,* tahã *merā mana nācai* "drums sound in the fort in which three paths meet: there my mind dances"

387.1 *jahã nahī* tahã *kachū jãni, jahã nahĩ* tahã *lehu pichãni* "where [there appears to be] nothing, there know something [to exist]; where [there appears to be] nothing, there find out [something]"

387.6 *pĩḍa parẽ jīva jāihai jahã, jīvata hī le rāṣau* tahã "where the soul will go when the body dies, take and keep it there while still alive"

34.2 *nahī griha dvāra kachū nahī* tahuvã*, racanahāra puni nāhĩ; jovana-hāra atīta sadā sãgi, e gũna* tahã *samãhĩ* "no house, door, nothing is

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there, not even the Creator; [there is] the Supreme Consciousness, trascendent [and] ever-present/immanent: there enter these *guṇas*"

e. t_2- + *pronominal adverb of manner* -$y\tilde{u}_1$

Different hypotheses developed to explain the origin of the adverbial affix of manner -$y\tilde{u}_1$ have been summarized above, in the section 3.D.2.f (near demonstratives, 0_1- + -$y\tilde{u}_1$). The NIA far demonstrative/correlative *tyũ* appears to be analogical formation attested already in Apabhraṃśa as *tẽva* and *tĩva*. Old Kosalī forms of this relative and correlative adverb *jẽma* and *tema* are shown in an exemplary sentence by Paṇḍita Dāmodara in his *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa*, p. 38, l. 17: *jẽma jẽma mā pūtahi dulāla, tema tema dūjaṇakara hia jāla – yadā yadā – yathā yathā vā mātā putraṃ durlāḍayati, tadā tadā – tathā tathā vā durjjanasya hṛdaye*(*yaṃ?*) *jvālayati.* ("The more the mother caresses [her] son, the more [she] inflames the heart of the wicked one").

129.4 *sãpati deṣi na hariṣiyẽ, bipati deṣi na roi; jyũ sãpati* tyũ *bipati hai, karatā karai sa hoi* "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing calamity, do not weep; just as [there is] prosperity, so there is [also] calamity; [what] the Creator ordains, that happens"

G. Relative

1. *Pronouns: pronominal roots + pronominal affixes*

a. j_1- + *dir. sg.* -u_4, -e_6, -o_2, -au_3

OIA relative pronoun masc. *yaḥ*, fem. *yā*, n. *yat* changed already in MIA into masc. *jo*, fem. *jā*, n. *jaṃ*, the initial *y*- following the general rule of change into *j*- valid for all Prākrits except Māgadhī and Paiśācī (Pischel, *GPS*, §252, p. 175-176; §427, p. 302-303). Most pronominal endings as well as adjectival and adverbial affixes are similar or identical to those of its correlative counterpart s_1-/ t_2-. For treatment of dir. sg. endings common to both, see the section 3.F.1.a. and b. (far demonstrative/correlative s_1- + -a_{12}, -u_4, -o_2, and t_2- + -e_6).

It should be noted that the two endings of dir. case -u_4 and -o_2 when combined with the relative j_1- may represent both sg. and pl. number depending on the context; in the example 139.1 below, *ju*, if it is not an expletive particle (for more examples of this use, see the section 8.C below), is certainly plural, as is -o_2 in 204.1. The status of dir. sg. of the longer form *jau* appears incontestable in the verse 147.4: *mīṭhau jāhi jau bhāvai* "sweet [is] what(ever) whom pleases". One can speculate that in this particular instance the diphthong may have arisen as a result of fusion of the final -o_2 with the

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inclusive emphatic particle -u_8, fitting in the present context. (Ṭaṇḍan, *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 629, shows the form *joū* in the sense *jo hī, jo bhī*.) The second occurrence of *jau* is in the verse 78.2 where the context allows it to be interpreted as either relative pronoun, or conjunction *jau* "if", "when" (with possibly independent descent from the OIA pronominal adverb *yataḥ*). In fact, all four forms discussed in this paragraph may in certain contexts function as conjunctions introducing various types of adverbial clauses (segmented as j_1- + -a_{19} / -e_{12} / -o_7 / -au_8, they are discussed in the chapter Conjunctions, section 8.B.1). In their function as markers of adverbial clauses their uses overlap with regularly formed pronominal adverbs *jaba*, *jahā̃*, *jaisā̃ī*, and *jyū̃*.

j_1- + *dir. sg.* -u_4

390.1 *so sulitā̃na* ju *doi sura tā̃nai* "he is sultān/king, who aims two arrows" (i.e. *iḍā* and *piṅgalā*)

139.1 *lā̃ucita mū̃ḍita mū̃ni jaṭādhara, e* ju *kahā̃ī sidhi pāī* "[those] with their hair torn out, shaven ascetics and those with matted hair – [all] these (who) say: »The final goal has been attained [by us]«" (*ju* as plural or expletive particle)

j_1- + *dir. sg.* -e_6

92.2 je *upajyā so binasasī* lit.: "what has been born that will perish"

j_1- + *dir. sg. and pl.* -o_2

146.4 *kahai kabīra* jo *ā̃bara jā̃nai, tā hī syū̃ merā mana mā̃nai* "Kabīr says: who knows [this] heaven, with him indeed my mind agrees"

204.1 *cauthe pada kū̃* jo *jana cīnhā̃ī, tinha hī parā̃ma pada pāyā* "devotees who know/recognize the fourth (impersonal) state [of the soul] – only by these the highest stage has been reached"

j_1- + *dir. sg.* -au_3

78.2 *beda kateba kahau kyū̃ jhūṭhā, jhūṭhā* jau *na bicārai* "why do you say that Vedas and the Book (Qurān) are false? False is he who does not think/contemplate" (or *jau* used as conjunction: "false is [a man] when he does not think/contemplate")

147.4 *mīṭhau jāhi* jau *bhāvai, dāsa kabīra rā̃ma gū̃na gāvai* "[let be] sweet what(ever) whom pleases; servant Kabīr sings the praises of Rām"

b. j_1- + *dir. pl.* -e_7

The variant explanations of the origin and development of this affix have been given above, in the section 3.F.1.c. (t_2- + -e_7). What has been said there

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about the ambiguity of the correlative form *te* as regards its number in certain contexts, applies equally to its relative counterpart; as an example may be taken the verse 315.3 discussed in the same section and quoted again below.

149.0 je *nara bhae bhagati taĩ nyāre, tina taĩ sadā ḍarãṇe rahiye* "men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*: one should always remain frightened by them"

288.4 je *jana jāni japaĩ jagajīvana, tina kā gyãna na nāsā* "those *bhaktas* who having known the Lord / Soul of the world repeat His name (or: "those *bhaktas* who attentively repeat the name "Jagajīvana"), their wisdom has not perished"

315.3 je *bahu rūpa kīyā te kīyā, aba bahurūpa na hoī* "the many forms/ /roles that were assumed [by me], they were assumed; now he who would take [these] many forms/roles is not here [anymore]" (or, with the first *bahurūpa* also taken as *bahuvrīhi* and *je* as sg.: "what the multiform one has done, he has done; ...")

c. j_1- + *obl. sg.* -$\tilde{ā}_9$ / -$ā_{10}$
j_1- + *obl. sg.* -$ā_{10}$ + *dat. / acc.* -hi_2
j_1- + *obl. sg.* (*loc.*) -ihi

The origin of the general obl. sg. affix -$\tilde{ā}_9$ /-$ā_{10}$ has been explained in the section 3.D.1.b. (near demonstrative y_1- + obl. sg. m. and f. -$ā_{10}$) and 3.F.1.e. (far demonstrative/correlative t_2- + -$\tilde{ā}_9$ / -$ā_{10}$); for the suffix -hi_2 denoting the dative/accusative case, see the section 3.A.3 (pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *m-* + -o_4- + -hi_2). As the occurrences of the obl. sg. *jā* clearly show, this form needs further specification to be able to express its syntactic function without ambiguity. There are three possible ways to do this: to add a postposition (genitive *-kau* in 129.3, dative *-kũ* in 212.1, locative of possessor *-kai* in 129.7, locative *-paĩ* in 139.0), to add another affix, the dat./acc. -hi_2 (*jāhi* in 147.4), or to use it with such nominal forms which themselves include more specific endings (locative *jā mastaki* in 126.3, ergative or locative *jā nari* in 131.0, locative or instrumental *jā kārãṇi* in 200.1).

The possible origin and function of the affix *-ihi* has been discussed above, in the section 3.F.1.f. (t_2- + *-ihi*); all instances of *jihi* quotable from the present corpus confirm the observation made above about the basically locative force of this affix, making the hypothesis of its descent from the OIA pronominal loc. sg. *-a-smin* look more probable. In 126.0 we see this pronominal form used substantively, in 65.2 and 131.2 it is used as an adjective. As a carrier of a specific locative function this affix needs no postposition which would further narrow its meaning – in contrast to the more vague -$\tilde{ā}_9$ / -$ā_{10}$.

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jāhi in the verse 149.0 is certainly a scribal error made under the influence of the previous correct accusative *tāhi*; other Rājasthānī MSS use the correct ergative form *jini*.

j_1- + *obl. sg.* -$\tilde{a}_9$ / -a_{10}

139.0 j*ã̃ pāĩ jã̃ũ āpaṇapau chuḍ̃āvãna, te bīdhe bahu phãdā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons are themselves] ensnared in many traps" (sg. *jã̃* : pl. *te*)

129.3 *koṭi kalapa jīvana vṛthā,* jā *kau nã̃hina hari syũ̃ heta* "life of myriad *kalpas* is in vain [for him] who does not love Hari" (lit.: "whose is not love of Hari")

129.7 *sũni mãḍala maĩ sodhile, parãma joti prakāsa,* jā *kai rūpa na reṣa haĩ* "by searching / having searched in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahma-randhra*), supreme light shines forth which has no form, no contour" (lit.: "of/in which there is no form, no contour")

212.1 jā *murati kũ̃ pātī toṛai, so murati nrijīva* "the idol, for which you pluck the leaves, is soulless"

126.3 *kahai kabīra* jā *mastaki bhāga, nā jã̃ṇaũ kāhū da:i suhāga* "Kabīr says: I do not know on which forehead [resides] the good fortune, to whom he (the Lord) will give [the boon of] matrimonial happiness"

131.0 jā *nari rã̃ma bhagati nahĩ̃ sādhī, so janamata kahi na mũ̃vo ãparādhī* "the man who did not attain the love of Rām – why had not such sinner died at his birth?" (lit.: "by which man Rām-*bhakti* was not attained ...")

200.1 jā *kārãṇi hama upajaĩ binasai, kyũ̃ na kahau samajhāī* "due to what cause are we born and die – why do you not explain?"

j_1- + *obl. sg.* -a_{10} + *dat./acc.* -hi_2

147.4 *mīṭhau* jāhi *jau bhāvai, dāsa kabīra rã̃ma gũna gāvai* "[let be] sweet what(ever) whom pleases; servant Kabīr sings the praises of Rām"

149.0 *āpana dehī caravā pã̃nī, tāhi nīdahi* jāhi [correctly: *jini*] *gãgā ã̃nĩ̃* "they themselves pass [you just a single] cup of water, [but] they slander those who brought the river Ganga [down to earth]"

j_1- + *obl. sg.* (*loc.*) -ihi

126.0 *rã̃ma bã̃ṇa ãṇiyāle tīra,* jihi *lāge so jã̃ṇai pīra* "Rām's arrows [are] sharp missiles: he knows the pain whom they have struck"

65.2 jihi *ghaṭi rã̃ma rahyau bharapūri, tā kī maĩ caranana kī dhūri* "the body which has been entirely pervaded by Rām – I am dust at the feet of such [a person]" (lit.: "in which body Rām has resided ...")

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131.2 jihi *kuli pūta na gyẽna bicārī, tā kī bidhavā kāhe na bhaī mahitārī* "the family in which the son is not striving for (the true) knowledge/ /wisdom, why had not its mother become a widow?" (lit.: "in which family ...")

d. j_1- + *erg. sg.* -ini

-ini has been discussed above, in the section 3.F.1.g. (t_2- + *-ini*); the examples given below demonstrate that, in the texts of the present corpus at least, this affix should be interpreted as being of singular number. It is also obvious that in sentences, where this pronominal form expresses a logical subject, these grammatically passive constructions are to be understood as having active meaning.

8.2 jini *pīyā tini mẽ̃nẽ̃* "who has drunk, he has understood/agreed"

20.4 *sahaja suni maĩ̃* jini *rasa cāṣyā, satagura taĩ̃ sudhi pāī* "who has tasted the nectar in the emptiness (*śūnya*) of the state of *sahaja*, [he has] obtained the (pure) consciousness (or: "purification") from the Supreme guru"

30.1 *vrahmā baḍā ki* jini *upāyā* "is Brahma the great one, or [that] which gave birth [to him]?"

129.2 *rẽ̃ma rasāĩ̃ṇa* jini *pīyā, tā kũ̃ bahuri na lāgī piyāsa* "who had drunk the nectar of Rām, he never got thirst again"

41.1 *aba nahī marũ̃ maraṇa mana mānyẽ̃, soī muvẽ̃* jini *rẽ̃ma na jānyẽ̃* "now I shall not die, [although my] mind is reconciled with death; only he has died who has not known Rām"

e. j_1- + *obl. pl.* -yẽ̃ha

The exact meaning of the pronominal form *jyẽ̃ha* is unclear. Tessitori, *OWR*, §90, mentions the Mārvāṛī relative and correlative *jyẽ̃* and *tyẽ̃* as obl. pl. forms, descendants of OWR *jīẽ̃* and *tīẽ̃*. Also Kellogg, *GHL*, Table XI, has *jyẽ̃* (without postposition) as ag. pl. forms in Mārvāṛī and Mevāṛī, although in §286, p. 184, he describes the Mārvāṛī *jyẽ̃* as "the most common sing. inflection". The form *jyẽ̃ha* is not mentioned in grammars and does not occur in the corpus of Old Hindī Nirguṇa poetry collected by W. Callewaert in the NBhS-DHL. In the present manuscript *jyẽ̃ha* has been also found in *sākhī* 53.5 (*niguṇẽ̃ kau ãga*, fol. 290a; in the Sabhā ed., *sākhī* 55.5):

kabīra mũ̃ḍha karãmiyẽ̃, naṣa siṣa pāṣara jyẽ̃ha;
bẽ̃hãṇahārā kyā karai je bẽ̃ṇa na lāgaĩ̃ tyẽ̃ha.

"Kabīr, foolish is the ritualist (or: "are the ritualists"), on whom there is armour from head to toe; what can the archer (i.e. guru) do, when [his] arrows (i.e. instructions, advice) do not touch him?" (or: "them?")

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The couplet thus does not clear away the uncertainty concerning the grammatical number of both pronouns: *mũḍha karãmiyẽ* can be read either as sg. or as pl. (In Tivārī's ed. of *KG*, p. 215, this *sākhī*, numbered as 22.2, has sg. forms *āhi* and *tāhi*). The far demonstrative *tyẽha* occurs once more in *sākhī* 16.31 of the Sabhā ed. (*māyā kau ãga*, not extant in the present manuscript), clearly as obl. sg.:

kabīra māyā jini milai, sau bariyẽ de bẽha;
nārada se muniyara gile, kisau bharausau tyẽha.

"Kabīr, do not meet (or: "do not make friends") with *māyā*, even when she holds out her hand hundred times; great sages like Nārada were swallowed [by her], [so] what trust/confidence in her?"

However, the grammatical context of the verse 312.4 (plural *bhaye*), where we find the single occurrence of *jyẽha* in the present corpus, speaks in favour of obl.-erg. plural. We may have here similar ambiguity as that encountered in the interpretation of the pronominal affix *-ini*, in some dialects used as erg. of plural, in others of singular number – see the sections 3.F.1.g. (t_2- + *-ini*) and 3.G.1.d. (j_1- + *-ini*) above.

312.4 *kahai kabīra jana bhaye ṣalāsai, rẽma bhagati* jyẽha *jẽnī* "Kabīr says: [those] devotees have been liberated, who have known the love of Rām"

2. *Pronominal adjectives and adverbs*

a. j_1- + *pronominal adjective of quality* -as_2-, -ais-

The origin of the affix in OIA *yādṛśa-* has been dealt with above in the section 3.D.2.d. (0_1- + -as_2-, -*ais*-). Relative *jais-* may be used with the correlative *tais-*, near demonstrative *ais-* or without them, either adjectively with endings reflecting the difference in gender, or adverbially; the adverbial force is indicated by the suffix -$\tilde{a}_{10}$. In the case of pronominal adverbial derivatives this suffix is always nasalized (nasalization probably inherited from its MIA predecessor *-ahiṃ* whose origin in OIA obl. cases has been discussed by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §499, p. 745-749; also McGregor, *LIO*, §3.26, p. 140). In 419.0 *jaisãĩ* introduces the adverbial clause and takes the function of a conjunction.

The shorter form -as_2- is an eastern variant current in Old Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §264, p. 207-209). *jasa* in the verse 387.3 quoted below can be interpreted either as a pronominal adverb ending in -a_{18} (Saksena, *EA*, §364, p. 306), or as an adjective in -a_4 used adverbially, a phenomenon not uncommon in Old Hindī texts (see, e.g. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.35, p. 141-142). In the expression *supina jaisā* in the verse 261.1 *jaisā* can be seen as postpositive word meaning

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"like", "similar to": this function of *-jais-* is described in the section 4.A.3 in a group with similar postpositives *-samā̃n-* and *-s_2-*.

387.3 *guna atīta* jasa *nriguna āpa, bhrāma jevarī jaga kīyau sāpa* "as the Self / He himself, beyond [all] qualities, [is] without attributes, [so on the other hand] by [the power of] illusion the rope-world has been made [by Him] (i.e. presented as) a snake"

261.1 *sa͠īsāra a͠īsā supina* jaisā, *jīvana supina samā̃na* "this world is like a dream; life resembles / is equal to a dream"

113.1 jaisī *deṣi taravara kī chāyā, prā̃na gayẽ ko kā kara māyā* "look, [it is] like shadow of a tree: when life departs [from the body], who [remains], whose *māyā* (i.e. world as subjective perception)?"

145.1 *beda purā̃ṇa paḍhata asa pā̃ḍe, ṣara cādana* jaisa͠ī *bhārā* "*pāṇḍe*, you read (= perceive, understand) Vedas and Purāṇas in such a way, as does an ass the load of sandalwood" (adverbial use)

419.0 *hari kau bīlovanau bīloi merī māī; aisa͠ī biloi* jaisa͠ī *tata na jāī* "[the product of] churning (i.e. butter) for/of Hari churn, o my mother; churn in such a way that the essence is not lost" (negative purpose clause)

b. j_1- + *pronominal adjective of quantity* -et-

The origin of this adjectival affix has been discussed above, in the section 3.F.2.b. (*t_2- + -et-*). In the present corpus the number of occurrences of pronominal adjectives of quantity is small; in one case (121.1, translated in the above-mentioned section) the subordinate clause is introduced by interrogative *kete* instead of relative *jete*; in this particular context *kete* can be seen in its double function as indefinite pronominal adjective corresponding to MSH *kitane bhī* or *kitane hī* (so translated by Gupta, *KG*, p. 210), and a conjunction (or generalizing expression: Poříźka, *HLC*, §144, p. 398) introducing a clause combining condition with concession ("no matter how many ..."). All Rājasthānī MSS use in this verse *kete* or *ketā* without any emphatic particle; only AG478;12 has the relative *jete*. It may be noted that the syntactic construction in which the single quotable example of *jet-* occurs (again, echoed by all other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV) is similar to that of the verse 121.1 with *ket-*.

280.6 jetī *aurata maradā̃ siraje, e saba rūpa tumhārā* "as many women [and] men were created, these [are] all to your likeness"

c. j_1- + *pronominal adverb of time* -aba / -abai

Problems with derivation of this temporal affix from OIA morphs has been discussed in the section 3.D.2.e. (near demonstrative *0_1- + -aba*) above.

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jaba "when" or *jaba laga* "as/so long as" is often found with the correlatives *taba* "then" or *taba laga* "until then". Apart from this basically temporal meaning, *jaba* is also found in contexts where the sense of the clause introduced by it shades away from temporal to conditional – and the sense of *jaba* from pronominal adverb "when" to conjunction "if", as in the example of the verse 29.0 below; for other examples of this relative – correlative pair of pronominal adverbs, see in the section 3.F.2.c. (t_2- + *-aba*) above. The extended variant *jabai* is emphatic form, the final diphthong being result of fusion of the *-a* with the emphatic exclusive particle *-*$ī_{14}$.

29.0 *apaṇai bicāri asavārī kījai, sahaja kai pāiṛai pāva* jaba *dījai* "riding one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's thought/mind) can be made (or: "is made") when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"

114.3 *kahā͠ sunẽ kaisā͠ patiyāiye,* jaba *laga āpa tahā̃ nahī̃ jāiye* "by [mere] talking [and] listening how can one believe – until one does not go there oneself?"

408.2 jaba *laga jurā roga nahī̃ āyā,* jaba *laga kāla na grāsai kāyā;* jaba *laga hīna paṛai nahī̃ bā̃nī, taba laga bhaji mana sāragaprā̃ṇī* "so long as old age and illness has not arrived, so long as time/death does not devour the body, so long as speech does not falter, so long worship *Sāraṅgapāṇi* (= Viṣṇu) in/with [your] mind"

47.2 *tārāṇa tirāṇa* jabai *laga kahiye, taba laga tata na jā̃ṇā̃* "so long as the deliverer [from *saṃsāra*] and the deliverance is [only] talked about, so long the essence has not been understood"

d. j_1- + *pronominal adverb of place* -ahā̃

For the discussion of the origin of this pronominal adverbial affix see above, in the section 3.D.2.b (near demonstratives i_1- + *-hā̃*). *jahā̃* when it introduces a relative clause is most often echoed by correlative *tahā̃* or by an adverbial (as in 200.3) in the main clause.

Interesting is the combination of *jahā̃* with postpositions modifying its meaning: a comparison of the examples below shows two possible expressions of basically one and the same intended meaning: *jahā̃ upajyā tahā̃* [...] (92.3), and *jahā̃ kā upanā̃ tahā̃* [...] (139.2); in the case of *jahā̃ thā͠ āyā* (30.1), *thā͠* "from" forms a standard postpositional phrase with the following verb of movement.

200.3 *udai asta* jahā̃ *mati budhi nāhī̃, sahaji rā̃ma lyau līnā̃* "where there is no notion or perception of beginning and end, in [the state of] *sahaja* [I was / one is] engrossed in the immersion in Rām"

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92.3 jahā̃ *upajyā tahā̃ phiri racyā, pīvata mradana lāgā* "[from] where he had been born, there / towards that he was attracted again; [already] while drinking [from the breast] he began to fondle [it]"

139.2 jahā̃ *kā upanā̃ tahā̃ bilā̃nā̃, hari pada bisaryā taba hĩ* "from where he had been born, in that he merged; then (or: "at that moment") Hari's presence was forgotten"

30.1 *beda baḍā ka* jahā̃ *thāĩ āyā* "is Veda great, or [that/Him] from where it originated?"

448.1 jahā̃ jahā̃ *jāi tahā̃ sacu pāvai* "wherever he goes, he enjoys happiness"

e. j_1- + *pronominal adverb of manner* -yū̃$_1$ / -yau

For different hypotheses concerning the origin of this adverbial affix, see *0_1- + -yū̃$_1$* (above, section 3.D.2.f). The main function of this pronominal relative adverb is to introduce comparisons: in simple comparison of two facts or events *jyū̃* may be followed by its correlative counterpart *tyū̃* ("just as – so", as in 129.4); in 139.3 *jyū̃* and in 384.0 *jyau* have the force of postposition "like" (equivalent of MSH *kī taraha*) preceded by a nominal group or a noun in the obl. case (*bohitha ke kavā* and *pasuvā* respectively).

In 178.0 *jyū̃* in the function of a conjunction (i.e. *j_1- + -yū̃$_2$*) introduces a clause of manner expressing comparison ("like", "the way": *jyū̃ bhari dei kalālī*; see also the sections 8.B.4. and 5 below). In 200.0 the function of the conjunction *jyū̃* is still different: here it introduces a clause which can be understood either as expressing purpose or result ("in order that", "so that", MSH *jisa se*: *jyū̃ bhava bādhana ṣūṭai*).

200.4 jyū̃ *pratibĩba pratibĩbahi samā̃nā̃, udika kũbha bigarā̃nā̃; kahai kabīra jā̃ni bhrā̃ma bhāgā, sīvahi jīva samā̃nā̃* "just as the reflection identified itself with the solar orb, [and] the jug melted in water – Kabīr says: with the true knowledge (or: "having known/attained the true knowledge") the error has run away / disappeared, the soul merged with Śiva"

129.4 *sā̃pati deṣi na hariṣiyẽ, bipati deṣi na roi;* jyū̃ *sā̃pati tyū̃ bipati hai, karatā karai sa hoi* "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing/experiencing calamity, do not weep; just as [there is the state of] prosperity, so there is [also] calamity; [what] the Creator ordains, that happens"

178.0 *hai koī sāta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā kū̃ japa tapa dehũ dalālī; eka bũda bhari deī rā̃ma rasa,* jyū̃ *bhari dei kalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage: [to a *sant* who] will give a drop of Rām's nectar, just as the seller of liquor gives [a taste of her drink]?"

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200.0 *bābā karahu kṛpā jana māragi lāvo,* jyũ *bhava bādhana ṣūṭai* "Father, show mercy, put the devotee on the [right] path, so that the bond of worldly existence may end"

139.3 *yahu mana bohitha ke kavā* jyũ*, rahyau ṭhagyau sau baisaĩ* "this mind is like a crow on a ship [on the high seas]: it remained sitting [feeling] as if robbed" (i.e. marooned/trapped and at a loss [how to escape])"

384.0 *peṭa bharyau pasuvā* jyau *soyau, mãniṣa janama tãna hāryau re* "you filled your stomach, slept like an animal, you have wasted the body of the human birth!"

H. Interrogative and indefinite

1. *Pronouns*

a. k_1- + *dir. sg.* -avãna$_1$ / -avana$_1$, -auna$_1$, -ũ̃ṇa / -ūna
k_1- + *obl. sg.* -avana$_2$, -*aũ*na$_2$
k_1- + *loc. / instr. sg.* -aũṇi

In the OIA indefinite pronoun was formed from the interrogative pronoun masc. *kaḥ*, fem. *kā*, n. *kim* by addition of suffixes *-cid*, *-cana*, or *-api* (thus: *kaścid / kaścana / ko'pi*, *kācid / kācana*, etc.). The consonant *k-* as the base common to both interrogative and indefinite pronouns was inherited by MIA languages and was passed on to the NIA. From the same base were formed also OIA pronominal adjectives and adverbs; these too, transformed by processes of phonetical change and analogical formations, emerge in most of the MIA and NIA languages and dialects. Many of their respective formative affixes have been already dealt with in connection with their demonstrative and relative counterparts; in this section these are described only briefly.

kavaṇa, *kavuṇa* and *kavaṇu* are the attested forms of dir. sg. interrogative pronoun in Western Apabhraṃśa where they seem to have been so popular that after the turn of the millennium they were provided with regular affixes and used also in obl. cases: instr. sg. *kavaṇeṁ*, *kavaṇeṇa*, loc. sg. *kavaṇahiṁ* (Tagare, *HGA*, §§127, 127A, p. 256-262). Tagare traces *kavaṇa* to Pāli *ko-pana*, *pana* being an expletive particle related to Skt. *punaḥ*. *kaḥ punaḥ* as a precursor of the later MIA forms has been acknowledged also by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §583, p. 842-843; similar explanation is found in Kellogg, *GHL*, §374, p. 218.

In the texts analysed in the present study more frequent interrogative forms *kauna* and *kũ̃ṇa / kūna* are contracted NIA variants of the more archaic *kavaṇa*. *kavana* and *kauna* were in general adjectival use in Old Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §249, p. 191-193); Varma, *LB*, §187, p. 86, characterizes *kavana* as Avadhī form, rarely used by Braj authors (regular Braj forms being *kauna*

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and *ko*). In both literary dialects this pronoun can be used also in the obl. case; but whereas in Avadhī the ending changes with the case (e.g. *kavane avasara* "on what occasion?" in Tulsī), in Braj the form remains unchanged even before postposition (e.g. *kahaõ kaona sõ* "whom should I tell?" in Sūrdās). Our texts supply examples of both usages: common form unmarked for case *kavana syữ kahiye* in 8.3. and clearly marked loc./instr. sg. *kā̃rāṇi kāu̯ṇi* in 221.1.

This interrogative pronoun is used in the dir. case either as a substantive with the force of sentence subject "who" (as in 97.1, 182.0, and 77.0, applied to persons only), or as adjective "what", "which" used attributively (221.1, 145.0, 459.0, applied to things). Like other pronouns, these interrogative forms are common for both genders (see the feminines *kāu̯na kumati* in 145.0 and *kữṇa nārī* in 77.0).

dir. sg. -avãna$_1$ / -avana$_1$, -ā̃u̯ṇa$_1$ / -ā̃u̯na$_1$ / -auna , -ữṇa / -ữna :

433.2 *pā̃ṇī choti utārai pavãna, pavãna kī choti utārai* kavãna "wind/breath removes the defilement of water, but who removes the defilement of wind/breath?"

221.1 *kā̃rāṇi kāu̯ṇi āi jagi janamyau, janami* kavana *sacu pāyau* "for what cause [have I been] born, having come into the world? Having been born, what happiness [have I] attained?"

97.1 kā̃u̯ṇa *pūta ko kā kau bāpa,* kā̃u̯ṇa *marai* kā̃u̯ṇa *karai sātāpa* "who is son, who is whose father? Who dies, who grieves?"

182.0 *terā* kữna *gurū* kā̃u̯ṇa *celā* "who is your guru, who [is your] pupil?"

145.0 *pā̃ḍe* kā̃u̯na *kumati tohi lāgī* "oh *pāṇḍe*, what a foolish idea have you taken into your head?"

459.0 *nahĩ chāḍā̃u̯ bābā rā̃ma nāma, mohi aura paḍhana syữ* kā̃u̯na *kā̃ma* "I shall not abandon [the recitation of] Rām's name, o father; what is the use to me of learning other things?" (or: „of further learning?")

486.0 *jau kāsī tana tajai kabīrā, tau rā̃mahi* kauna *nihorā re* "if Kabīr quits [his] body in Kāśī, then what entreaty [is to be addressed] to Rām?"

77.0 *aisā bheda bigūcani bhārī; beda kateba dīna aru duniyā̃,* kữṇa *puriṣa* kữṇa *nārī* "such discrimination is a big hindrance [to correct understanding] – the Vedas [and] the Book (the Qurān), the religion and the world, who is man, who is woman"

obl. sg. -avana$_2$, -ā̃u̯na$_2$:

8.3 *anabhai kathā* kavana *syữ kahiye* "to whom can be told the story of [one's own] experience?"

115.2 *pũjī bitaṛi bādi lai daihai, taba kahā̃ī* kā̃u̯na *kai chūṭai* "having distributed the capital he will put [you] into jail; then at whose intercession will you be freed?"

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338.0 *kāyā mājisi* kaũna *gunẽ, je ghaṭa bhītari hai malanẽ* "why (lit.: "for what benefit/profit") will you rub (or: "are you going to rub") [your] body, when the pot is dirty inside?" (or: "for what benefit did you/he rub the body")

loc. / i*nstr. sg.* -aũṇi :

221.1 *kẽrāṇi* kaũṇi *āi jagi janamyau, janami kavana sacu pāyau* "for what cause [have I been] born, having come into the world? Having been born, what happiness [have I] attained?"

b. k_1- + *dir. sg.* -o_2

According to Kellogg and Chatterji, the NIA form *ko*, used in Old Braj as well as Old Avadhī and Old Mārvāṛī is not direct descendant of the OIA simple interrogative form *kaḥ*, but of its MIA successor which was extended by the then very popular pleonastic suffix *-ka*. The form *ka-kaḥ* then developed first to **kago*, from which followed **kao* > **ka:u* > *ko* (Chatterji in *UVP*, §67, p. 51). For a more detailed treatment of this hypothesis, see the section 3.F.1.a. (far demonstrative/correlative pronoun s_1- + dir. sg. -a_{12}, -u_4, -o_2). Obviously, the NIA *so*, the relative *jo* and *ko* are results of the same formative processes. All these three forms are common to both genders.

In texts of the present corpus *ko* is used both as interrogative and indefinite pronoun; however, if used as the indefinite, *ko* is often strengthened with the emphatic particle -$ī_{14}$ (less often -i_{14}; on emphatics, see the section 7.A.1). In the example taken from the verse 8.3. shown below the status of *ko* appears to be ambiguous: it may be interpreted both as interrogative and as indefinite form. In most instances quotable from the present corpus *ko* is used substantively as sentence subject. The phrase *saba ko* means "everybody", *ko na*(*hī*) "nobody". Adjectival use is attested by example of the verse 145.3.

ko *as interrogative:*

185.3 *ulaṭyau dhaṇãki pāradhī māryā, yahu aciraja* ko *būjhai* "with the inverted bow the hunter was killed: who will understand this strange thing?"

145.3 *beda paḍhata ara jīva badhata haũ, yahu* ko *dharãma kahāī* "you read Vedas and kill animals: what [kind of] *dharma* can this be called?"

281.1 *murasida pīra tumhārai* ko *hai, kahau kahẽ thī āyā* "who is your preceptor (*murśid*), [who is your] *pīr*? Say, where has he come from?"

97.2 *kaũṇa puriṣa* ko *kā kī nāri, abhiãtari tumha lehu bicāri* "who is husband, who is whose wife? Concentrate on [what is] within [your heart]!"

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ko *as indefinite:*

288.1 *yahu sãsāra hāṭa kari jãnãũ, saba* ko *banijana āyā* "I know this world to be a marketplace: everybody has come to do business"

92.1 *re jiya terā* ko *nahĩ̃, kalapi laihu jini bhāra* "o soul, you have nobody [to help you in this world?], do not lament the burden [you have to bear]"

ko *either interrogative or indefinite:*

8.3 *anabhai kathā kavana syũ̃ kahiye, hai* ko *catura bamekī* "to whom can be told the story of [one's own] experience? Is anybody (or: "who is") so clever and intelligent [as to be able to understand it]?"

34.3 *taba* ko *ṭhākura iba* ko *sevaga,* ko *kā kai visavāsā* "then (previously) one [was] a chief, now one [is] a servant. Who can one expect [to become next time]?" (lit.: in the expectation/hope/reliance of whom [is] who?)": Gupta, *KG*, p. 165); or: "then, one was a chief, now, one is a servant. What can one hope for?": Sĩha, *KV-S*, p. 374-375)

c. k_1- + *dir. sg.* -o_2 + -i_{14} / -$ī_{14}$ / -u_8

The basis of OIA indefinite pronouns was the interrogative *kaḥ*, *kā*, *kim* extended by emphatic particles *-cid*, *-cana* and *-api*. In the preclassical Vedic language the particles *-cid* and *-cana* are said to have been nearly synonymous with *-cana* used mainly in negative sentences. The use of *-api* as a formative element of indefinitive pronoun was a later innovation. In classical Sanskrit the usage of *-api* in forming indefinites tended to copy the already established patterns set by the older *-cid* and *-cana* (Wackernagel, *AiG* III, §259, p. 568-571). *api* had the force of both emphatic inclusive as well as exclusive particle, whose exact meaning was determined either by sentence context or by its being a member of a fixed collocation (as in *tathāpi* "even thus", "notwithstanding"). As exclusive emphatic particle it had the limiting force of "but", "only", "at least" (as e.g. in *muhūrtam api* "only a moment": MW, p. 55, col.1); and it might have retained it also in the MIA indefinite when the OIA *ko'pi* changed into *kovi*, *kuvi* (Tagare, *HGA*, §128, p. 274-275) and in the NIA *koi*, *koī*.

The semantic affinity between interrogatives and indefinites is not unnatural and is not limited to Sanskrit or Hindī. Both types of pronouns share an implicit element of indefiniteness: but whereas the interrogatives contain an appeal to eliminate it, indefinite pronouns retain and stress the element of indefiniteness, often with the help of specific affixes or other bound-markers which further modify or quantify it. (In general linguistic theory they form a specific type called interrogative-based indefinites: Haspelmath, *Indefinite*

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Pronouns, p. 24-27, 170-176.) It is not improbable that in the preclassical OIA living speech the meanings of the three indefinite particles enumerated above were not entirely synonymous, but expressed different shades or aspects of indefinitveness (closeness to limiting values "no" – "all", randomness, indifference or lack of concern on the part of the speaker, etc.).

Interestingly, from *c.* twenty occurrences of the indefinite *koī* quotable from the present corpus a great majority is found in negative contexts: typically in sentences which are negative either explicitly, or implicitly, as in questions where *koī* conveys doubt ("anybody at all?"), or in indicative phrases where the meaning of *koī* is further narrowed or underlined by words like *biralā* or *eka ādha*; such phrases can be then translated as "few indeed", "hardly anybody", etc. To show the distinct bias of *koī* towards the negative, substantial part of its occurrences in the present corpus is presented below.

affirmative:

76.0 koī *kahau kabīra* koī *kahau rāma rāī* "some of you call [him] Kabīr / the Great, some of you call [him] the King Rām"

185.5 *ãbara barasai dharatī bhījai, yā būjhai saba* koī "sky rains, earth gets wet – this [thing] understands everybody"

281.2 *satari kābā ika dila hī bhītari je kari jãnai* koī "inside a single heart [there are] be seventy Kaabas, if [only] one knows it [to be the case]"

negative implication in question ("anybody at all?"):

138.1 *nāgãĩ phiryã̃ joga je hoī, bana kā mrigha mukti gayā* koī "if the [goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?"

146.0 *kahau bhāī ãbara kā syũ lāgā,* koī *jãṇãĩgā jãṇaṇahāra sabhāgā* "Tell me, friend: to what is attached the sky? Some fortunate wise man will [perhaps] know it" (or: "Is there any fortunate wise man who knows it?")

177.1 *ulaṭi pavana kahã̃ rāṣiye,* koī *marãma bicārai* "having been reversed, where is (or: "should be"; or: "can be") kept the breath – does anybody concentrate on this secret?" (or: "one ponders / should ponder on this essential thing")

177.3 *pyãda pare jīva kahã̃ rahai,* koī *bheda laṣāvai* "when the body decays, where does the *jīva* reside? Does/can anybody explain [this] secret?"

178.0 *hai* koī *sãta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā kũ japa tapa dehũ dalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage"

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negative implication in the indicative ("hardly anybody"):

185.5 *dharatī barasai ãbara bhījai, būjhai biralā* koī "earth rains, sky gets wet – hardly anybody understands [this]"

204.0 *terau jana eka ādha hai* koī*; kã̃ma krodha aru lobha bibarajita, hari pada cīnhaĩ soī* "your servant/devotee is somebody very rare indeed: devoid of lust, anger and greed, only he knows the [ultimate] state of Hari"

negative sentence (with *na*, *nahĩ*, *jini*):

34.0 *yahu sãsā mohi nisa dina byāpai,* koī *na kahai samajhāī* "this doubt engulfs/torments me day and night, nobody is able to explain" (lit. "nobody tells by way of explanation")

77.3 *kahai kabīra eka rã̃ma bhajahu re, hīdū turaka na* koī "Kabīr says: worship one Rām, there is no Hindu or Turk"

138.2 *mũḍa muḍāiyaĩ jau sidhi hoī, srãgaĩ bheḍa na pahutī* koī "if the final goal is [achieved] by having one's head shaved, [then why] has no sheep got into the paradise?"

310.1 *jaba gaḍhapati sabalā hoī, taba lūtai na sakai* koī "if the commander of the fort is strong, then nobody can loot it"

459.5 *kahai kabīra* koī *lahai na pāra, prahilāda ubāryau aneka bāra* "Kabīr says: nobody can get to the other shore ([alone] i.e. without the help of the Lord; or: nobody can reach [His] limit); Prahlāda was saved many times"

486.2 *kahai kabīra rã̃ma mai jã̃nyã̃, bhrãmi bhūlai jini* koī *re; jasa kāsī jasa* (correctly: *tasa?*) *magahara usara, hṛdai rã̃ma jau hoī re* "Kabīr says: I have known Rām; let nobody be mistaken having gone astray: like Kāśī, like the barren Magahar, [no difference between them] when Rām dwells in the heart"

261.3 *kahi kabīra raghunātha bhaja nara, dutī nãhĩ* koi "Kabīr says: worship Raghunātha, o man, [for] there is no second/other [than Him]"

285.4 *alā pāka tũ nãpāka kyũ, aba dūsara nãhĩ* koi "Allāh is clean, [so] how [could] you [be] unclean? Now / in this respect, nobody is different" (or: "in fact, [there is] nobody different/other [than Him]")

d. k_1- + *dir. sg.* -ahā / -āhā, $-ā_9$

Both *kahā* and *kā* are used as dir. sg. of inanimate interrogative pronoun in Braj where the first is very common from early times while the second is said to be rare (Varma, *LB*, §190, p. 87-88). *kā* and also *kāhā* are standard forms of the inanimate interrogative in Old Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §249, p. 191-193)

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and also in Old Kosalī, the language described by Paṇḍita Dāmodara in his *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa* (e.g. p. 30, line 10: *ko e kāha karata ko ihã̃ kāha paḍha kãhẽ kā kĩha?* translated into Sanskrit as *ko 'yaṃ kiṃ kurvan ko 'tra paṭhati kena kasmai?*). Strangely, Chatterji (*ibid.*, Intro., p. 51) in his descriptive and analytic commentary on this text passes over *kāhā* as a form which does not require any special elucidation. This is a pity because the origin of this form is not clear at all: Tagare, *HGA*, §127, p. 256-259, records only Apa. dir. sg. *kiṃ*, *ki*, *kĩ* and *kāiṃ* from which the Old Hindī forms cannot be easily derived; Saksena, *EA*, §251, p. 195, speculates that the final *-ha* may be merely emphatic, but even so the preceding *kā*(-) remains unexplained. Kellogg, *GHL*, §375, p. 218-219, and Beames, *CGMALI* II, §71, p. 324, derive these Old Hindī forms variously from obl. cases od the MIA interrogative pronoun – whether corectly is impossible to say with any degree of certainty. As possible Western Apa. predecessors might be considered the dat./gen./abl. sg. forms *kaho* and *kahu* derived from MIA *kassa* and OIA *kasya* (Tagare, *HGA*, p. 261), extended by the pleonastic suffix *-ka* with subsequent elision of the intervocalic *-k-*: according to Kellogg, *kahaka* > *kahā*.

In texts of the present corpus both *kā* and *kahā* are frequent, the variant *kāhā* is rare. They are used both substantively and adjectively; characteristic is the use of this pronoun with adverbial perfective participle with the meaning "what is gained by ...?" or "what is the point/need/use of ...?" which reminds us of similar Sanskrit phrases construed either with the instrumental case of past participle or with absolutive: *kiṃ te vilapitenaivaṃ kṛpaṇaṃ ruditena vā* ("what need have you to lament like this and wretchedly weep?"; *Rām.* 2.39.2), or *vṛthā te kiṃ śramaṃ kṛtvā yuddhaṃ hi tava niṣphalam* ("what is the use of your toiling in vain? Your fight is fruitless"; *Rām.* 7.29.35). Also common is the use of *kahā* in the sense of "why?" This usage too has its precedent in Sanskrit where the interrogative *kim* "what?" fulfils the same function.

"what" (substantive):

149.0 *aise logani syũ̃* kā *kahiye, je nara bhae bhagati tãĩ nyāre* "what can be (or: "should be") said to such people – men who became separated / / stayed aloof from *bhakti*?"

325.1 *pãca tata le kāyā kīnhĩ̃, tata* kahā *le kīnhã̃* "the body was made of five elements (lit.: "five elements having been taken the body was made"), [but] the elements [themselves] had been made of what?" (lit.: "what having been taken was made into the elements?")

473.0 kahā *karũ̃ kaisãĩ tirãũ, bhau jala ati bhārī* "what should I do, how should I cross (to the other shore)? The ocean of existence is very difficult [to cross]"

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"what [is gained] by", "what [is the point] of":

96.1 kahā *mugadha re pā̃hana pūjai,* kā *jala ḍārai gātā* "what, o fool, [is the point] of worshipping a stone? What [is the use] of immersing the body into water (for ritual bathing)?"

372.2 kā *jaṭā bhasama lepāna kīyẽ,* kahā *guphā mai bāsa* "what [is gained] by [displaying] matted hair, by smearing one's body with ashes? What [is gained] by living in a cave?"

"what", "which" (adjective):

363.1 *je jārāĩ tau hoi bhasma tana, rahāĩ krima jala ṣāī; sūkara svā̃na kāga kau bhachina, tā māĩ* kahā *bhalāī re* "if they cremate [them], then the body becomes / turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worms and water eat [them]; food for pigs, dogs and crows: what good/noble [is] in it?" (lit.: "what goodness in it?")

440.3 kahā *aparādha sāta hau kīnhā̃, bādhi poṭa kū̃jara kū̃ dīnhā̃* "what crime had been commited by the saint, [that], bound into a bundle, [he was] given to (i.e. thrown in front of) an elephant?"

"why":

92.2 *aura marata* kā *roiye, je āpā thira na rahāi* "when others die, why should one weep – when one is not allowed to stay (permanently)?"

338.2 *je ridai sūdha mana gyā̃nī, tau tū̃* kahā *birolai pā̃nī* "if [you are so] pure in [your] heart [and so] wise in [your] mind, then why do you churn the water (i.e., do the ritual bathing)?"

413.0 *jāgau re nara, sovau* kahā "wake up, o man/men, why do you sleep?"

459.1 *mohi* kahā *paḍhāvai ālajāla* "why do you teach me nonsense?"

e. k_1- + *dir. sg.* -achu / -achū, -ucha

For *kachu* / *kachū* Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §589, p. 845-846, presupposes OIA neuter **kaṃ-* + *-cid* (the regular Sanskrit *kiṃcid* resulted in NIA Magadhan *kichu* / *kichi*). But the form with medial *-a-*, frequent in Old Braj (Varma, *LB*, §193, p. 89), may be a later NIA development: Tagare, *HGA*, §128, p. 273-274, mentions only *kuccha*; moreover, he assigns this form to Eastern Apabhraṃśa only; Western Apabhraṃśa, according to his sources, used *kiṃpi*, *kiṃci* and *kāĩ mi* (the last form is attested in OWR). Chatterji's hypothesis also does not explain the aspirated palatal – its origin may be sought in OIA masculine **kaśca* or *kaścid* (Kellogg, *GHL*, §377, p. 219; Bloch, *IA*, p. 199 [202]). The form *kucha* may be due to metathesis; Bloch classifies its origin as "doubtful".

Like other pronouns this indefinite neuter can be used as substantive or as an adjective. For the negative form *kachū / kucha + na / nāhī̃* only substantive

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use with the meaning "nothing" has been found in the texts. Combination with relative pronoun *je* gives the meaning "whatever" – as in MSH.

"something" (substantive):

95.3 *sãta milai* kachu *kahiye kahiye, milai asãta muṣṭi kari rahiye* "if one meets a virtuous man, then something can be said, can be said (or: "should be said"; or: "let something be said"); if one meets a person lacking virtue, then one should remain silent" (or: "let us remain silent")

381.1 *dārā suta greha neha, sãpati suṣadāī; yā mahi* kachū nāhi *terau, kāla āvadhi āī* "attachment to wife, son, house, wealth that give [you] pleasure – nothing of this is yours [when] comes (lit.: "came") the time of death" (or: „the time of [your] death has come!")

408.3 je kucha *kīyau soī saba sāra, phiri pachitāvaigā vāra na pāra* "whatever [you] have done, all that is the essence [of your being]; later you will regret immensely"

"some" (adjective):

249.4 *bhau būḍatã̃* kachu *upāi karījai, tau tiri lãghau tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore"

413.1 *jāgi ceti* kachū *karau upāi, moṭā bairī hai jamarāi* "wake up, be on alert, take some precaution, king Yama is powerful enemy"

f. k_1- + *obl. sg.* -$ā_{10}$

The descent of this affix from the OIA genitive (OIA *-asya* > MIA *-assa*, *-aha* > NIA *-ā*) has been treated in more detail above, in the section 3.D.1.b. (y_1- + obl. sg. -$ā_{10}$); it is added regularly also to other pronominal roots j_1-, t_2-, y_1- and v_1-. In our texts this interrogative form points to an animate object and occurs always with postpositions (genitive and dative/accusative).

34.3 *tūṭai badhai badhai puni tūṭai, jaba taba hoi bināsā; taba ko ṭhākura iba ko sevaga, ko* kā *kai visavāsā* "[whatever] snaps / wears out, [that] joins / grows up; [whatever] joins / grows up, [that] snaps / wears out again; time and again comes the destruction; then (previously) one [was] a chief, now one [is] a servant. Who can one expect [to become next time, in the next birth]?" (lit.: "one [is] in the expectation/hope of whom?")

97.1 *kãũṇa pūta ko* kā *kau bāpa, kãũṇa marai kãũṇa karai sãtāpa* "who is son, who is whose father? Who dies, who grieves?"

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113.2 *jīvata kachū na kīyā paravẽnẽ, muvẽ marãma ko* kā *kara jẽnẽ* "[if one] did not get any (firm) proof [of the ultimate reality] while alive, [then] whose essence did one realize after death?"

439.0 *kusala ṣema aru sahī salãmati, e doi* kā *kũ dīnhẽ re* "happiness, welfare and well-being – to whom [were] these two given?"

g. k_1- + *obl. sg.* -ahi$_2$ (> *adverb of cause* -ahi$_2$)

Obl. sg. of the interrogative *ko* goes back to OIA interrogative loc. sg. *kasmin* > MIA *kaṃhi*, *kahiṃ* > Apa. *kahĩ*, *kahi* (Tagare, *HGA*, §127&127A, p. 257, 262). Tessitori, *OWR*, §91, enters the form *kahi* as one of several forms of the genitive and also as general obl. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §586, p. 844, reports the locative form *kahi* as extant in Old as well as Middle Bengali; the New Bengali form *kai*, however, has the adverbial meaning "where".

In the present corpus we encounter single example of *kahi* with the force of pronominal adverb of cause and the meaning "why?" The logic of development of locative sg. of interrogative pronoun into pronominal adverb can be traced to locutions of the type *kẽrãṇi kaũṇi* "for what cause?" (as in the verse 221.1), where the noun could be elided without the loss of meaning. The process of adverbization, albeit from a different OIA pronominal base, appears to have been at work also in the case of the interrogative *k_1*- + obl. sg. -āhe$_1$ turned into pronominal adverb of cause -*āhe$_2$*, dealt with in the next section.

131.0 *jā nari rẽma bhagati nahĩ sādhī, so janamata* kahi *na mũvo ãparādhī* "the man who did not attained the love of Rām – why had not such sinner died at his birth?"

h. k_1- + *obl. sg.* -āhe$_1$ (< *adverb of cause* -āhe$_2$)

The origin of this form is to be sought in OIA pronominal adverb *katham* "how?" which changed in the MIA to *kahaṃ* and *kāha:u* (Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 72; Tagare, *HGA*, §153, p. 331). In Old Hindī *kāhe* may be used with postpositions in which case this form is assigned as obl. sg. to the inanimate interrogative *kahā* "what?" (Varma, *LB*, §190, p. 87-88; see the examples 271.0 and 41.3 below where the construction with postposition -*kũ* can be seen as parallel to MSH *kisa lie*). Without postpositions *kāhe* retains its original adverbial force and the basic meaning "how?", "why?"

obl. sg. -āhe$_1$:

271.0 *prẽṇī* kāhe *kai lobhi lāgi, ratana janama ṣoyā* "man, for what greed's sake have you wasted the gem of life?"

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41.3 *hari marihai tau hãma hữ marihaĩ, hari na marai hãma* kāhe *kữ marihaĩ* "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (i.e., is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?"

adverb of cause -āhe$_2$ *"why?":*

47.1 *ekameka hvai rahyā sabani maĩ, tau* kāhe *bhramāvo* "[if you as] one and only entity [are] present in everything, then why do you lead [us] astray?"

381.3 *rãma nãma ãmrita chāḍi* kāhe *biṣa ṣāī* "having forsaken the nectar of Rām's name, why do you eat poison?"

121.0 *hari jananī mai bālika torā,* kāhe *na auguna bakasauhu morā* "Hari, [you are] mother, I am your child; why do you not forgive my transgressions?"

i. k$_1$- + *obl. sg.* -āhū

Obl. sg. of the indefinite pronoun *koī* has its origin in the OIA gen. sg. *kasyāpi*; The form common for dat., abl. and gen. sg. in the Apabhraṃśa is *kāsu vi, kaho vi* and *kahu vi* (Tagare, *HGA*, §128, p. 274). *kāhū* is frequent in Old Avadhī ("in Jāyasī the most general form") where it occurs with postpositions; the same situation is in Old Braj (Saksena, *OA*, §256, p. 202; Varma, *LB*, §192, p. 89). Examples found in the present corpus (*kāhū sãgi* and *kāhū kai sãgi* in 477.4 and 367.0 respectively) are in agreement with this usage. In 280.4 *kahū* may be considered either as scribal error for *kāhū*, or a variant of pronominal adverb *kahữ* "somewhere", with negative particle "nowhere": the meaning is clearly indefinite. Absence of postposition in the ergative construction is normal in Old Hindī texts (see, e.g. the example from Keśavdās quoted by Varmā: *aru kāhū caṛhāyo na*, "et il n'avait été plié par personne"). Saksena mentions the use of *kāhū* without postposition in verses of Tulsī when the case is dative or accusative: *tehi nisi nĩda parī nahĩ kāhū* "that night, no one had sleep". This corresponds with the construction found in our verse 126.3 quoted below.

126.3 *kahai kabīra jā mastaki bhāga, nā jãṇaũ* kāhū *da:i suhāga* "Kabīr says: I do not know on which forehead [resides] the good fortune, to whom he (the Lord) will give [the boon of] matrimonial happiness"

280.4 *tīratha mūrati rãma nivāsā, duhu maĩ* kahū [correct: *kāhū?*] *na herā* "places of pilgrimage, [and] icons as dwellings of Rām? In both nobody found [Him]" (or: "in both [He has been] nowhere found")

367.0 *prãṇĩ lāla ausara cale re bajāi; mūṭhī eka kaṭhiyã mữṭhī eka māṭiyā, sãgi* kāhū *kai na jāi* "people, dear ones, having played off [their] show,

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are gone; nobody takes with him a single fistful of bones, a single fistful of clay/flesh [when he/she dies]" (standard word order: *kāhū kai sãgi na jāi*, lit.: "with nobody goes"; meanings of words *kaṭhiyā̃* and *māṭiyā* are uncertain)

477.4 *hama* kāhū *sãgi gaye na āye, tumha se gaḍha hãma bahuta basāye* "I neither [ever] departed nor arrived with anybody; [in the past] I occupied many [such] forts like you" (says soul to the body)

j. k_1- + *obl. sg.* -isa

The pronominal suffix of obl. sg. *-isa* is found only in Khaṛī bolī and Pañjābī where it is used also with the relative j_1-, far demonstrative/correlative t_2- and interrogative/indefinite k_1-. According to Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §584, p. 843, the change of *-a* / *-ā* into *-i* of the affix has its origin in the obl. sg. of the interrogative/indefinite pronoun whose OIA form *kasya* changed already in Pāli in masc. and neutr. to *kassa* and *kissa* (see, e.g. Fahs, *GP*, §141, p. 91). In the MIA *kīsa* used for abl. and gen. sg. was particularly popular in Śaurasenī (Pischel, *GPS*, §428, p. 304: "besonders häufig"). On the analogy of this form other pronominal obl. forms like **tissa*, **etissa* and **yissa* may have been built up whose later developments were the Hindī and Pañjābī demonstrative and relative obl. sg. *isa*, *tisa* and *jisa*.

In the present corpus the number of incidences of these three forms is too small to allow definitive conclusion about their possible specialized meanings – e.g. *-asa* / *-āsa* for the genitive, *-isa* for the other obl. cases. *-isa* as general obl. sg. is probably the correct identification (as it is in the MSH) if the phrase *kisa volai* in 78.3 below means literally "under which cover", "screened by which" and not *kisa ke oṭa se* "with whose cover", as translated by Gupta, *KG*, p. 182. For further points concerning the origin of this affix, see above, in the section 3.D.1.d (near demonstrative pronoun, obl. sg. i_1- + *-sa*).

280.4 *jau re ṣudāi masatī basta* [corrected to: *basata*] *hai, tau aura mulaka* kisa *kerā?* "if God dwells in the mosque, then whose is the rest of the country/earth?"

439.1 *dyaũsa cāri bhalaĩ mana rãjai, yā nahĩ* kisa *kerī re* "for four days (i.e., for a short time) [she, i.e. *māyā*] may well please the mind, [but] she does not belong to anybody"

212.0 *bholī mālanī he gõbĩdau jāgatau jaga deva, tũ karai* kisa *kī seva* "ah, you foolish flower-seller! Gobinda, the waking one, is the Lord of the world! [But] whom do you venerate?"

78.3 *ubarahuge* kisa *volai* "under which cover (or: "with whose support") will you attain salvation?"

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k. k_1- + *erg. sg.* -ini, -yanã

The ergative affix has been dealt with above in the section 3.F.1.g (t_2- + *-ini*). In the single indubitable occurrence in the present corpus the interrogative *kini* is best interpreted as ergative of the singular number – in form as well as in function analogous to the far demonstrative *tini* and relative *jini*. The second probable incidence is in 325.1, where the actual reading (probably a misspelling) is *kikī*. Another uncommon spelling of this ending is the form *-yanã*: it occurs only once in the verse 285.1 in context where it is best understood as erg. sg. In several other words attested in texts analysed here the spelling with *ya* indicates a weakened pronunciation of the vowel *i* (e.g. *jyãda* for *jĩda* in 440.4, or *muṣya* for *muṣi* in 145.1). Similar tendency of Braj scribes to represent the weakened *i* as *ya* or even *a* has been noted by McGregor in *LIO*, §2.9, p. 114. The final *-a* of the present affix, nasalized by the contact with the previous nasal consonant and standing here for the regular *-i* (as seen in *tini* an *jini* analysed above) is probably another manifestation of the same pronunciation and writing habits.

138.5 *kahai kabīra sũnahũ re bhāī, rãma nãma bina* kini *sidhi pāī* "Kabīr says: listen, o brother: who attained the final goal without [remembering] Rām's name?"

325.1 *karãma basi yahu jīva kahata haĩ, jīva karãma* kikī [correct: *kini*?] *kīnhã̃* "they say that this *jīva* (soul) is in the grasp / under the control of *karman*; [but] who made/created the *karman* of *jīva* (or: "*jīva* [and] *karman*") [in the first place]?"

285.1 *kahã̃ the tumha* kyanã *kīye, akali hai saba nesa* "where are you (pl.) from, by whom created? All [your] understanding is destroyed"

2. *Pronominal adjectives and adverbs*

a. k_1- + *pronominal adjective of quality* -ais-

The discussion of the origin of the affix *-ais-* can be found above, in the section 3.D.2.d (near demonstratives 0_1- + *-as*$_2$-, *-ais-*). In the present corpus the majority of occurrences of *kais-* is followed by adverbizing affix *-aĩ*$_{10}$; in these instances the activity in question is expressed by verbal forms with implicit or explicit modal (deontic or abilitative) meaning.

47.0 *so baikũṭha kahau hai* kaisā*, kari pasāva mohi dehau* "say, what is the paradise like, [which,] by your grace, you will give me?"

82.0 kaisaĩ *nagari karaũ kuṭavārī, cãcala puriṣa biciṣina nārī* "how should I do the policing of the town? The husband is fickle, the wife is clever"

114.3 *kahaĩ sunẽ* kaisaĩ *patiyāiye, jaba laga āpa tahã̃ nahĩ̃ jāiye* "by talking, listening how can one believe, until one does not go there oneself"

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256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū aisãĩ, bina kātẽ nistaribau* kaisãĩ "mother-in-law says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?"

b. k_1- + *pronominal adjective of quantity* -it- / -et-

Historical development of the affix *-it-/-et-* from the OIA affix *-iyant-/-iyat-* has been dealt with above, in the section 3.F.2.b (far demonstratives t_2- + *-et-*). In the present corpus this pronominal adjective typically introduces a rhetorical question. In the verse 121.1, however, *kete* appears with the function of a conjunction (or, to follow Poříźka, *HLC*, §144, p. 398, a generalizing expression) introducing a concessive clause "no matter how many ...".

96.1 *byākula bastara* kitā *paharibā, kā tapa banaṣãḍi bāsā* "[o you] confused one, how many (fancy) costumes are yet to be worn? What [is the point] of ascetism, of living in the forest?" (or, if *byākula* = Skt. *valkala*: "how many clothes of bark are to be worn? ...")

146.1 *ãbari dīsãĩ* ketā *tārā, kữna catura aisā citarãṇahārā* "how many stars are seen in the sky! Who is this skilful painter?

477.3 *hãma syữ prīti na kari rī baurī, tumha se* kete *lāiyai ḍhaurī* "do not fall in love with us/me, o you foolish one; how many others like you are attached in love [towards me]!"

121.1 *suta aparādha karai dina* kete, *jananī kai citi rahãĩ na tete* "[no matter] how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, so many / all these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

c. k_1- + *pronominal adverb of time* -aba, -ade

For discussion of the origin of the temporal affix *-aba*, see the section 3.D.2.e (*0_1- + -aba / -abai*) above. *kaba* is interrogative; if followed by inclusive emphatic particle *-$hữ_3$*, the meaning changes into indefinite ("ever"). The formation of this indefinite pronominal adverb from interrogative by affixing emphatic particle is similar to derivation of indefinite pronoun *koī* from its interrogative counterpart *ko* (where the emphatic particle is the exclusive *-i_{14} / -$ī_{14}$*; see above, section 3.H.1.c.: *k_1-* + dir. sg. *-o_2 + -i_{14} / -$ī_{14}$*). In the present corpus *kabahữ* occurs always with negative particle and the meaning "never".

The temporal morph *-ade* is affixed only to the pronominal root *k_1-*; the form *kade* probably goes back to OIA pronominal adverb *kadāpi*. This derivation was suggested by Tessitori, *OWR*, §98.3, in his discussion of *kadī*, an isolated pronominal form with indefinite meaning. According to him, OIA *kadācit* or *kadāpi* > MIA **kaddā-i* (occurrence of doubled consonant referred to Pischel, *GPS*, §194, p. 141) > NIA *kadī*. This explanation can be applied also to *kade*, which appears to be a mere variant of *kadī*. In the single example found in

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the present corpus *kade* is followed by negative particle *na*; the same is the case of all occurrences of this adverb in KG (Tivārī ed., six occurrences, all in *sākhīs*). The meaning of *kade na* is always "never": in this respect too, *kade* appears to be synonymous with *kaba* dealt with in the preceding paragraph.

408.3 *aba nahĩ bhajisi bhajisi* kaba *bhāī* "if you will not worship now, when will you worship?"

288.4 *te* kaba hũ *na hārai je jãni ḍārai pāsā* "he never loses who casts the dice prudently / with deliberation"

185.6 *gāvanahārā* kade *na gāvai, aṇabolyā nita gāvai* "the singer never sings; the dumb/speechless one sings all the time"

d. k_1- + *pronominal adverb of place* -ahã; -ahĩ$_2$, -ahũ

Hypotheses about the origin of the adverbial affix of place *-ahã* have been introduced in the section 3.D.2.b (near demonstrative *i*$_1$- + *-hã*) and 3.F.2.d (far demonstrative *t*$_2$- + *-ahã* / *-ahuvã*). Probable derivation of the interrogative is from OIA abl. sg. *kasmāt* > MIA *kamhā* > Apa. *kahã*. In Old Hindī *kahã* has already taken purely adverbial force with the meaning "where?" (location) or "where to?" (direction). In the examples below this pronominal adverb can be seen combined with postpositions *-thī* and *-lãu* to express direction "from where?" and "up to where?" respectively.

-ahĩ$_2$ appears, in the present corpus, only in combination with the interrogative/indefinite pronominal root *k*$_1$-; Callewaert and Op de Beeck, *NBhS-DHL*, vol. II, p. 761 and 960, give also the far demonstrative/correlative *tahĩ* and near demonstrative *yahĩ* as forms occurring in Kabīr's texts (KG, Tivārī ed.). The origin of this affix has been traced down by Tessitori, *OWR*, §98, to OIA loc. sg. of the interrogative pronoun *kasmin* > MIA *kamhi* > Apa. *kahĩ*. Tagare, *HGA*, §127, p. 257, lists both *kamhi* and *kahĩ* as attested in texts, but does not mention their possible adverbial force. In Old Hindī *kahĩ* is already indefinite pronominal adverb with the meaning "somewhere", "anywhere"; the indefinite meaning and the long final vowel suggest previous existence of a particle (in OIA *-api* or *-cid*). In the verse 94.3 quoted below (single occurrence in the present corpus) this adverb appears with negative particle and the meaning "nowhere".

-ahũ: this adverbial affix adds the meaning of indefiniteness to the pronominal root *k*$_1$-. Its origin is to be traced to the interrogative affix *-ahã* followed by inclusive emphatic particle *-hũ*$_3$ or *-ũ*$_4$ (dealt with in the section 7.A.2). Its formation is thus analogical to the temporal indefinite pronominal adverb *kabahũ* (see in the preceding section, *k*$_1$- + *-aba* + *-hũ*$_3$). As is often the case with indefinites, in the verse 275.4 (single occurrence in the present corpus) *kahũ* too is followed by negative particle *na*; the meaning is "nowhere".

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k_1- + -ahã̃:

47.0 *rãma mohi tāri* kahã̃ *lai jaihau* "Rām, having ferried me across, where will you take [me]?"

177.3 *pyãda pare jīva* kahã̃ *rahai, koī bheda laṣāvai* "when the body decays, where does the *jīva* reside? Does/can anybody explain [this] secret?"

281.1 *murasida pīra tumhārai ko hai, kahau* kahã̃ *thī āyā* "who is your preceptor (*murśid*), [who is your] *pīr*? Say, where has he (or: „have you") come from?"

439.2 *sura nara munijana pīra avaliyā, mīrā paidā kīnhã̃ re; koṭika bhaye* kahã̃ *laũ barāṇaũ, sabani payã̃nã̃ dī̃nhã̃ re* "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats [were] created: there were myriads of them, to what extent (lit.: "upto where") should I describe (i.e. "to what lengths should I go to explain")? All [were] given farewell" (lit.: "departure", "death")

k_1- + -ahī̃$_2$:

94.3 *karata bicāra mana hī̃ mana upajī, nã̃* kahī̃ *gayā na āyā* "practising contemplation, [it (i.e., the merging of the divine power in the *brahmarandhra*)] was born in the mind itself (or: „in the mind only"); [I] did not come or go anywhere"

k_1- + -ahũ̃:

275.4 *soci bicāri sabai jagu deṣyā,* kahũ̃ *na ubāraṇã̃* "thinking, contemplating, [I have] seen the whole world: [but] nowhere [have I seen] the salvation"

e. k_1- + *pronominal adverb of manner* -yũ̃$_1$

The origin of the adverbial morph *-yũ̃* has been treated above, in the section 3.D.2.f (near demonstratives *0$_1$- + -yũ̃$_1$*). In our texts interrogative *kyũ̃* introduces questions either about manner "how?", or about cause, "why?"

95.1 *bolata bolata baḍhai bikārā, bina bolyã̃* kyũ̃ *hoi bicārā* "distortion [of truth] grows because of much talking; [but] without speaking how can arise an idea?"

421.0 kyũ̃ *līje gaḍha bãkā re bhāī, dovara koṭa, tevara ṣāī* "how can be taken that formidable fortress, o brother? [It has] double rampart, triple moat"

78.2 *beda kateba kahau* kyũ̃ *jhūṭhā, jhūṭhā jau na bicārai* "why do you say that the Vedas and the Book (Qurān) are false? False is he who does not think/contemplate" (or: "false is [a man] when he does not think/contemplate")

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f. k_1- + *pronominal adverb of cause* -ata
k_1- + *pronominal adverb of cause* -i_{13}

kata "why?" may have its origin in Apa. locative **kettahe*, hypothetical member of the series *tettahe*, *ettahe* etc. quoted by Chatterji from Hemachandra; these forms are supposed to have developed from OIA *tatra*, **itra* = *atra* etc. where the change of the medial *-tr-* was not affected by aspiration (as e.g. in Pāli *tattha*), but produced a non-aspirated geminate (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §604, p. 858-859). Hindī dictionaries (*HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 762; Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 53; *BBSK*, vol. 1, p. 200), however, derive *kata* directly from OIA *kutaḥ*, Pāli *kuto*; in this case the persistence of the intervocalic *-t-* is difficult to explain – could the word be understood as a *semi-tatsama*? Varma, *LB*, §245, p. 125, mentions the forms *kata* and *kataka*, "why?", as frequent in Old Braj bhāṣā. *kata* occurs also in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa* (14 times) and is relatively frequent in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* (72 occurrences).

ki appears to be direct descendant of the OIA interrogative pronoun and particle *kim*. In the present corpus it occurs only twice; in both cases it is followed by negative particle *na*. Negative form *kina*, written as single unit, is treated as headword in *HŚS*, vol. 2, p. 944, with the etymology San. *kiṃ* + *na* and MSH equivalent *kyõ na* ("why not?"). The same meaning can be attributed to this expression in the verses 131.1 and 429.1, quoted below.

k_1- + -ata:

363.0 *calata* kata *ṭeḍhau ṭeḍhau re* "why do you walk so pompously?"

477.2 *bālapanā̃ ke mīta hamāre, hamahi chāḍi* kata *cale ninãre* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you separated / gone away leaving me alone?"

k_1- + -i_{13}:

131.1 *grabha muce muci bhaī* ki na *bā̃jha, sūkara rūpa phirāĩ kali mā̃jha* "why has not she become barren having miscarried repeatedly? [Now] in the *kaliyuga* [her children] hang about, in the likeness of pigs"

429.1 *hama hi kusevaga ki tumha hi ajā̃nā̃, duhu mãĩ dosa kahau* ki na *rā̃mā* "Is it me who is a bad servant or are you ignorant? Why don't you say who of both [of us] is at fault, o Rām?" (lit.: "[where is] the fault in the two [of us], why do not you say, o Rām?" or: "[that there is] fault in both of us, why do not you say, o Rām?")

g. *Pronominal adverb of cause* kahi (transposed obl. sg.; see 3.H.1.g: k_1- + *obl. sg.* -ahi$_2$)

h. *Pronominal adverb of cause* kāhe (see 3.H.1.h: k_1- + *obl. sg.* -āhe$_1$/-āhe$_2$)

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CHAPTER FOUR

POSTPOSITIONS

From the beginning of the NIA period the old case affixes inherited from earlier MIA developmental stages of the language were undergoing a process of radical phonological simplification and assimilation that in many instances led to their eventual complete disappearance. To compensate for the loss of these established overt case markers, Old Hindī gradually introduced postpositions as morphologically independent function words whose task was to specify syntactical relations between constituents of a clause or a noun phrase. In Old Hindī literary dialects this process of functional substitution was by no means complete; in texts included in the present corpus postpositions are used rather sparingly, more frequently with oblique forms of pronouns and far less consistently with nouns. For a modern interpreter at least, this feature may constitute an obstacle in correct understanding of a particular syntactical construction.

From the point of view of their origin, postpositions developed from adverbs, oblique cases of nouns, adjectives, and participles that were appended to a noun or a pronoun whose inflectional endings had been gradually lost or confused during the preceding MIA period; these postpositively used words specified the syntactic relations of the word concerned, expressing explicitly the sense of location, direction, closeness or belonging, purpose, etc. In the course of historical development some of them lost their original adverbial, nominal, etc. force and took a form of basic case markers (the adjectivizer or genitive marker *-k_2-*, the marker of dative and accusative cases *-kữ*, locative postpositions *-pā̃i*, *-mā̃i*, *-laga*, and several others) while others could be used both as postpositions and independent adverbs (*ūpari*, *bhītari*, *pāsa*, etc.).

In Sanskrit these postpositively used words either governed a specific case (most often genitive), or were made part of a compound (e.g. either *tasya samīpe,* or *tat-samīpe* "close to it"). In Old Hindī texts where the formal distinction between direct (overtly often stem-identical) and oblique cases is often non-existent, one might be tempted to consider this universal form as a kind of stem and interpret the respective construction as a compound – the more so that such collocations sometimes resemble in form as well as in meaning their parallel Sanskrit compound counterparts and that medieval manuscripts do not separate individual words by spaces. In the texts analysed in the present work, all instances of collocations where the last member is a word used postpositively are considered as syntactical constructions with

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the first member in oblique case (e.g. *phala mādhye* "in the middle of the fruit", *kali mā̃jha* "in the *kaliyuga*").

According to Tessitori, *OWR*, §§68 and 75, nominal forms in constructions with a following postposition are mostly in the genitive, rarely in the instrumental or locative case, and sometimes in the simple base form; in §74 he shows that e.g. the locative postpositions derived from the OIA loc. sg. *madhye* may be construed "both with a preceding locative or (more commonly) with a preceding genitive." His examples include the phrase "in the stomach" expressed by two locatives as *peṭi majhāri*, and also by a locative postposition governing the genitive *peṭa mā̃hi*. In the texts of the present corpus too there are several constructions that would permit of two interpretations, e.g. *bā̃de pari* in 280.0, or *bālū ke gharavā mā̃ī* in 363.3. In the context of the language of the present Kabīrian corpus it seems sufficient to describe all such pre-postpositional forms as general oblique case.

A. Adjectivizers

1. -k_2-

a. *Direct and general oblique cases:*
-kar$_2$- + *dir. sg. m.* -a$_4$
-ker- + *dir. sg. m.* -ā$_5$, *dir. sg. f.* -ī$_4$
-k$_2$- + *dir. sg. m.* -ā$_5$, -ā̃ū$_1$, -au$_1$
-k$_2$- + *dir. pl. m.* -e$_1$
-k$_2$- + *dir. sg. f.* -ī$_4$
-k$_2$- + *dir. pl. f.* -ī$_5$
-k$_2$- + *obl. sg. m.* -e$_2$
-k$_2$- + *obl. pl. m.* -e$_5$
-k$_2$- + *obl. sg. f.* -ī$_6$

The origin of the NIA adjectivizing postposition -k_2- can be traced to Western Apabhraṃśa (*c.* 600-1200 CE) word *kera:u* / *kerau*, *kerī* used postpositively with the genitive case (Tagare, *HGA*, §103, p. 195-196). According to Kellogg, *GHL*, §194a, p. 129, the historical development started from OIA *kṛta-ka* > MIA *karita-ka* / *kera-ka* > *kero* > NIA *kau* / *ko* / *kā*. But this line does not give satisfactory explanation of the medial *-e-*: that is why Tessitori, *OWR*, § 73, Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §503, p. 753, and Saksena, *EA*, §277, p. 221, suggest an alternative origin in *tatsama kārya*(*-ka*) or its *semi-tatsama* counterpart **kāyra* / **kāira* (with epenthesis *-ry-* > *-yr-*) which developed into Apa. and NIA *kera*. This archaic form is attested in Old Mārvāṛī as *-kera:u*, and also in Old Avadhī as *-kerā*. In this latter shape it appears also twice in the texts of

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the present corpus, both times with obl. pronominal forms *kisa kerā* and *kisa kerī* (in 280.4 and 439.1 respectively). *-kara*, derived from postpositively used *kāra*(*-ka*), was used in Old Avadhī and in the present corpus is represented by three occurrences, twice with pronoun (*kā kara* in 113.1 and 113.2), and once with noun (*jala kara* in 123.1). These collocations of *-kara* and *-kerā* seem to support Chatterji's observation that "in Māgadhī Ap. «kara» was used with the pronoun originally, and then was extended to the noun." (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §503, p. 755)

Already in literary Prākrits this postpositive word could be compounded as an affix to pronominal bases to give forms like *amha-kero*, *tumha-kero*, direct predecessors of Apa. and NIA possessive pronouns *amhāraːu* / *hamārā* and *tumhārā*. For a more detailed information on different hypotheses explaining the genesis of the pronominal morph *-er-* / *-or-* which in the late MIA and NIA periods was transformed into a pronominal affix, see the chapter dealing with pronouns, section 3.B.1.

As far as the formation of the postposition *-kā* is concerned, the fact that it has maintained its position as separate word, is explained by the strong position of its initial *k-*. According to Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §431, p. 683 and §503, p. 754, 756, the derivation from OIA *kr̥ta* > MIA *kaa* > NIA *kā*, although possible, is problematic, because its contact with the immediately preceding noun-base would put the initial *k-* into intervocalic position and cause its gradual elision with mere *-ā* remaining as an affix. The fact that this did not happen led him to postulate as a more probable source of this postposition the MIA pleonastic suffix *-kka* (derived from the OIA pleonastic and adjectival affix *-ka*, listed by Whitney, *SG*, §1222, p. 466-469). Interestingly, this ingenious explanation has been applied by him only to Magadhan languages, whereas for Western Hindī the etymology *kr̥ta* > *kaa* has been retained and the parallel existence of the strengthened adjectival suffix *-kka* admitted only as a kind of supporting influence.

In Hindī this postposition takes the same endings as other nominal forms (substantives, adjectives, pronouns, participles) and, because it developed either from OIA > MIA adjectival participles, or pleonastic adjectival affixes, it itself behaves like a true adjective: it agrees in gender, number and case with the following noun, pronoun, etc. The nominal or pronominal form to which it is appended as its "adjectivizer" is understood as being regularly in the oblique case.

Syntactically, this postpositional construction behaves like an adjective; its general function is to limit or to specify the meaning of substantive on which it depends (the one important exception, the so-called inflected genitive of possession, is probably an old locative; for details, see the section b.

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on locative and absolute oblique cases *-k*$_2$- + *-ai*$_6$ / *-ai*$_7$, further below). Various relations expressed by it are basically those of adnominal genitive; they may be divided into several groups which are exemplified by sentences given below. To interpret the meaning of such genitival construction correctly, it is often necessary to see it in a broader context of the whole sentence. In several cases we can observe, within one and the same verse, two identical or very similar constructions where the attributive relation is once expressed by means of a postposition and once without it (e.g. the verses 421.2, 477.5, and 224.1, classified here as genitives of material or content, the verse 65.3 with two constructions of the genitive of respect, or the verse 408.1, included under the heading of genitive of object). The classification of the undermentioned individual examples should not be insisted on too rigidly – several constructions can be described in more than one way.

-kar$_2$-, -ker- :

genitive of possession

113.1 *jaisī deṣi taravara kī chāyā, prm̃na gayẽ ko kā* kara *māyā* "look, [it is] like shadow of a tree: when life departs [from the body], who [remains], whose *māyā* (i.e., the world as subjective perception)?"

113.2 *jīvata kachū na kīyā paravm̃nā̃, muvm̃ marãma ko kā* kara *jm̃nā̃* "[if one] did not get any (firm) proof [of the ultimate reality] while [still] alive, [then] whose essence did one realize after death?"

123.1 *tumha jalanidhi mai jala* kara *mīnā, jala mahi rahãũ jalahi bina ṣīnā* "you are an ocean, I am a fish belonging in the water; I live in the water, without water I waste away" (genitive of place or belonging)

280.4 *jau re ṣudāi masatī basta* [corrected to: *basata*] *hai, tau aura mulaka kisa* kerā*?* "if God dwells in the mosque, then whose is the rest of the country/earth?"

439.1 *dyãũsa cāri bhalaĩ mana rãjai, yā nahĩ̃ kisa* kerī *re* "for four days (i.e., for a short time only) [she, i.e., *māyā*] may well please the mind, [but] she does not belong to anybody"

-k$_2$- :

I. Adnominal genitive

genitive of possession

dir. sg. m. *-ā*$_5$:

413.3 *kahai kabīra tabaĩ nara jāgai, jama* kā *ḍāḍa mm̃̃ḍa maĩ lāgai* "Kabīr says: only then will man wake up when Yama's club lands on [his] head"

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dir. sg. m. -*aũ*$_1$:

256.0 *hari* kaũ *nāva le le kāti bahuriyā* "repeating Hari's name, spin, o wife"

421.5 *bhagavãta bhīra sakti sumirāṇa kari, kāṭī kāla* kī *pāsī* "fearful of God, remembering [His] power, I have cut the noose of Kāl (god of death)"

dir. pl. m. -*e*$_1$:

408.4 *gura mili jā* ke *ṣule kapāṭa, bahuri na āvai jonī pāsa* "whose door [of the heart] opened at the meeting with the guru, [that *bhakta*] will not descend into the womb again (i.e., will not be born again)"

obl. pl. m. -*e*$_5$:

114.2 *jaba laga hai baikũṭha kī āsā, taba laga nahĩ hari* ke *carāṇa nivāsā* "so long as there is a hope/longing for paradise, there is no resting/ /dwelling at Hari's feet"

genitive of relationship

dir. sg. m. -*ā*$_5$:

182.1 *bā̃jha* kā *pūta bāpa bina jāyā* "son of a barren woman, born without father"

dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$:

97.1 *kaũṇa pūta ko kā* kau *bāpa, kaũṇa marai kaũṇa karai sātāpa* "who is son, who is whose father? Who dies, who grieves?"

390.4 *kabīrai* kau *svā̃mī saba ghaṭi rahyau samāi* "Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures"

dir. sg. f. -*ī*$_4$:

27.2 *ṭhāḍhī rovai kabīra* kī *māī* "standing in front [of him], Kabīr's mother weeps"

253.1 *hari merā pīva mai hari* kī *bahuriyā* "Hari is my beloved/husband, I am Hari's wife"

genitive of material or contents

dir. sg. m. -*ā*$_5$:

77.2 *māṭī* kā *pĩḍa sahaji utapānā, nāda ru bĩdu samā̃nā* "you lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, permeated by (or: "dissolved in") *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu*"

224.1 *kubadhi* kā *bhā̃ḍā phūṭā* "the jar [full] of wickedness has burst"

dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$:

421.2 *svāda sanāha koṭa mamitā* kau "from enjoyment [he has made his] armour, from egoism a fortress"

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dir. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_4$:

477.5 *māṭī* kī *dehī pavana sarīrā, tā ṭhaga syũjana ḍarai kabīrā* "the (gross) body of clay, the (subtle) body of *prāṇa – bhakta* Kabīr is afraid of this trickster"

obl. sg. m. -e_2 :

363.3 *bālū* ke *gharavā mai baiṭhau, cetata nahĩ ayẽnẽ* "seated in a house of sand, you are not aware [of that], you ignorant!"

dir. pl. f. -$\bar{\imath}_5$:

224.1 *hita cita* kī *thũṇĩ girẽṇī, moha balīḍā ṭūṭā* "the pillars of passion and ego-consciousness [that uphold the roof of the house] have been knocked down, the beam/rafter of delusion has broken down" (note the inconsistent use of postposition: *cita* with *kī*, *moha* without *kā*; can be also interpreted as appositive genitive of explanation)

obl. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_6$:

398.2 *jala* kī *tarãga uṭhi kaṭai hãĩ jãjīra* "raised (lit.: "having risen") by the wave of water, the chains are broken"

genitive of explanation

dir. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_4$:

224.0 *sãtau āī gyẽna* kī *ẽdhī* "*sants*, the storm of true knowledge has come"

459.2 *rẽma kahãna* kī *chāḍi bẽni* "give up the habit of invoking Rām"

genitive of origin, place, or belonging

dir. sg. m. -$\bar{a}_5$:

138.1 *nāgãĩ phiryẽ joga je hoī, bana* kā *mrigha mukti gayā koī* "if the [goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?"

139.2 *jahẽ* kā *upanẽ tahẽ bilẽnẽ* "from where he had been born, in that he merged"

249.1 *tũ bẽbhaṇa mãĩ kāsī* kā *julāhā* "you are a *brāhmaṇa*, I am a weaver from Kāśī"

421.4 *pakaryā gaḍha* kā *rājā* "the king of the fort has been captured"

dir. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_4$:

15.2 *jala* kī *machalī taravari vyāī* "a fish from water gives birth [to her spawn] on a tree"

113.1 *jaisī deṣi taravara* kī *chāyā, prẽna gayẽ ko kā kara māyā* "look, [it is] like shadow of a tree: when life departs [from the body], who [remains], whose *māyā* (i.e., the world as subjective perception)?"

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387.0 *ihi bidhi seiye srī narahari, mana* kī *dubidhyā mani paraharī* "in this way *Śrī Narahari* is/ought to be worshipped: abandon (or: "having abandoned") in the mind the division (doubt) of the mind"

65.2 *jihi ghaṭi rā̃ma rahyau bharapūri, tā kī mā̃ caranana* kī *dhūri* "the body which has been entirely pervaded by Rām – I am dust at the feet of such [a person]"

123.0 *rāma bina tana* kī *tāpa na jāī* "without Rām the heat/agony of the body does not abate"

obl. sg. m. -e_2 :

139.3 *yahu mana bohitha* ke *kavā jyū̃, rahyau ṭhagyau sau baisā̃* "this mind is like a crow on a ship [on the high seas]: it remained sitting [feeling] as if robbed" (i.e. marooned/trapped and at a loss [how to escape]

genitive of time

dir. pl. m. -e_1 :

477.2 *bālapanā̃* ke *mīta hamāre, hamahi chāḍi kata cale ninā̃re* "[you are] my friend from childhood, why have you separated / gone away leaving me alone?"

genitive of purpose or interest

dir. sg. m. -au_1 :

363.1 *je jārā̃ tau hoi bhasma tana, rahā̃ krima jala ṣāī; sūkara svā̃na kāga* kau *bhachina, tā mā̃ kahā bhalāī re* "if they cremate [them], then the body becomes / turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worms and water eat [them]; food for pigs, dogs and crows: what good/noble is in it?"

419.0 *hari* kau *bīlovanau bīloi merī māī; aisā̃ biloi jaisā̃ tata na jāī* "[the product of] churning (i.e., butter) for/of Hari churn, o my mother; churn in such a way that the essence is not lost"

dir. sg. f. -$ī_4$:

187.3 *kahai kabīra bicārī; aparāpāra pāra parasotama, vā mūrati* kī *balihārī* "having pondered / advisedly Kabīr says: on the opposite shore of the boundless is the Supreme Being; to that idol/icon the oblation [is due]"

249.3 *dvādasī dā̃na puni* kī *velā̃, sarva pāpa ṣyau karā̃ṇā* "*dvādaśī* is the appropriate time for [collecting] the merit of charity, an auspicious moment for removal of all sins" (note the construction *ṣyau karā̃ṇā* without postposition)

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subjective genitive (genitive of agent)

dir. sg. m. -$\bar{a}_5$:

78.0 *ihi bidhi jīva* kā *bhrãma na jāī* "in this way the delusion of the soul does/will not disappear"

187.3 *pãṣī* kā *ṣoja mi͂na* kā *māraga* "trace [in the air] of a bird (made by a bird), path of a fish [in the water]"

dir. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_4$:

185.7 *dharatī ulaṭi akāsahi grāsai, yahu purisã̄* kī *bã̄ṇī* "the earth, turned upside down, swallows the sky – this is the speech of [true] men"

268.4 *āī talaba gupāla rāi* kī, *taba mairī mādira chāṛi calyau* "when came the summons from the Lord Gopāl, he (the man) having left his house and temple went" (i.e., died)

obl. sg. m. -e_2 :

444.3 *sãta bhajai vo pāchī parai, gura* ke *sabadã̄ māryau ḍarai* "[when] the *sant* runs away / flees [before her], she (i.e. *māyā*) pursues [him]" (or with different meaning of the verb *bhaj-*: "the *sant* worships and she teases [him]"); she is afraid of being struck by the guru's word"

obl. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_6$:

421.4 *sādha sãgati aru gura* kī *kripā tai͂, pakaryā gaḍha kā rājā* "with the [help of the] company of saints and by the grace of the Guru the king of the fort has been captured"

objective genitive

dir. sg. m. -$\bar{a}_5$:

187.0 *avadhū so jogī gura merā, jo ihi pada* kā *karai naberā* "o *avadhūta*, that yogī is my guru, who makes out / solves this *pad*"

dir. sg. f. -$\bar{\imath}_4$:

20.0 *bolau bhāī rāma* kī *duhāī* "say, o brother, the invocation of Rām"

249.2 *rāmadeva* kī *sevā cūkā* "devotion of the God Rām [I] neglected"

408.1 *gura sevā kari bhagati kamāī, je tai͂ maniṣā dehī pāī; yā dehī kũ̄ locai devā, yā dehī kari hari* kī *sevā* "serving the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body; gods pine for this body, with this body do the worship of Hari" (note also the construction *gura sevā* without the postposition at the beginning of the verse)

473.2 *biṣa biṣayā* kī *bāsanã̄ tajai͂u tajī na jāī* "I (should) give up the craving for poison of objects of sense-perception, [but] it cannot be abandoned"

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II. Adadjectival genitive

genitive of respect (or genitive of quality)

dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$:

65.3 *jāti julāhau mati* kau *dhīra, haraṣi haraṣi guna rãmai kabīra* "by caste a weaver, [but] firm/steadfast in mind, (constantly) rejoicing, Kabīr is engrossed in the praise [of Lord]" (the syntactic construction *mati kau dhīra* is best understood as parallel to the genitive of respect *jāti julāhau* "weaver by caste"; cf. KELLOGG, *GHL*, §695(16), p. 415. Different interpretation based on inverted word order, *dhīra mati kau* "of steadfast mind" would be classified as adverbal genitive of quality – genitive in the position of predicative complement)

subjective genitive (genitive of agent)

dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$:

363.2 *māyā moha mamitā* kau *ghālyau būḍi mūvo bina pānī* "tossed about by *māyā*, delusion and egoism, [he] died having drowned without [even having fallen in the] water" (ad-adjectival genitive)

III. Adverbal genitive

genitive as predicative complement (predicative genitive with the verbs "to be" or "to become")

dir. sg. m. -*ā*$_5$:

285.4 *kabīra karãma karĩma* kā, *karãṇī karai sa jãnai soī* "Kabīr, [the essential quality/characteristic] of the Merciful is mercy; he [who] does what ought to be done, he knows that"

444.1 *raṣavālai* kā *hoi vināsa, uta hi naraka ita bhoga bilāsa* "[when] the protector dies (lit.: "[when] comes the death of the protector"), there [is suffering in] hell, [just as] here [was enjoyment of] pleasure and lust"

dir. sg. m. -*au*$_1$:

129.3 *koṭi kalapa jīvana vṛthā, jā* kau *nãhina hari syũ heta* "life of myriad *kalpas* is in vain [for him] who does not love Hari" (lit.: "whose is not love of Hari")

b. *Locative and absolute oblique cases*
-k$_2$- + *loc. / instr. sg. m. / f.* -ai$_6$ / -ai$_7$
-k$_2$- + *obl. abs.* -e$_3$, -ai$_6$

Texts analysed in the present corpus testify to the existence, in the singular number, of a locative case morphologically distinct from the general obliquus.

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On the general adjectivizing postposition *-k*$_2$- the locative/instrumental case is marked by the ending *-ai*; in the present Morphemicon this ending has been entered as *-ai*$_6$ for the masculine gender and *-ai*$_7$ for the feminine. Analysis of all occurrences of the postpositional form *-kai* in the corpus has shown that in most cases it is followed by a noun which is itself in locative: here the postposition behaves like any other adjectival adjunct congruent with its head noun. However, in the nominal flection the locative case is marked by a specific locative ending (*-i*$_6$, *-i*$_7$) only very inconsistently (the form was gradually disappearing from the language) and a general form of the obl. case (*-a*$_8$, *-ā*$_7$, etc.) is used in its stead. The old locative form *-kai* has been found also by M. Metzger in the correspondence of Rājasthānī diplomats of the 18th century (Metzger, *Vakīl-Briefe*, §2.5.2. p. 46).

Several examples show *-kai* as the first part of a compound postposition, the second member of which is itself originally a locative (*-kai tā̃ī* "for", "for the sake of"; *kai sāgā* / *sāgi* "along with", "together with"). Locative force of *-kai* also points to the origin of Hindī constructions with the so-called adverbial participles used absolutively: these constructions have their predecessors in Apabhraṃśa where they are marked by nominal endings *-āī* / *-ẽ* / *-e* / *-ĩ* / *-i* (identified as merged locative and instrumental desinences: Tagare, *HGA*, §81, p. 118-119). Apabhraṃśa in turn inherited them from the OIA and MIA absolute locatives and instrumentals. In the present corpus this type of construction with the locative *-kai* is represented by verses 94.1 and 224.2 given below. In the verse 115.2 the construction *kahā̃ī kã̄una kai* "at whose intercession" is to be interpreted as instrumental.

It should be noted that identification of the exact force, locative or other, of the postpositional form *-kai* is made more difficult by its parallel occurrence in contemporary Braj and especially Avadhī texts where it fulfils different, non-locative functions. The postposition *-kai* is a variant of obl. sg. and pl. masc. *-ke* current in Old Braj (Varma, *LB*, §204, p. 98); and in the Old Mārvāṛī rare occurrences of *-ka:i* as obl. sg. have been ascribed to the influence of Braj bhāṣā (Tessitori, *OWR*, §73). In Miltner's *OHR* too, the masculine form *-kai* is interpreted as obl. sg. m., although the texts reproduced by him in which this form occurs (Gorakhnāth and Kabīr) show it in the function of locative (e.g. *kumhārā kai ghari*, *bagã̄ kai sāthi*). On the other hand, the same form *-kai*, when it precedes nouns of feminine gender (in dir. as well as obl. sg.), can be understood also as an eastern form (as in one of two possible interpretations of the verse 448.2 of the present corpus: *yā jīya kai kuṭila gā̃ṭhi*); it was not current in Old Braj (neither Varma, *LB*, nor McGregor, *LIO*, mention it), but was used relatively frequently by Old Avadhī poets Jāyasī, Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad (Saksena, *EA*, §275, p. 217-220). That is why it was identi-

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fied by Miltner, *OHR*, p. 76, as dir. and obl. sg. f. (in his notation as *-ai*$_4$ and *-ai*$_7$ respectively). In the quoted verse 448.0.b the meaning of *-kai* depends on the interpretation of the form *harṣi*: if it is understood as a noun in the locative case, *-kai* is to be interpreted as locative of the adjectivizer *-k*$_2$-; but if *harṣi* is only an alternative spelling of the absolutive, *-kai* is the true locative postposition, as described in the section 4.B.2 futher below.

-k$_2$- + loc. sg. m. / f. -ai$_6$ / -ai$_7$:

the so-called genitive of possession

15.1 *pahalāĩ pūta pachāĩ bhaī māī, celā* kai *gura lāgai pāī* "first [came] the son, [only] later was [born his] mother; guru takes a seat at the feet of [his] pupil" (i.e. *celā kai pāī gura lāgai*)

121.1 *suta aparādha karai dina kete, jananī* kai *citi rahāĩ na tete* "[no matter] how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, so many / all these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

182.4 *kabīra hari* kai *ãgi lāgā* "Kabīr has merged into the body of Hari."

212.3 *pūji pūjārau le gayā, de mūrati* kai *muṣi chāra* "having performed *pūja*, the *pujārī* has taken [the oblation] away, having put ashes in the mouth of the idol"

440.2 *hastī na torai dharai dhiyẽna, vā* kai *hridai basai bhagavẽna* "the elephant does not crush [Kabīr], he stops in contemplation: Bhagavān (God) resides in his heart"

444.3 *sāṣita* kai *yahu pĩḍa parẽiṇi, hamārī dṛṣṭi parai jaisī ḍẽiṇĩ* "she (i.e. lady *māyā*) is close on the heels of the *Śākta*; to me she looks like a demon (*ḍākinī*)"

444.4 *kahai kabīra aba bāhari parī, sāsārī* kai *ãcali ṭirī* "Kabīr says: now she (i.e., lady *māyā*) fell away, she retreated into the pleat of the man of the world"

448.0.a *rẽma carẽṇa jā* kai *hridai bas*[*a*]*ta hai, tā jãna kau mana kyũ ḍolai* "in whose heart dwells Rām's foot, why should wobble the mind of that/such man?"

448.0.b *mānũ aṭha sidhi nava ni*[*dhi*] *tā* kai *harṣi haraṣi jasa bolai* "as if eight *siddhis*, nine treasures [were contained] in his joy, rejoicing he sings the praise [of God]" (or, with a caesura after *tā kai*: "as if he had eight *siddhis* [...], constantly rejoicing he sings the praise")

312.2 *vrahma giyẽnī adhika dhiyẽnī, jama* kai *paṭai liṣāyā* "an expert on *brahma*, intensely meditating, [but he too] allowed [his] record to be made in Yama's register" (*-ai*$_7$)

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loc. sg. m. -ai$_6$ with possessive pronoun

65.0 *nrimala nrimala rā̃ma gũna gāvai, so bhagatā* merai *mani bhāvai* "[he, who himself] pure, sings the pure praises of Rām, that *bhakta* is dear to my heart"

genitive of explanation

29.0 *apaṇai bicāri asavārī kījai, sahaja* kai *pāiṛai pāva jaba dījai* "riding one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's thought/mind) can be made (or: "is made"), when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"

genitive of place

406.1 *jala* kai *majani jau gati hoī, tau mī̃nā̃ nita nhāvai* "if the final deliverance is [achieved] by (ritual) bathing in water, then [surely,] the fish perform the bath continuously"

257.2 *pūri suhāga bhayau bina dulaha, cauka* kai *rāgi dharyau sagau bhāī* "having entered into marriage I remained without [my real] husband / / bridegroom: in the excitement of/at the platform (where the marriage ceremony takes place) I took [as my husband] my own brother"

genitive of separation

97.0 *hari* kai *bivoga kaisā̃ ī jīũ merī māī* "how shall/can I live in separation from Hari, o mother?"

genitive of subject

115.2 *pũjī bitaṛi bā̃di lai daihai, taba kahā̃ ī kā̃una* kai *chūṭai* "having distributed the capital he will put [you] into jail; then at whose intercession will you be freed?" (cf. MSH construction *kisa ke kahane se*)

448.2 *kahai kabīra jaba mana paracau bhayau, rahai rāma* kai *volai* "Kabīr says: when the recognition [of Him] occurred in the mind, it remains/ /stays under the protection of Rām" (*-ai*$_7$)

genitive of object

34.3 *taba ko ṭhākura iba ko sevaga, ko kā* kai *visavāsā* "then (previously) one [was] a chief, now one [is] a servant. Who can one expect/hope for [to become in the next life]?" (lit.: "one [is] in the expectation/ /hope of whom?"; cf. MSH: *kisa ke viśvāsa mẽ?*)"

271.0 *prā̃ṇī kāhe* kai *lobhi lāgi, ratana janama ṣoyā* "man, for what greed's sake have you wasted the gem of life?"

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-k_2- + loc. sg. m. -ai_6 in compound postpositions:

253.2 *kīyau sigāra milana* kai *tẽ̃ī* "I have adorned myself for the meeting"

102.2 *covā cādana caracata āgā, so tana jarai kāṭha* kai *sãgā* "the body which he anoints with perfume and sandal – this body will burn down together with the firewood"

367.0 *prẽ̃ṇī̃ lāla ausara cale re bajāi; mūṭhī eka kaṭhiyẽ̃ mũ̃ṭhī eka māṭiyā, sãgi kāhū* kai *na jāi* "people, dear ones, having played off [their] show/ /game, are gone; nobody takes with him a single fistful of bones, a single fistful of clay/flesh [when he/she dies]" (standard word order: *kāhū kai sãgi na jāi*, lit.: "with nobody goes"; meanings of *kaṭhiyẽ̃* and *māṭiyā* are uncertain)

-k_2- + -ai_6 loc. sg. m. / obl. abs. in absolute construction:

224.2 *bhẽ̃ṇa* kai *pragaṭaĩ̃ udita bhayā tama sīṇā* "after the sun appeared, the darkness that had come [with the storm] dwindled away"

-k_2- + -e_3 obl. sg. m. / obl. abs. in absolute construction:

94.1 *tālā kũ̃cī kulapha* ke *lāge, ugharata bāra na hoī* "with the lock, key [and] padlock attached, there is no delay in opening [the cell]"

2. -s_2- : *postpositive word of comparison*

This postpositive adjectivizer expresses the likeness or degree of quality similar to the noun, pronoun or participle to which it is appended. Its origin was traced back to OIA *sama* "same", "equal", "like" through the intermediate Braj form *saũ* (Kellogg, *GHL*, §203, p. 137). In the two instances where it follows a pronoun (quoted below, plus the occurrence in the verse 473.3 given further below in the section dealing with the nearly synonymous -*samẽ̃n*-), the pronominal forms *tumha* and *hama* can express both the dir. and obl. case. By analogy with MSH which uses obl. cases (Poříška, *HLC*, §*12.6, p. 574) these forms should be probably interpreted as oblique. In 139.3 the expression *ṭhagyau sau* is used as an adjective and its two parts agree in gender and number.

139.3 *yahu mana bohitha ke kavā jyũ̃, rahyau ṭhagyau* sau *baisaĩ̃* "this mind is like a crow on a ship [on the high seas]: it remained sitting [feeling] as if robbed" (i.e. marooned/trapped, at a loss [how to escape])"

477.3 *hãma syũ̃ prīti na kari rī baurī, tumha* se *kete lāiyai ḍhaurī* "do not fall in love with us/me, o you foolish one; how many others like you are attached in love [towards me]!"

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477.4 *hama kāhū sāgi gaye na āyai, tumha* se *gaḍha hãma bahuta basāye*
"I neither [ever] departed nor arrived with anybody; [in the past] I occupied many [such] forts like you" (says soul to the body)

3. -jais- : *postpositive word of comparison*

This is originally pronominal adjective derived from the relative morph *j$_1$*- + the affix *-ais-* denoting quality. By transposition it can be used as postpositive word meaning "like", "similar". The context of the single quotable occurrence shows it as basically interchangeable with another postpositively used adjective *-samā̃na* "like", "similar", "resembling". The preceding noun should be understood as standing in the obl. case. For the use of this pronominal adjective (as well as *aisā* and *sarīkhā*) as postpositive word in MSH, see, Poříka, *HLC*, §*13, p. 577-579.

261.1 *sa͠īsāra a͠īsā supina* jaisā*, jīvana supina samā̃na* "this world is like a dream; life resembles / is equal to a dream"

4. -samā̃n- : *postpositive word of comparison*

samāna (without the contact nasalization) is Skt. adjective with the basic meaning "same", "similar", "alike"; in comparisons it is used postpositively ("same as", "similar to", "like"), either as the second or final member of a compound (as e.g. in *deva-samāna-rūpa-*), or as independent word governing instrumental or genitive case (e.g. *tala-prahāram aśaneḥ samānam* "blow with the paw like a lightning", *Rām.*, 6.84.25). In analysing Old Hindī texts one may be sometimes in doubt as to whether, in a given case, *-samāna* is to be understood as postpositively used adjective, or as final member of a compound. McGregor's solution (*LIO*, §3.193, p. 192, and p. 81, note 12) is to take as compounds such adjectival locutions where *-samāna* is associated with following substantives, e.g. *asi-dhārā-samāna vratu* "a vow like a blade of a sword" (i.e. an extremely difficult task; the compound *asi-dhārā-vrata-* had been used as standard expression already in Sanskrit: see, MW, p. 120, col.2). Where this is not the case – as in the verse 261.1 quoted below – the word should be taken as a postpositively used adjective. In 473.3 *-samāna* is followed by a noun, but as the word preceding it is Hindī pronominal form, the construction is best interpreted as postpositive adjective governing the obl. case of a pronoun (by analogy with Sanskrit and MSH constructions *mujha se loga*, *mere se loga*, etc.: see, Poříka, *HLC*, §*12.6, p. 574, quoting K. Guru).

261.1 *sa͠īsāra a͠īsā supina jaisā, jīvana supina* samā̃na "this world is like a dream; life resembles / is equal to a dream"

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473.3 *kahai kabīra suni kesavā tũ̃ sakãlaviyāpī, tumha* samã̃na *dātā nahĩ̃ hama se nahĩ̃ pāpī* "Kabīr says: listen, o Keśava, you [are] all-pervading, there is no giver like you, there is no sinner like me"

5. -rahit- : *postpositive word*

-rahit- is *tatsama* word with the meaning "free from", "devoid of" used as adjective and also postpositively already in Sanskrit: frequently it occurs either as the last member of compounds or as separate word governing the instrumental case (e.g. *āśramapadaṃ rahitaṃ taiḥ sutaiḥ*, [*mano*] *rajastamobhyāṃ rahitam, rāmeṇa rahitaṃ veśma*). The present corpus has yielded bare two occurrences, preceded by a noun in the oblique case (*-a_8*, *-0_8*, *-$ã_3$*). As these endings happen to be homonymous with the direct case and as the direct case is identical (minus the possible contact nasalisations) with the OIA stem, the collocation *trigũna rahita* can be interpreted also as direct borrowing of genuine Sanskrit *karmadhāraya* compound.

76.3 *trigũna* rahita *phala rãmi hãma rāṣila* "free from the three *guṇas*, enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]"

204.3 *trisnã̃ aru abhimã̃nã* rahita *hai, kahai kabīra so dāsā* "free from desire and pride, says Kabīr, is the true devotee"

6. -hīṇ- : *postpositive word*

This postpositive word spelled in the old manuscripts interchangeably with retroflex or dental nasal has the meaning "without" or "lacking"; it can be considered a *tatsama* word (less the occasional retroflexion) identical in its meaning with the Sanskrit past participle of the verbal root *hā-* "to leave", "to abandon". In Sanskrit as well as in Old Hindī it is used either postpositively (in Sanskrit frequently with the instrumental or ablative case or as the last member of a compound), or as an ordinary adjective with the meaning "poor", "week", feeble"; in this second sense we meet it in the present corpus in the verse 408.2: *jaba laga hīna paṛai nahĩ̃ bā̃nī, taba laga bhaji mana sāragaprā̃ṇī* "so long as the speech does not grow weak (does not falter), so long worship Sāraṅgapāṇi (= Viṣṇu) in your mind" (or: "so long worship, o mind, ..."). As postpositive word it is either joined directly to a noun (which should be understood to be in the oblique case), or is preceded by the adjectivizer *-k_2-*: this is the case of one *varia lectio* of the verse 249.2: our manuscript has *tapa kīnhã̃* "[I had] performed asceticism", Gop47;24 *tapa hĩ̃nã̃*, whereas AG482;26 and KG (Tiv. ed.), verse 46.1, read *tapa kā hīnā* "[I was] wanting in asceticism or self-discipline". The example given below has an interesting parallel in Dādū, *pad* 196.3: *dādū tenhã̃ũ marama jã̃nãĩ je jibhyā hĩ̃ṇã̃ũ gāvai*.

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187.2 *pai bina nirati karã̃ bina bājā, jibhyā* hīṇã̃ *gāvai* "dance without feet, playing [the musical instrument] without hands: without tongue, he sings"

B. Other postpositions

1. -kũ̃ : *accusative – dative*

Accusative: In the field of Indo-Aryan linguistics consensus seems to have been reached that the origin of the NIA dative/accusative postposition should be located in the OIA noun *kakṣa* "armpit", "side", used postpositively in the accusative case to express the idea of nearness or direction, "near", "towards": OIA *kakṣam* > MIA *kakkhaṃ* > *kākhaṃ*, *kāhaṃ* > NIA *kahã*, *kahũ*, *kaũ̃*, *kũ̃*, *ko* (Beames, *CGMALI* II, §56, p. 252-259, with corrections of earlier derivations of Trumpp and Hoernle; Kellogg, *GHL*, §195, p. 130; briefly also Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §509(6), p. 768). The basic sense of direction expressed by this adverbially employed accusative attached to a noun in oblique case matches well with the aspect of focusedness on an object inherent in transitive verbs. As a marker of direct object the postposition *-kũ̃* follows either nouns and pronouns representing animate beings, or inanimate objects which are qualified by an adjective or pronoun (as e.g. *yā pada kũ̃* in 15.4; *jhūṭhe tana kũ̃* in 102.0; *āpaṇāī rūpa kũ̃* in 182.0; *cauthe pada kũ̃* in 204.1).

In the verses 251.1 and 252.2 we have three constructions of causative verbs *sunā-* "to recite", *ṣuvā-* "to feed" and *pilā-* "to give to drink" with two objects; as in Sanskrit and MSH the construction has to be understood as meaning "to cause somebody to do something" where the object marked by the postposition *-kũ̃* is accusative (and not dative, as a translation of the Hindī causative construction into English or some other language might suggest: see Kellogg, *GHL*, §686(1)–Rem. 2, p. 403; analogical constructions in Sanskrit are explained by Speijer, *SS*, §49, p. 35-37).

The postposition *-kũ̃* in 177.1 can be best understood as expressing direction, goal or location, i.e. as an example of adverbial accusative, rather than of an accusative denoting a direct object.

Accusative of direct object:

149.2 *āpana ãdha aura* kũ *kahai kãnã̃, tā* kũ *deṣi kabīra ḍarãnã̃* "himself blind, he will call others »one-eyed«: having seen / seeing him, Kabīr was frightened"

410.2 *jaba yahu syāla syãgha* kũ *ṣāi, taba phūlaigī yā banarāi* "when this jackal devours the lion, then this big tree will blossom"

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185.4 *jā* kũ *yahu jagu ghini kari cālai, tā prasādi nistariyā* "whom (or: "that which", i.e. the inverted spiritual path) this world avoids / passes by with disgust, by his (or: "its") very grace one can achieve the the final deliverance" (for *nistariyā*, see the section 5.D.1 below)

15.4 *kahai kabīra yā pada* kũ *būjhai, tā kũ tīnyũ trībhuvana sūjhai* "Kabīr says: [who] understands/solves this *pad*, to him are / will be comprehensible the three worlds" (*yā pada kũ* acc.; *tā kũ* dat.)

102.0 *jhūṭhe tana* kũ *kā grabaīye, mũvã pala bhari rahaṇa na paīye* "why is / / should be flaunted [this] abominable body? Once one is dead, it is not able/allowed to linger on even for a moment"

182.0 *āpaṇāĩ rūpa* kũ *āpa hĩ jãṇāĩ, āpāĩ rahai akelā* "only he knows his own form, only he himself remains alone" (not associated with any form)

204.1 *cauthe pada* kũ *jo jana cīnhāĩ, tinha hī parãma pada pāyā* "devotees who know the fourth (impersonal) state [of the soul] – only these have reached the highest stage"

- with causatives

251.1 *kā sũnahã* kũ *sumriti sunãyai* "why recite *smṛti* to a dog?"

251.2 *kā ka:uvā* kũ *kapūra ṣuvāye, kā bisahara* kũ *dūdha pilāyẽ* "why feed camphor to a crow, why give milk to a poisonous snake?"

Accusative of goal or direction (terminal accusative):

177.1 *sãdhai tīra patāla* kũ*, phiri gagana* kũ *mārai* "he aims his arrow at the netherworld, then he hits the sky"

Dative: Probably the most typical use of the dative is the function of indirect object with verbs whose basic meaning is "to give" – in these contexts the postposition *-kũ* fulfils best its role of pointing in a direction, here a direction of an (usually animate) object to which something is given.

The dative of advantage marks a person or a thing for whose advantage (or disadvantage, as in 97.0) anything happens or is done. In MSH the more common postposition used to express this relation is *-ke liye* (which has been used by both M. P. Gupta and V. Sĩha in their modern translations of the verse 212.1 given below as an example of this use).

Dative of possessor or experiencer marks a subject that acquired or was given a property or boon, characteristically as a result of some previous activity or a specific cause; in this feature it differs from the genitive used as predicative complement which often expresses a general, unchanging quality or property of the subject (compare, e.g. the genitive *raṣavālai kā hoi vināsa* in the verse 444.1 with the dative *gura prasādi akali bhaī to kũ* in 8.0 quoted below). The predicate verb is either "to be" (explicit or elided), or the verbs

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mil- "to be acquired", "to meet" and *lāg-* "to stick" (mostly in transferred, idiomatic meanings, as in *tā kũ bahuri na lāgī pyāsa* in 129.2).

This dative can be used with a wide variety of intransitive verbs to denote a subject affected by the verb in question. In older grammatical treatises it was classified variously as dative of possession or reference (e.g. KELLOGG, *GHL*, §686(6), p. 405); but the label "dative of subject" probably captures better its role as a logical subject of the sentence (for a more extensive treatment, see MASICA, *IAL*, §10.3.2., p. 346-356).

In the verse 41.3 we meet the expression *kāhe kũ* where the dative postposition follows directly the obl. case of the interrogative pronoun (see the chapter Pronouns, section 3.H.1.h. k_1- + obl. sg. -$āhe_1$ / pronominal adverb of cause -$āhe_2$); to the literal translation "to/for what?" we should add the words "reason" or "purpose". The meaning is often best rendered by the interrogative "why?" which can introduce questions about cause as well as about purpose. *MHK*, vol. 1, p. 527, gives as equivalents of *kāhe ko*: 1. *kisa adhikāra se* 2. *kisa kāraṇa yā uddeśya se*. In the present context, the best translation may be "why/ / how could we (possibly) die?" Close parallel to this meaning of *kāhe ko* can be found in a *pad* of Dādū (*pad* 289.4 in CALLEWAERT and DE BEECK, *NBhS-DHL* I, p. 245): *prema bhagati jini jãnī, so kāhe kaũ bhrãmaĩ prãṇī* "he who has known the *bhakti* of love, how could (possibly) such a being err / succumb to illusion?"

dative of indirect object (with the verb *de-*):

178.0 *hai koī sãta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā* kũ *japa tapa dehũ dalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage"

439.0 *kusala ṣema aru sahī salãmati, e doi kā* kũ *dīnhã re* "happiness, welfare and well-being – to whom [were] these two given?"

440.3 *kahā aparādha sãta hau kīnhã, bādhi poṭa kũjara* kũ *dīnhã* "what crime had been commited by the saint, [that], bound into a bundle, [he was] given to (i.e. thrown in front of) an elephant?"

390.3 *kāla purisa kā maradaĩ mãna, tã mulanā* kũ *sadā* [*sa*]*lãmã* "[who] crushes the pride of the god of death (or: "of the henchman of the god of death"), to that *maulānā* [is] always [due reverential] salutation" (impersonal passive with gerundival force may be supplied as the predicate)

dative of advantage (dativus commodi):

212.1 *bhūlī mālaṇi pātī toṛai, pātī pātī jīva; jā murati* kũ *pātī toṛai, so murati nrijīva* "naive flower-girl, you pluck leaves, [and] in every leaf there is a soul; [but] the idol, for which you pluck the leaves, is soulless"

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97.0 *hari ṭhagi jaga* kũ *ṭhagaurī lāī* "Hari, having cheated the world, has set / / spread out [his] magic spell" (or: „Hari the cheat/trickster has set/ / spread out [his] magic spell before the world")

dative of possessor or experiencer (dative subject construction with the verbs "to be", *mil-*, *lāg-* and *sūjh-*):

8.0 *gura prasādi akali bhaī to* kũ "by the grace of Guru you have been endowed with reason"

390.2 *supinai bĩda na dei caraṇã̃, tā kājī* kũ *jurā na marãṇa* "not even in sleep / a dream does he allow the semen to spill: for such *qāzī* there is neither old age nor death"

41.0 *hãma na marãĩ marahai sãsārā, hãma* kũ *milyā jīvãvanahārā* "we do/will not die [even when] the [whole] world will die: we have met Him who gives life"

129.2 *rãma rasāĩṇa jini pīyā, tā* kũ *bahuri na lāgī piyāsa* "who had drunk the nectar of Rām, he never got thirst again"

185.2 *bãbaī ulaṭi srapa* kũ *lāgī* "having turned over, the anthill has clung to the snake"

15.4 *kahai kabīra yā pada kũ būjhai, tā* kũ *tīnyũ̃ trībhuvana sūjhai* "Kabīr says: [who] solves this *pad*, he will understand (lit.: "to him are / will be comprehensible") the three worlds" (the first *-kũ̃* is acc., the second dat.)

dative of cause:

41.3 *hari marihai tau hãma hũ̃ marihãĩ, hari na marai hãma kāhe* kũ *marihãĩ* "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (i.e., is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?" (Gupta, *KG*, p. 172: *kyõ*; Sĩha, *KV-S*, p. 414: *kaise*)

2. -kai : *locative* (*the so-called inflected genitive of possession*)

In the texts of the present corpus the postposition *-kai* appears in expressions denoting possession where the thing possessed is always an abstract noun. In MSH such constructions with the postposition *-ke* (an equivanent of *-kai* occurring in the present corpus) are interpreted as inflected genitives of possession (Kellogg, GHL §697, p. 416-417). But neither in the modern Hindī nor in the sentences presented below does the postposition appear to have the force of an adjectivizer. It may be instructive to compare an example of this type of construction, e.g. *jā kai rūpa na reṣā hãĩ* "he who has no form, no contour" (lit.: "with/in whom there is no form, no contour") in 129.7 quoted below, with the adjectival construction in the locative case *rãma carãṇa jā kai*

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hridai bas[*a*]*ta hai* "in whose heart dwells Rām's foot" in 448.0a, quoted under the locative of the adjectivizing postposition -k_2-). It would be more natural to treat the former type as a syntactic parallel to MSH locative postposition *-pāsa*, also used to mark a possessor, albeit of concrete objects. In fact, the so called inflected genitive in predicating possession in MSH (as in e.g. *usa ke sirfa eka baccā hai* "he has only one child") is direct descendant of this originally locative construction (with the contraction of the old diphthong *-ai* into *-e*). Kellogg, *GHL*, §697b-*Rem*., p. 417, rightly notes that the formal identity of this *-kai* with the oblique or locative case of the adjectivizing postposition is probably only accidental; its true origin is to be looked for in the old locative.

It is perhaps significant that all examples of this construction quotable from the present corpus show the form *-kai*, never *-ke*. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.170, p. 184, notes the function of *-kai* as an invariable possessive, but identifies this form, in the opinion of the present author incorrectly, as obl. sg. masc. of the possessive postposition *-kau*. But he too notes that the variant *-ke* occurs rarely in this possessive construction. It seems that in expressions denoting possession the postpositions *-kai* and *-ke* were, at this stage of the development of the language, not freely interchangeable, perhaps because they were still perceived as markers of two different case endings, locative (with its characteristic loc./instr. ending *-ai*) and genitive respectively. The possible answers to the question of the origin of this affix were summarized by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §505, p. 759-762: the source may have been, as in the case of the acc./dat. postposition *-kữ*, the OIA noun *kakṣa* "armpit", "side" and the loc. sg. endings **-dhi*, **-bhi*, **-bhim*, *-smin* (*ibid.*, p. 749).

129.7 *sũni mãḍala maĩ sodhile, parãma joti prakāsa, jā* kai *rūpa na reṣa haĩ* "by searching in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahmarandhra*), supreme light shines forth (or: "[there is] shining forth of the supreme light") which has no form, no contour" (lit.: "of/in which there is no form, no contour")

186.0 *rãma gũna belaṛī re avadhū goraṣanāthi jãṇī, nã̃ tasa mūla na chāyā tā* kai*, vṛradhi karai bina pãṇī* "O *avadhūta*, the plantlet of Rām's praise/*bhakti* was known to Gorakhnāth; hers [is] no root, hers [is] no shadow, she grows without water"

187.2 *gāvanahārā* kai *rūpa na reṣā, satagura hoi laṣāvai* "the singer has no form, no mark; who is (or: "if one is") the *sadguru*, he will/can explain it"

212.5 *eka na bhūlā dāsa kabīrā, jā* kai *rãma adhārā* "the only one who has not blundered – *bhakta* Kabīr, who has Rām as his support"

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448.2 *aisī je upajai yā jīya* kai*, kuṭila gā̃ṭhi saba ṣolai* "when such [detachment from objects of sensual perception] is born in this mind, every complicated knot comes loose"

3. -pāĩ$_1$, -pāsa : *locative*

Beames' and Kellogg's presentation of *-pāĩ* as a member in a chain coming "by succession" from OIA *upari*, Bhojpurī *pari*, Hindī *par*, down to Braj *pai* and Urdu *pa* (Kellogg, *GHL*, §198a, p. 133; Beames, *CGMALI* II, §62, p. 298) has found an alternative in Saksena's derivation of Avadhī (non-nasalized) postposition *-pai* from OIA *prati* "at", "on", "upon", "in front of" (Saksena, *EA*, §283, p. 227). The change of the OIA *prati* to NIA *pai* can be observed in words like Skt. *pratijñā* > H. *paij* "vow" (Turner, *CDIAL*, 8563, p. 484) or Skt. *pratyañcā* > H. *pāĩc* "bowstring" (*HŚS*, vol. 6, p. 3103). Both hypotheses leave the nasalization of the postposition unexplained. Still another possibility is to understand the form *-pāĩ* as contracted variant of *pāhĩ* / *pāhĩ* "near", "close" which comes from OIA *pārśve* or *pakṣe* "at the side of", "alongside" (Saksena, *ibid.*; Tessitori, *OWR*, §37.(2) and §72.(8)). In this case *-pāĩ* would be a variant of the adverb and postposition *pāsa* with which it would share not only the same origin, but also (more or less) the same meaning. In variants *pahaṃ*, *paiṃ*, this postposition has been attested in Old Braj (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.181, p. 189). The nasalization can be traced back to OIA pronominal affix for the loc. sg. *-asmin* which was transformed into Apa. *-ahĩ* / *-ahi* (Tagare, *HGA*, §94 and 95A(iv), p. 165-171; also Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §499, p. 745-746, for his alternative derivation from the hypothetical OIA affix **-a-dhi*).

In the present corpus we have three instances of *-pāĩ* with the sense "toward", "in the presence of" against single occurrence of *-pāsa* in context where other MSS use different word (see the verse 408.4 quoted below).

139.0 *jā̃* pāĩ *jā̃ũ āpaṇapau chuḍā̃vãna, te bīdhe bahu phādā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons themselves are] ensnared in many traps"

251.1 *kā sāṣita* pāĩ *hari gũna gā̃yāĩ* "why sing the praise of Hari in front of a *Śākta*?"

315.2 *kā̃ma colanā̃ bhayā purā̃nā̃, mo* pāĩ *hoi na ā̃nā̃* "the dress of lust/passion has been worn out, there is not any other with me" (or: "does not fit me"; i.e. I do not have any other to wear)

408.4 *gura mili jā ke ṣule kapāṭa, bahuri na āvai jonī* pāsa "whose door [of heart] opened when he met his guru, [that *bhakta*] does not come again into the womb" (i.e. will not be born again)

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4. -ūpari, -upari$_2$, -para, -pari$_2$: *locative*

In OIA the adverb *upari* "over", "above", "(up)on" could be used either as a preposition or postpositively, in constructions with the accusative, ablative, genitive or locative cases (as, eg., *upari śailam* "over the mountain", *muhūrtād upari* "after a while", *tasyopari* "over him/it", *upari laṅkāyām* "above Lanka", etc.). In Old Hindī *upari* can be taken as *tatsama* identical with the Sanskrit word not only in form, but also in its uses as an independent adverb and a postposition following a noun or pronoun in the oblique case. Turner, *CDIAL* I, it. 2333, p. 109, postulates a hypothetical form **uppari* ("upári with emph. lengthening of consonant") from which could be easily derived the existing NIA long forms *ūpara* and *ūpari*. Another reason of this reduplication has been suggested by Oberlies, *HGH*, p. 28: *uppari* may have been formed by analogy to semantically close *uttaram*. In the present corpus both forms appear to be variants of one and the same lexical unit. The same probably holds true also for the forms *pari* (280.0) and *para* (221.2) where the aphaeresis of *u-* may be due to its lack of stress. Both forms occur in standard collocations: *pari mihari kar-* "to show kindness to sb.", and *tā para*, equivalent to MSH *tisa para* (*bhī*) "even so", "but still", "in spite of that".

212.2 *ṭa̐caṇahārai ṭa̐ciyā, de chātī* upari *pāva* "the carver carved, having put [his] foot on the chest [of the sculpture]"

224.1 *trisnā̐ cha̐ni parī ghara* upari "the thatched roof of desire fell/collapsed on the house"

312.4 *paharyau kāla sabai jagu* upari "Kāl (god of death Yama) watches over (or: "keeps an eye on") the whole world"

421.5 *dāsa kabīra caḍhyā gaḍha* ūpari, *rāja diyau avināsī "bhakta* Kabīr scaled the fortress; the Imperishable put him in command"

280.0 *alaha rā̐ma jīū̃ tere nā̐ī, bā̃de* pari *mihari karau mere sā̐ī* "Allāh, Rām, I live by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!"

221.2 *tā tha̐ī āvāgavana hoi phuni phuni, tā* para *sāga na cūrā* "from this comes rebirth, again and again, the contact with this has not been severed" (or: "but still the bond/attachment has not been severed"; so Gupta, *KG*, p. 260: *tisa para bhī ma̐ine* [*inakā*] *sāga na toṛā* (*choṛā*))

5. -bhītari$_2$: *locative*

This word which comes from OIA *abhyantare*, loc. sg. of a noun meaning "inner part", "interior", can be used either as an adverb, or as a postposition following the oblique case of a noun it governs; in both cases the meaning is "inside", "within", "in". In the present corpus only two instances of clearly postpositional use could be identified (in two other cases it is used as an

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adverb, but its actual status in the verse 338.0 is doubtful). Whether used as an adverb or a postposition, the word always points to the inside, inner part of an object and is more specific than the postposition *-mā̃hī*, *-mā̃ī*, etc. which has broader range of functions and meanings.

281.2 *satari kābā ika dila hī* bhītari *je kari jā̃nai koī* "inside a single heart [there are] seventy Kaabas, if [only] one knows it [to be the case]"

421.2 *trisnā̃ tīra rahai tana* bhītari*, subadhi hāthi nahī̃ āī* "the arrow of thirst/ /desire remains inside the body, it has not come within the reach (lit.: "hand") of the correct understanding"

6. -mādhye / -majhāri / -majhai / -mā̃hī / -mā̃ī : *locative*

The five forms of the locative postposition given in the heading have been selected to represent a total of sixteen variants which differ from each other mainly by placing of nasalizations (or absence of them) and vowel lengths. None of the examples quotable from the present corpus shows the noun, when followed by this postpostion, in a form which could be interpreted as unambiguous locative (as, e.g. in the construction *peṭi majhāri* "in the stomach" quoted by Tessitori in *OWR*, §74.4). The occasional use of this postposition with a noun in the locative case illustrated by Tessitori may be traced to the OIA adverbial use of the locative *madhye* in an explicative juxtaposition with the following noun (as in Skt. *madhye samudre*, lit. "in the middle, in the sea", meaning "in the middle of the sea"). In our texts all nouns appear in the general oblique case; it seems that the gen. obl. with the locative postposition gradually supplanted the older synthetic locative form in *-i* / *-ai* with which a postposition was unnecessary – compare the expression *bālū ke gharavā mai baiṭhau* "seated in a house of sand" in 363.3 below with the old locative in *sahaja kai pāiṛai pāva jaba dījai* "when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*" in 29.0. The Old Hindī constructions with the general obl. case may be interpreted as going back to the substantive *madhye*, locative of *madhyam* "middle", "centre", "inside", "interior", used already in the OIA period postpositively (as e.g. in *śiraso madhye*, *gaṅgā-yamunayor madhye*, *strīṇāṃ madhye*, etc.); in Old Hindī texts the forms derived directly from this OIA noun can be classified as transposed substantives (Miltner, *OHR*, p. 96).

The actual forms occurring in texts of Kabīr's *pads* are either *tatsamas*, *ardha-tatsamas* (*-mādhye*) or *tadbhavas* in various stages of phonetical transformation. The forms with medial *-jh-* or *-h-* are certainly more archaic than *-mā̃ī* / *-mai*; forms ending in *-a* (*-mā̃jha* / *-mājhā*$_2$, *-mā̃*) are said to be eastern, Avadhī influences (Varma, *LB*, §201, p. 95-96; Saksena, *EA*, §283, p. 227). The form *-majhāri* has been derived from Skt. **madhya-kārye* where

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the affix *-kārye* has been explained as identical with that used in formation of possessive pronouns (as in **asmat-kārya*(*ka*) > *hamārā*, etc.; Tessitori, *ibid.*). In the same line of derivation may belong also the variant *-majhai*. Monosyllabic *-maĩ* / *-mai* suffered what Turner, *CDIAL*, 9804, p. 563, calls an "abnormal loss of occlusion (through association with similar forms of postpositions?)" – to which we may add, perhaps also through frequent use during a long span of time. Analysis of the occurrences of particular variants in the present corpus shows a distribution governed mainly by the exigences of metre and rhyme: we can find frequent pairs *-mãhi*/*-mãhĩ* – *nãhi*/*nãhĩ*, but also *bãjha* – *-mãjha*, *-mājhā* – *-sājhā*, etc. In contrast, the shorter monosyllabic forms occur in the middle of verse only.

In most instances quotable from the present corpus the locative specifies the place or scene of action expressed by the verb. With certain verbs the adverbial of place may be either obligatory or is at least expected: *jala mahi rahãũ* (123.1), *gharavā mai baiṭhau* (363.3), *jala maĩ byãba prakāsai* (185.1). In several cases the locative does not denote a place, but a direction, destination, or a goal; in one instance the direction is not toward something, but rather "from within": *ṣābha mãhi pragatyau galāri* (459.4). The locative in 131.1 (*phirai kali mãjha*) can be interpreted as denoting time rather than a place. Adnominal locative is relatively rare: of three quotable instances one appears in partitive construction (*yā mahi kachū nāhi terau* in 381.1), another (*duhu maĩ dosa kahau ki na rãmā* in 429.1) is either partitive ("of [us] two [whose is] the fault, why do not you say"), or expresses inherent quality or characteristic ("[that] there is fault in both of us, why do not you say").

Locative of place:

212.4 *pātre vrahmā kalī bisna, phala* mādhye *rudra devā* "in the leaf [of the flower resides] Brahmā, in the bud Viṣṇu, within (/ in the middle of) the fruit [is] god Rudra"

310.1 *pãca cora gaḍha* mājhā*, gaḍha lūṭaĩ dyaũsa ra sājhā* "five thieves inside the fort: they loot the fort day and night"

129.8 *kahi kabīra guna gāile, sāta sāgati ridā* majhāri*, jo sevaga sevā karai, tā sāgi rāmaĩ murāri* "Kabīr says: the devotee who performs the service by singing praise [of the Lord] in the company of *sants* [as well as] in [his own] heart, with him Murāri rejoices"

188.2 *solaha* majhai *pavana jhakolai, ākāse phala phaliyā* "within the sixteen[petalled lotus] vital breath blows in gusts, in the sky the fruit has ripened"

221.3 *kãma krodha māyā mada machara, e sātata hãma* māhĩ*; dayā dharãma gyãna gura sevā, e prabhū supinai nãhĩ* "lust, anger, delusion,

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pride, jealousy – these [are/dwell] in us continuously; compassion, piety, wisdom, devotion to the guru – these, o Lord, [are] not [present even] in a dream"

315.2 *vrahma agni* mã̃ *jarī ja mamitā, pāṣãḍa aru abhimãnã̃* "egoism, pretence and pride have burnt down in the fire of *brahma*"

363.3 *bālū ke gharavā* mai *baiṭhau, cetata nahĩ ayã̃nã̃* "seated in a house of sand, you are not aware [of that], you ignorant!"

185.1 *jala* maĩ *byāba prakāsai* "the reflection shines on the water"

Locative of direction:

185.3 *paisi guphā* maĩ *saba jagu deṣyā, bāhari kachū na sūjhai* "having penetrated into the cave (of the *gagana-maṇḍala*) he saw all the world; [of the] outside [world] nothing is perceived"

285.0 *re dila ṣoji dila hara ṣoji, nā pari piresã̃nī* mã̃hi "search in the heart, search in the house of the heart, do not fall into distress!"

413.2 *seta kāga āye bana* mã̃hi*, ajahũ̃ re nara cetau nã̃hi* "white crows have flown into the forest (= white hair has appeared on your head): even now, o man, you are not on the alert!"

459.4 *ṣãbha* mã̃hi *pragaṭyau galāri, hiraṇākasa māryau naṣa bidāri* "Viṣṇu emerged from within the column [and] killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, having torn [him to pieces] with [his] claw"

Locative of time:

131.1 *grabha muce muci bhaī ki na bã̃jha, sūkara rūpa phiraĩ kali* mã̃jha "why has not she become barren having miscarried repeatedly? [Now] in the *kaliyuga* [her children] hang about, in the likeness of pigs"

Adnominal locative:

280.2 *mana* maĩ *kapaṭa nivāja gujāraĩ, tau kyā haja kābai jã̃hĩ* "fraud in mind, they perform *namāz*; why then do they go on *hajj* to Kaaba?"

381.1 *dārā suta greha neha, sãpati suṣadāī; yā* mahi *kachū nāhi terau, kāla āvadhi āī* "attachment to wife, son, house, wealth that give [you] pleasure – nothing of this is yours [when] the time of death has come!"

429.1 *hama hi kusevaga ki tumha hi ajã̃nã̃, duhu* maĩ *dosa kahau ki na rã̃mā* "Is it me who is a bad servant or are you ignorant? Why don't you say, who of both [of us] is at fault, o Rām?" (lit.: "[where is] the fault in the two [of us], why do not you say, o Rām?"; or: "[that there is] fault in both of us, why do not you say, o Rām?")

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7. -laga/-lagī, -lãũ : *locative*

The most frequent occurrence of *-laga* is in the relative adverbial expression *jaba laga* "as long as", "so long as", "while" that introduces an adverb clause and is usually followed by main clause introduced by correlative expression *taba laga* "up to that time", "until then". The correlative is not obligatory: in the verse 114.3 its place is taken by interrogative pronominal adverb *kaisãĩ*, in 288.3 it has been omitted. In 367.1 the meaning of *-laga* / *-lagī* is not temporal, but spatial "upto (a certain place)". The use of the expression *kahã̃ lãũ* "how far", "to what extent" in rhetorical question in 439.2 has been noted as being of frequent occurrence in Old Braj text analysed by McGregor, *LIO*, p. 81, note 6, and §3.188, p. 190-191. *-laga:i* and *-lagī* with the meaning "up to" was also used in Old Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §72.9). Interestingly, in other Old Hindī dialects this postposition could take still other meanings, unattested in the present corpus. Thus in the Old Mārvāṛī it occurs also in the sense "from" and "in consequence of".

Different meanings of this postposition point to its more complicated history that may be traced to more than one source word. Already Hoernle, *CGGL*, §375, p. 224-225, suggested the OIA locative *labdhe* "for the benefit of" as the source of the NIA *laye* and *layẽ*, and transformed Apabhraṃśa loc. **lahiahũ*, **la:iahũ* of Hindī *layữ*, *lãũ*. In a parallel development, the OIA locative *lagne* and **lagnasmin* "in contact with" developed first into Apa. *lagge*, *laggi* and *laggahĩ* and then into Old Hindī forms *laga*, *lagi* and *lāgi* (see Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 10893, p. 630; also Tessitori, *OWR*, §72.9).

The homonymous Old Braj and also Old Avadhī postposition *-lagi* / *-lāgi* "for", "for the sake of" (Varma, *LB*, §206, p. 100; Saksena, *EA*, §284b, p. 228) has different meaning and possibly also origin; it has been treated in a separate paragraph.

114.3 *kahãĩ sunẽ kaisãĩ patiyāiye, jaba* laga *āpa tahã̃ nahĩ̃ jāiye* "by [mere] talking [and] listening how can one believe – until one does not go there oneself"

288.3 *ceti ceti mere mana cãcala, jaba* laga *ghaṭa mai sāsā* "be on the alert, be vigilant, o my fickle mind – so long as there is life in the body"

408.2 *jaba* laga *jurā roga nahĩ̃ āyā, jaba* laga *kāla na grāsai kāyā; jaba* laga *hīna paṛai nahĩ̃ bãnī, taba* laga *bhaji mana sāragaprãṇī* "so long as old age and illness has not arrived, so long as time/death does not devour the body, so long as speech does not falter, so long worship *Sāraṅgapāṇi* (i.e. Viṣṇu) in/with [your] mind"

367.1 *deharī* laga *terī sagī re maherī, phalisā* lagī *sagī māī; marahaṭa* laga *saba loka sagau re, hãsa akelau jāi* "wife is related to you upto the

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door-step [of your house]; mother is related upto the outer door (or: "to the border of the village"); all [other] people are related upto the cremation ground; [then] the swan (soul) flies away alone"

439.2 *sura nara munijana pīra avaliyā, mīrā paidā kīnhẽ re; koṭika bhaye kahẽ* lãũ *barāṇãũ, sabani payẽnẽ dĩnhẽ re* "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats [were] created: there were myriads of them, to what extent (lit.: "upto where") should I describe (i.e., "to what lengths should I go to explain")? All [were] given farewell" (lit.: "departure", "death")

8. -lāgi : *locative*

It appears natural to look for the origin of this postposition in the OIA root *lag-* "to cling", "to be attached" whose NIA descendant is the verb *lāg-* carrying the same basic meaning. The postpositive form *lagi* or *lāgi* was explained as a descendant of the OIA locative *lagne* and **lagnasmin* "in contact with" through the Apa. *lagge*, *laggi* and *laggahĩ* into Old Hindī forms *laga*, *lagi* and *lāgi* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §72.9). Saksena, *EA*, §287, p. 230, offers a slightly different derivation from the OIA locative *lagnake* and *lagia*. However, the simplest way to account for the final *-i* is to treat the form as transposed absolutive of the Hindī verb *lāg-*. The residue of the original absolutive sense "having clung to", "having been attached to" has survived in the construction of this postposition with the locative case, apparent in the verse 271.0 below. As a postposition *lāgi* is best translated by expressions "for" or "for the sake of".

261.2 *kāla pāsī mugdha bãdhyau kanaka kãmani* lāgi "the fool was tied by the noose of Kāl – for the sake of gold and women"

271.0 *prãṇī kāhe kai lobhi* lāgi*, ratana janama ṣoyā* "man, for what greed's sake have you wasted the gem of life?"

9. (-)pāchī, -pīchãĩ

OIA adv. *paścāt* (originally abl. sg. of *paśca-*) "from behind", "behind", "backwards" appears in Apa. as loc. *paccha:i* (Turner, *CDIAL*, 7990, p. 451); from this may have descended the Old Hindī adverb *pāchī*. Variants are *pachãĩ*, *pāchai* and *pāchãĩ* (the last two not attested in the present corpus), the final diphthong coming from the Apa. locative affix *-ahiṃ* (< OIA *-asmin*). In the present context (single occurrence in this corpus, as the form *pachãĩ* is used as an adveb "afterwards", "later") the word appears with the verb *par*$_1$- "to fall", in idiomatic construction meaning "to pursue", "to be after", "to tease"; the object pursued (here the virtuous man) is introduced as subject of separate sentence, so that *pāchī* has here formally the force of an adverb.

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Older treatments of the topic attempted to explain the adverb and postposition *pīchaĩ*/*pīchai* /*pīche*, as a result of different development of the same OIA *paścāt* that has also given the NIA *pāchī*/*pāchai* described above (Beames, *CGMALI* II, §62, p. 297; *HŚS*, vol. 6, p. 2017). Ingenious explanations had to be devised to account for the change of the medial *-a-* into *-i-*. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §509(23), p. 771), and also Turner, *CDIAL*, 7990, p. 451, have offered an elegant and probably also plausible explanation, deriving the *-i-* forms from OIA *pṛṣṭha-* "rear", "back". The adverbizer *-aĩ*$_{10}$ comes from OIA pronominal locative affix *-asmin*; its later Apa. transformations *-ahiṃ*, *-ahĩ* and *-ahi* were in general use as "bona fide Apa. terms. of Loc. sg." (Tagare, *HGA*, §82, p. 124). The two instances quotable from the present corpus show *pīchaĩ* used once as a postposition governing the obl. case of the noun *ãdhĩ*, and once formally as an adverb in the idiomatic construction with the verb *lāg-* "to be attached", "to cling" with meaning very similar to the *pāchī par*$_1$*-*, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. These examples show wider range of meanings than mere temporal reference reported by McGregor for *pāchaiṃ* "after" occurring in the Old Braj text analysed by him (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.191, p. 191).

444.3 *sãta bhajai vo* pāchī *parai* "[when] the *sant* runs away / flees [before her], she (i.e. *māyā*) pursues [him]" (or*:* "the *sant* worships and she teases [him]")

224.2 *ãdhĩ* pīchaĩ *jo jala barasyā, premi harījana bhīnã* "the rain which came after the storm – devotees were drenched in/by love [it showered]"

444.2 pīchaĩ *lāgī phirai pacihārī* "[*māyā*] hangs around [a saint, but at last] turns away tired/disappointed"

10. -sãgā, -sãgi : *instrumental*

This postposition can be considered as *semi-tatsama* word, the OIA noun *saṅga* "contact", "attachment", "company" reintroduced into the language in MIA or NIA period. The form *sãgi* derives from Sanskrit locative sg. *saṅge* with the locative ending weakened to *-i* (Tagare, *HGA*, §82, p. 124). *-sãgā* appears to be a favourite form at the ends of verses where it rhymes well with certain nouns occurring repeatedly in poems of medieval *sants*: closer inspection of W. Callewaert's and Op de Beeck's *NBhS-DHL* shows this form used by Dādū, Kabīr, Nāmdev and Raidās, exclusively at the end of a verse or half-verse and in rhyme with nouns *ãgā*, *gãgā*, *patãgā*, *bhuvãgā*, *rãgā* or *samãdā*.

In different contexts the form *sãgā* and *sãgi* can be interpreted variously as locative of the noun *sãg-*, as an adverb (by transposition from the locative), or as a postposition. In the single instance quotable from the present corpus (in the verse 102.2 given below), *sãgā* occurs in combination with the locative

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case of the adjectivizing postposition *-k_2-* and is therefore to be interpreted as a locative of the noun *sãg-*, lit. "in the company with firewood". The same nominal construction, with inverted word order, is seen in the verse 367.0, *sãgi kāhū kai na jāi*, lit. "goes in company with nobody". In the verse 398.3 *sãga* can be interpreted either as a noun – so according to modern Hindī translators Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 270, who has *koī sãgī yā sahāyaka*, and Gupta, *KG*, p. 350, translating *koī saṅga-sātha* (*saṅgī-sāthī*) – or as postposition. *sãgi* with the force of genuine postposition can be seen in the verses 477.4 and 257.0. In 459.1 *sãgi* can be interpreted as an adverb in construction with the participle *līyẽ* (cf. the MSH phrase *kisī ko sātha lenā*). Similarly in 34.2 and 268.4 *sãgi* governs no noun or pronoun and looks like an adverb; but in the second instance, at least, one should consider possible ellipsis of *kāhū kai* – the phrase, as well as the idea it expresses, is the same as in the verse 367.0. There does not seem to be any real difference in meaning or emphasis in the constructions in 102.2 and 367.0 on the one hand, and 257.0 and 477.3 on the other; the use or absence of *kai* appears to be – at least in these particular cases – either motivated by rhythm, or simply due to dialectal variability (for Rājasthānī documented by Smith, 1975, p. 444-445; for similar examples from Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, see Masica, *IAL*, p. 234).

398.3 *kahai kabīra mere* sãga [*na*] *sātha, jala thala mãhi rāṣai raghunātha* "Kabīr says: mine are no bonds, no company ; on land and at sea it is Raghunāth who protects me" (*mere* as the locative of possessor; or, taking *sãga* as postposition with *mere* in the general obl.: "with me there are no companions")

102.2 *covā cãdana caracata ãgā, so tana jarai kāṭha kai* sãgā "the body which he anoints with perfume and sandal – this body will burn down together with the firewood"

367.0 *prãṇi̇̃ lāla ausara cale re bajāi; mūṭhī eka kaṭhiyã mũṭhī eka māṭiyā,* sãgi *kāhū kai na jāi* "people, dear ones, having played off [their] show/ /game, are gone; nobody takes with him a single fistful of bones, a single fistful of clay/flesh [when he/she dies]" (standard word order: *kāhū kai sãgi*, lit.: "with nobody goes"; meanings of *kaṭhiyã* and *māṭiyā* are uncertain)

477.4 *hama kāhū* sãgi *gaye na āyai, tumha se gaḍha hãma bahuta basāye* "I neither [ever] departed nor arrived with anybody; [in the past] I occupied many [such] forts like you" (says soul to the body)

257.0 *mai sāsuri pīva gũhunaĩ āī; sãĩ̃* sãgi *sādha nahĩ̃ pūgī, gayau jobāna supinai kī nāī* "accompanied by [my] beloved, I came to the house of in-laws; [but] the desire to be with [my] lord was not fulfilled, [my] youth passed away like in a dream"

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459.1 *prahilāda padhāre paḍhaṇasāla,* sãgi *saṣā līyẽ līyẽ bāla* "Prahlāda went to school with friend(s), together with [other] boys"

34.2 *nahī griha dvāra kachū nahī tahuvā̃, racanahāra puni nāhī̃; jovana-hāra atīta sadā* sãgi*, e gũna tahā̃ samā̃hī̃* "no house, door, nothing is there, not even the Creator; [there is] the Supreme Consciousness, trascendent [and] ever-present/immanent: there enter these *guṇas*"

268.4 *dhana sãcyau kachū* sãgi *na gayau* "no amassed wealth accompanied [him after death]"

11. -saheta : *instrumental*

The origin and meaning of this word can be traced to several possible sources. The derivation preferred by Kabīr scholars is from OIA *sahita* "accompanied (by)", "associated (with)" which can be used both as preposition and postposition (e.g. Skt. *sahitaḥ svaiḥ pitāmahaiḥ*, or *nareṇa sahitaḥ prabhuḥ*), and of course also as the last member of a compound (e.g. *gāndhāra-rāja-sahitaḥ*). In Hindī, *saheta* as an equivalent of postpositions *sātha* and *sãga* "with", has been recorded by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 386, and illustrated by the verse quoted here below. Also Lālasa's *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 752, defines *saheta* as a variant to *sahita* explained as *sātha*, *sameta*, *yukta*. This meaning has been adopted also by Gupta, *KG*, p. 215, in his variant reading of the present locus *bhagavãta bhagati saheta.* Five instances of *saheta* used in this sense by Dādū Dayāl in his *sākhīs* have been recorded by Callewaert and Op de Beeck in the *NBhS-DHL*, vol. 2, p. 1029.

There are other possible interpretations of *saheta* that fit equally well in the present context. In the Padavalī of Nāmdev, in the *pad* 33.1, we read: *nārāiṇa mātā nārāiṇa pitā, baisnā̃u jana parivāra sahetā*, translated by Callewaert and Lath, *The Hindī Padavalī of Nāmdev*, p. 272 and 162, as "Nārāyaṇ is my mother. Nārāyaṇ is my father. The Vaiṣṇavas full of love are my kin.". The translation of *saheta* as "full of love" makes sense from the point of view of etymology (*sa* "with" + Hindī *heta* "love", "affection", "attachment"; cf. *BBSK*, vol. 2, p. 1702) as well as meaning: "life [lasting but] a half of an instant is worthwhile [if] the *bhakta* of the Bhagavān is full of love". Still another possibility is to interpret the word *saheta* as noun with the attested meaning "meeting point of lovers" (so according to *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 5035, and *BBSK*, vol. 2, p. 1702) and to relate it to the noun *jīvana*, "life", here understood as the possible meeting point of *bhakta* with the Lord. In the present corpus the single occurrence of word *saheta* has been found in the verse 129.3.

129.3 *aradha ṣina jīvana bhalau, bhagavāta bhagata* saheta*; koṭi kalapa jīvana vṛthā, jā kau nā̃hina hari syū̃ heta* "life [which lasts but] a half of an

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instant is [still] worthwhile [if spent together] with *bhakta* of the Bhagavān; life of myriad *kalpas* is in vain [for him] who does not love Hari"

12. -setī, -sa͠ũ / -so$_2$ / -syũ̃ : *instrumental*

There appears to be a broad consensus that the Hindī instrumental postposition *-sa͠ũ* and its variants *-so* / *-sõ* and *-syũ̃* are descendants of the OIA adverb *samam* "with" (Kellogg, *GHL*, §197, p. 132, Beames, *CGMALI* II, §58, p. 274, Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §509, p. 774, Saksena, *EA*, §280, p. 224). This derivation is confirmed also by the *UVP*, p. 37, line 23, where Paṇḍita Dāmodara translates the Old Kosalī *dũ̃jaṇẽ sa:ũ* by Skt. *durjjanena samam*. In Old Hindī dialects the form ending in *-o* / *-au* coexisted with the variant in *-e*. The former was current in Rājasthānī dialects (Tessitori, *OWR*, §68), Old Braj and also in Old Avadhī; the latter prevailed in the area of Khaṛī bolī and gradually infiltrated the Braj area (Varma, *LB*, §203, p. 97; also McGregor, *LIO*, §3.177, p. 187-188).

The Old Hindī form *-sẽti* / *-setī* is derivable from OIA **santa-kena*, MIA *santa-ka*, originally the present participle of √*as-* "to be" with the general meaning "belonging to" (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §503, p. 753); the intermediate form may have been the MIA *sũto* (*MHK*, vol 5, p. 443). Chatterji quotes from the Nasik Cave Inscriptions (ed. Sénart) the forms *amha-sa*(*n*)*taka* and *pitu-sa*(*n*)*taka* indicating the genitive idea "our" and "of the father". The general sense of belonging inherent in this postpositively used participle may have later crystallized into the postposition of instrumental expressing the idea of association. *-setī* is an Avadhī postposition occurring occasionally in texts of Jāyasī and Nūr Muhammad (Saksena, *EA*, §§278, 280, p. 222-224); in Braj it is classified as an eastern, Avadhī form (Varma, *LB*, §203, p. 97).

In texts of the present corpus these postpositions (*-setī* as single occurrence) are invariably used as carriers of functions inherent in the instrumental case. Ablative functions, inherent in the MSH postposition *-se*, are here expressed by the postposition *-thaĩ* and its variants. For possible overlapping of uses of these two postpositions with the verb *ḍar-*, cf. the verse 477.5 below with verses 149.0 and 127.1 in the section 14.

Instrumental of association/concern:

390.3 *so mulanã̃ jo mana* syũ̃ *larai* "he is [the true] *maulānā* who struggles with his own mind"

148.2 *aisā eka acābhā deṣyā, jābaka karai kehari* syũ̃ *leṣā* "I have seen such a strange thing: a jackal settles accounts with a lion"

146.4 *kahai kabīra jo ãbara jãnai, tā hī* syũ̃ *merā mana mãnai* "Kabīr says: who knows [this] heaven, with him indeed my mind agrees"

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129.3 *koṭi kalapa jīvana vṛthā, jā kau nā̃hina hari* syū̃ *heta* "life of myriad *kalpas* is in vain [for him] who does not love Hari" (lit.: "whose is not love of Hari")

477.5 *māṭī kī dehī pavana sarīrā, tā ṭhaga* syū̃ *jana ḍarai kabīrā* "the (gross) body of clay, the (subtle) body of *prāṇa* – Kabīr is afraid of this trickster"

96.0 *jo deṣyā so bahuri na peṣyā māyā* syū̃ *lapaṭānā̃* "who/what had been [regularly] seen, was [one day] not sighted again – engulfed/absorbed in *māyā*"

30.0 *jhā̃garā eka naberau rāma, je apā̃ṇā̃ jana* setī *kā̃ma* "settle one quarrel, o Rām, if [there is on your part] concern with your own devotee"

- verba dicendi:

8.3 *anabhai kathā kavana* syū̃ *kahiye* "to whom should be told the story [of one's own] experience?"

95.2 *sādhū* syū̃ *bolyā̃ hitakārī* "from talking with a saint [there follows something] worthwhile"

251.0 *rāma rami rahiyai, sāṣata* setī *bhūli na kahiyai* "one should keep rejoicing in Hari; not even by mistake should one talk to a *Śākta*"

Instrumental of contact:

280.1 *kyā mīṭī le bhui* syū̃ *mārai* lit.: "what is the point of taking one's body and striking it against the ground?"

Instrumental of accompaniment:

20.3 *pā̃ca jane* so *sā̃ga kari līnhā* "with five persons [I have] made company"

13. -gũhunāĩ̃ : *instrumental*

-gũhunāĩ̃ is peculiar spelling of a word appearing in different variants in different dictionaries and MSS: of those edited by Callewaert, *MKV*, p. 363-364, A258 reads *gũhanāĩ̃*, V212 *gā̃uhama*, and Raj72;89 *gũhani*. *HŚS*, vol. 3, p. 1359 and 1361, has the variants *gohana* and *gā̃uhani* (with the quotation of the verse included in the present corpus). OIA predecessor of this *tadbhava* word is Skt. *go-dhana-*, n., "herd of cows", in the transferred meaning (not attested by either MW or Āpte) "company", "accompaniment". In this sense it was inherited by Old Hindī dialects and used in the obl. case as a postposition "in the company of", "accompanied by". Used in this way, it can be treated as a case of transposition – like *-sā̃gi* mentioned in the section 10 above.

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257.0 *mai sāsuri pīva* gũhunaĩ *āī; sẽ̃ĩ sãgi sādha nahĩ̃ pūgī* "accompanied by [my] beloved, I came to the house of in-laws; [but] the desire to be with [my] lord was not fulfilled"

14. -taĩ, -tai, -thī, -the, -thaĩ : *ablative, instrumental*

The agreement of scholars concerning the origin of this postposition appears to be limited to the admission that there is no clear and definite solution of this problem. Beames, *CGMALI* II, §58, p. 273-274, suggests a derivation from the OIA adverbial ablative affix *-tas*, MIA *-to*; but he does not offer any satisfactory explanation for the change of *-aḥ* / *-as* / *-o* into *-ī* / *-e* / *-ai*, for the optional nasalization and for the aspiration of the initial consonant. Hoernle, *CGGL*, §375, p. 225-226, offers as the starting point of subsequent development of both the dative postposition *-taĩ̃*, and the ablative *-te* / *-tẽ*, the Skt. past participle *tarite* (> **ta:ie* > *te*) "passed to", hence "up-to", and also "from-upon". Again, nasalization and aspiration in the NIA forms remain unexplained. Tessitori, *OWR*, §72(6), does not look for the hypothetical origin of this postposition into the OIA stage and explains it as a result of contraction of loc. abs. of part. pres. of the substantive verb: *hata:i* > **hatii* > *thī*, or alternatively from *thaī*, abs. of the verb *thāva:ũ*. The use of participles and absolutives of the substantive verb with the meaning "by way of", "via", "through", with the inherent sense "from" can be illustrated by MSH postpositional phrases (*se*) *hokara* and (*para / se / mẽ se*) *hotā huā*. Tessitori also pointed to the postpositional use of the absolutive *hoya* with the sense "from" in Old Braj bhāṣā, in sentences as *āva:i pavana padama-sari hoya* "the wind [which] is coming from the lotus lake (< after having been in the lotus-lake)". In OWR the postposition *thaī* follows after the locative (as e.g. in *uttarāṣāḍhi nakṣatri thaī* "from the Uttarāṣāḍha nakṣatra"; cf. also the combinations of locative and ablative postpositions *mẽ* / *par* + *se* in MSH). In texts of the present corpus we find this construction only in the verse 8.2: *neṛai taĩ̃ dūri dūri taĩ̃ nerai* (see among the examples below); elsewhere this postposition is preceded by the general oblique case. The forms without aspiration were in wide use in Old Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §278, p. 222-223, who derives the postposition from the OIA *tatena*, loc. sg. of past participle of the verbal root *tan-*), and Old Braj (Varma, *LB*, §203, p. 97; McGregor, *LIO*, §3.176, p. 187); the aspirated ones, best accounted for by Tessitori, occur in Rājasthānī dialects.

This postposition expresses the notion of the ablative case in a very wide sense – separation, distance, origin, cause, and also comparison. Often it is impossible to classify a particular use of ablative as belonging strictly to this or that category – not seldom one may account for it in more than one way.

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The transition from the ablative of cause to that of denoting an instrument is often only gradual.

Our corpus has yielded two instances of the postposition *-thāĩ* / *-tāĩ* governing the loc./instr. case of past participle: *binasi gaye thāĩ* "from perishing" in 77.2, and *ḍāla gahyẽ tāĩ* "by grasping the branch" in 185.2. Participles used as verbal nouns with postpositions occur in MSH too (Kellogg, *GHL*, §754(4), p. 448-449). In such constructions the participle (whether it has been lexicalized, i.e. turned into a true substantive, as in cases like *apane kahe kā phala* etc., or not, as in constructions with postpositions like *pūche binā* or the above *ḍāla gahyẽ tāĩ*) always carries active meaning, even if – or rather precisely because – it is transitive: in the expression *ḍāla gahyẽ tāĩ*, the noun *ḍāla* is grammatical object in the accusative governed by the participle *gahyẽ*; here the participle has the force of a noun of action but retains the accusative government of the finite verb. (For additional information on verbal nouns and "adverbial participles", see the chapter Verbs, section 5.E.8.a.)

Ablative of separation:

23.2 *jama* thāĩ *ulaṭi bhayau he rāma* "I have turned away from death, o Rām"

29.3 *jana kabīra aisā asavārā, beda kateba dahū* thāĩ *nyārā* "*bhakta* Kabīr is such rider – aloof from both the Vedas and the Qurān"

149.0 *je nara bhae bhagati* tāĩ *nyāre, tina tāĩ sadā ḍarãṇe rahiye* "men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*: one should always remain frightened by them"

145.2 *jãmaṇa marãṇa* tāĩ *tau tũ chūṭai, suphala hvāĩhi saba kãmã̃* "then (if) you free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying, all [your] undertakings will be successful"

312.1 *beda purãna sumriti guna paḍhi paḍhi, paḍhi guni marama na pāyā; sājhyā gāvatrī aru ṣaṭakaramī,* ina *tāĩ dūri batāyā* "studying (in turn / continuously) the qualities of Vedas, Purānas and *smṛtis*, studying and meditating [you have] not grasped the essence (or: "[their] essential meaning"); *sandhyā*, *gāyatrī* and the six duties of *brāhmaṇas* – from these [this essence or essential meaning was] said to be far away"

8.2 *neṛai* tāĩ *dūri dūri* tāĩ *neṛai, jini jaisā kari jãṇyẽ* "who has known how to proceed from what is near to what is far and from what is far to what is near" (translation tentative, meaning is not entirely clear)

Ablative of temporal distance – the terminus a quo:

77.2 *māṭī kā pĩḍa sahaji utapānā, nāda ru bĩdu samãnā; binasi gaye* thāĩ *kā nãu dharihau* "o you lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, permeated by (or:

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"dissolved in") *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu* – from [the moment of] perishing (i.e. once you are dead) what name will you bear?"

Ablative of source or origin:

20.4 *sahaja suni maĩ jini rasa cāṣyā, satagura* taĩ *sudhi pāī* "who has tasted the nectar in the emptiness (*śūnya*) of the state of *sahaja*, [he has] obtained the (pure) consciousness (or: "purification") from the Supreme guru"

30.1 *beda baḍā ka jahā̃* thaĩ *āyā* "is Veda great, or [that/Him] from where it originated?"

77.1 *eka joti* taĩ *saba utapānā, kaũṇa vārāṇa kaũṇa sūdā* "all have arisen from one light – who is *brāhmaṇa*, who is *śūdra*?"

271.1 *jala bũda* taĩ *jini pyāḍa bā̃dhyā, agani kūḍa rahāyā; dasa māsa mātā udari rāṣyā* "He who formed the body from a drop of liquid, left it in fire pit, for ten months kept it in the mother's womb"

281.1 *murasida pīra tumhārai ko hai, kahau kahā̃* thī *āyā* "who is your preceptor (*murśid*), *pīr*? Say, where did he come from?"

285.1 *kahā̃* the *tumha kyanā kīye* "where are you from, by whom made/ /created?"

Ablative of cause:

185.2 *ḍāla gahyā̃* taĩ *mūla na sūjhai, mūla gahyā̃ phala pāvā* "the root is not understood by grasping the branch; by grasping the root the fruit [is] obtained"

221.2 *para nĩdā para dhāna para dārā, para upavādaĩ sūrā; tā* thaĩ *āvāgavana hoi phuni phuni* "in slandering other(s), in [coveting] other's wealth and other's wife, in reviling other(s) one is a hero: from this comes rebirth, again and again"

261.0 *māyā moha mohi hita kīnha, tā* tai *merau gyā̃na dhana hari līnha* "having deluded [me] with [her power of] delusion, *māyā* aroused passion [in me]; in consequence of this she has destroyed the treasure of my wisdom"

398.0 *mana na ḍigai tā* taĩ *tana na ḍarāi* "the mind is not upset, in consequence of this the body is not frightened"

421.4 *sādha sāgati aru gura kī kripā* taĩ, *pakaryā gaḍha kā rājā* "with the [help of the] company of saints and by the grace of the Guru the king of the fort has been captured"

- with verbs *ḍarap-* "to fear" and *ḍarā-* "to frighten"

149.0 *je nara bhae bhagati taĩ nyāre, tina* taĩ *sadā ḍarā̃ṇe rahiye* "men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*: one should always re-

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main frightened by them" (cf. KELLOGG, GHL, §691(4), p. 409; also SPEIJER, SS, §97, p. 71)

127.1 *sūrau kahā marãṇa* tãĩ *ḍarapai* "does a hero fear death?"

Ablative of comparison:

477.1 *tũ merā purīṣā hũ terī nārī, tumha calatã pāthara* tãĩ *bhārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife; leaving [me] you [are] harder than stone!"

15. -bina / -binā

NIA *-bina* / *-binā* is direct descendant of OIA *vinā* from which it inherited also its capacity to stand either as preposition or as postposition; in Sanskrit the noun governed by it is either in accusative or in instrumental case, rarely in ablative. In texts of the present corpus nouns governed by it are in the general oblique or instrumental case. As the former is in most instances formally identical with the direct case, the free alternation of prepositional and postpositional placement of *bina* may cause ambiguities in meaning, particularly in *ulaṭabãsī* verses: e.g. in the verse 182.2, quoted below, the phrase *rūpa bina nārī* can be interpreted either as "woman without (visible) form", or as "(female) beauty without woman".

The construction with verbs requires the use of perfective participle with endings that can be interpreted as instrumentals of verbal noun (see the examples in verses 129.7 and 256.2 below). The variant with long final *-ā* is exceptional (2 occurrences of *-binā* against 35 of *-bina*).

182.2 *bīja* bina *ãkūra pe*[*ḍa* bi]na *taravara,* bina *sāṣã taravara phaliyā; rūpa* bina *nārī, pahupa* bina *paramala,* bina *nīrai saravara bhariyā* "sprout without seed, tree without trunk: a tree without branch(es) bore fruit; woman without form, fragrance without flower; a lake filled up without any water [flowing in]"

271.0 *rãma* binā *royā* "without Rām he wept"

381.0 *rãma nãma sumirãṇa* bina *būḍata hai adhikāī* "without remembering Rām's name you (will) get bogged down even deeper/more"

123.1 *tumha jalanidhi mai jala kara mīnā, jala mahi rahãũ jalahi* bina *ṣīnā* "you are an ocean, I am a fish belonging in the water; I live in the water, without water I waste away"

429.0 bina *darasãni kyũ mana mãnaĩ morā* "without *darśan* how can my mind believe?"

129.7 bina *phūlyã phalyau ākāsa* "without blossoming the sky bore fruit"

256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū aisaĩ,* bina *kātẽ nistaribau kaisaĩ* "mother-in-law

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says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?"

16. -bāja

This word with alternative spelling *-bājha* is used – like *-binā* with which it is nearly synonymous – either as a preposition or postpositively. Its origin has been traced to the Persian *bāz*, or to the Sanskrit *varja* (Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 268; Sīha, *KKK*, p. 213). Sanskrit adjectives *varja* and *varjita*, both meaning "devoid of", "without", occur mostly at the end of compounds, *varjita* also as independent word with the instrumental case. This would agree with the construction *bāja piyālai* in the verse 185.8 where *piyālai* can be interpreted as old instrumental – similar construction is *bina nīrai* in the verse 182.2. quoted in the section 15 above. Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 11335, p. 660, and it. 9235, p. 521, suggests as a better source the OIA adjective *bāhya* "external" > Pkt. *bajjha*, etc. In Sanskrit this adjective governed the ablative case; it would account better for the NIA variant *-bājha*.

185.8 bāja *piyālai amrita soṣyā, nadī nīra bhari rāṣyā* "[I have] sucked/absorbed the nectar without [even taking] a cup: the river filled up with the liquid/water"

17. -barai

Single incidence of this postpositively used word in the whole corpus does not provide us with solid ground for a reconstruction of its etymology or historical development. To the present author the most plausible solution appears to understand it as a variant of the postposition *-badi* "in exchange of", "in place of", originally a transposed loc. sg. of the substantive *bad-* "turn", "return", "change", "exchange" (*HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3369 and 3373); the variant *bare* with this derivation has been noted by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 294. The ending *-ai* can perhaps be interpreted as resulting from contact of the final *-e* with the following exclusive emphatic particle *-ī*$_{14}$.

473.3 *yahu hīrā nrimolikā, kauḍī* barai *bīkā* "this priceless diamond [was] sold for a [mere] *kauṛī*!"

18. (-kai) -tā̃ī / -tāī

The origin of this postposition is obscure. Tessitori, *OWR*, §74(2), derives it from Apa. **tāũahi*, a locative of Skt. *tāvati*. From this hypothetical form he suggests further development into **tāa:ĩ* > **tāĩ̃* > *tā̃ī*, which in the Old Mārvāṛī (and also Braj: Varma, *LB*, §206, p. 100) acquired the meaning "up to",

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"till", "as far as" (corresponding to MSH postposition *-taka*). The postposition appears in local as well as temporal sense also in the language of Rājasthānī *vakīls* of the 18th century (Metzger, *Vakīlbriefe*, p. 51). Kellogg, *GHL*, §320, p. 196, mentions this postposition, used with pronominal genitives, as an equivalent of the accusative-dative postposition *-ko*. Meanings given by Hindī dictionaries include also *vāste* "for", "for the sake of", and *nimitta* "on account of" (*MHK*, vol. II, p. 527; Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. I, p. 539): these seem to fit better in the contexts supplied by the two verses quotable from the present corpus – MHK even quotes the verse 253.2 as an example of *-taĩ* in the sense *nimitta*, *lie*, *vāste*. Callewaert and Op de Beeck in their *NBhS-DHL,* II, p. 761, have recorded only two instances of this postposition in the whole Kabīrian corpus (Tivārī ed., 1961): one in the *pad* 11.1 (= 253.2 of the present ed.), and another in *sākhī* 6.12 (*dīnatā bīnatī kau ãga*). Here in the expression *kabīrā bicārā karai bīnatī bhausāgara kai tãī* the meaning of the postposition can be perhaps best understood as "concerning", "in respect of" (as translated into MSH by Gupta, *KG*, p. 137: *kabīra bhava-sāgara ke sambandha mẽ binatī kara rahā hai*).

In the verse 257.2 neither of these two different meanings fits well in the given context. Callewaert, *MKV*, p. 363-364, understands *patitāī* (so spelled in all manuscripts edited by him in that compendium) as single word, probably following the interpretation offered by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 230: *patitāī* is here explained as *māna gaī, pati banā liyā* and followed by quotation of the present verse as an exemplum. Suggested derivation from Sankrit *pratyaya* + *ānā* is the same as that given for the form *patiyāī*, regular perfective participle of the verb *patiyā-* "to believe". The problem that the verb *patitā-* is not attested by any dictionary of Hindī, Old or Modern, is compounded by the symbolic character of the whole *pad* which does not make the interpretation any easier.

The reading offered in the present edition – segmentation into two separate words – is not without problems either: if the meaning *-tāī* (here without the usual nasalization) is to be understood to mean "for (the sake of)", one should expect the construction with the postposition *-kī*, missing in the present case. The reading of the MSS and its subsequent interpretation therefore should be considered as uncertain.

The postposition *-tãī* was used in both meanings – "as far as", "up to", and "for (the sake of)", "concerning" – also by poets of the old Avadh. In Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* the distinction between these two senses is highlighted by consistent use of the genitive postposition *-kai /-kī* which precedes *-tãī* in cases where the meaning is "for (the sake of)", and its omission when the sense is "as far as", "up to"; e.g. *gavana āva dhani milana kai tãī* "the bride comes to

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the bridegroom's house in order to meet [him]" (*Padmāvat,* 52.05.5; cf. the identical construction in the verse 253.2 below), and *sevā karaũ jiyaũ jaba tāĩ̃* "I shall serve as long as I live" (*Padmāvat,* 25.12.5). Saksena, *EA*, §285, p. 227, 228, notes these two different meanings and exemplifies them with quotations from Nūr Muhammad and Jāyasī. He indicates his uncertainty about the derivation of *-tāĩ̃* from the OIA *sthāne* (following Beames, *CGMALI* II, §62, p. 298, and Kellogg, *GHL*, §195b., p. 131) by a question mark. Could this be a case of homonymy when two originally different, postpositively used words (one of them a noun) had merged into a single, phonetically identical form?

253.2 *kīyau sigāra milana kai* tā̃ī "I have adorned myself for the meeting"

257.2 *nā̃nā̃ rāgai bhā̃vari pherī, gā̃ṭhi jori bābai pati* tāī "the circumambulation of the matrimonial fire was performed in various ways, my father having joined the knot for the sake of (or perhaps: "in order to become") my husband/bridegroom" Cf. Gupta, *KG*, p. 280: *merī gā̃ṭha mere bābā* (*pitā*) *ne mujhe* [*mere*] *pati* [*ko dene*] *ke lie usase joṛī thī.*

19. -kī nāī

In the standard Braj bhāṣā this compound postposition with the meaning "like", "as", has nasalized variants *kī nāĩ̃* (Varma, *LB*, §205, p. 99) and *kī nā̃hī* (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.201, p. 193); its origin has been traced to OIA *nyāyena* (*ibid.*). It should not be confused with similar word *nā̃ī* "name" which may also occur in the construction with the obl. sg., but of masc. gender, as in *tere nā̃ī* "in/by your name" (as in the verse 280.0).

257.0 *gayau jobāna supinai* kī nāī "youth passed away like in a dream"

20. -bāra, -bera : *postpositive word* (*multiplicative*)

In Sanskrit the substantive *vāra-*, *m.* was used, *inter alia*, in the sense "(appointed or fixed) time", "(one's) turn" (Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 11547, p. 673), often with numerals to express how many times an action occurs (side by side with the regular multiplicative affix *-kṛtvā*). Examples quoted by *MW*, p. 943, col. 3, include *vārāṃs trīn*, *bhūribhir vāraiḥ*, *vāra-trayam*, *bahu-vāram*: *vāra-* could precede or follow the numeral or other word denoting quantity and as independent word took the regular case endings. The Hindī *tadbhava bāra* changed the gender into feminine, but retained the basic meaning "time", also in its derived function of denoting repeated action. It is used postpositively and does not change the number into plural as did its Sanskrit predecessor. The word preceding it should be understood as being in the obl. case – as in

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MSH where the obliquus can be observed in expressions like *isa bāra* "this time". When repeated as *bāra bāra* or as single word *bārābāra*, the meaning is adverbial "repeatedly", "time and again".

The postpositive word *-bera* (single occurence in the corpus of analysed texts) appears to be a variant spelling of *-bāra*, but is probably of different origin: both Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 12115, p. 702, and Gupta in his translation of *KG*, p. 212, derive it from OIA *velā* "time". In the verses 253.3 and 115.2 it occurs in construction with the postposition *-kī*; it can be interpreted as a noun in the oblique (locative) case, but here the expression *-kī bera* had probably already acquired a status of a compound postposition (cf. the similar construction *-kī nāī* in the preceding section). Syntactically and in its meaning the phrase *aba kī bera* is identical with the MSH *aba kī bāra* "this time".

440.4 *tīni* bāra *patiyārā līyā̃, mana kaṭhora ajahū̃ na patīnā̃* "three times the ordeal was set up, [but] even now the stubborn mind did not believe"

459.5 *prahilāda ubāryau aneka* bāra "Prahlāda was saved many times"

459.3 *mohi kahā ḍarāvai* bāra bāra "why do you frighten me time and again"

253.3 *aba kī* bera *milãna je pā̃u, kahi kabīra bhau jali nahī āū̃* "this time, if I am able to meet [Him] – Kabīr says: I shall not fall in the snare of this world [again]"

21. -kari$_2$, -kai$_2$: *postpositive word – adverbizer*

This postpositive formative developed by transposition of the absolutive of the verb *kar-* "to do"; as its development and functions are best understood in the wider context of verbal absolutives, it has been explained and illustrated with examples of use in the section 5.F.1.d (verbal absolutives *-i$_{11}$* / *-ī$_{13}$* in the chapter Verbs).

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CHAPTER FIVE

VERBS

Despite its limited size, the corpus of texts analysed in the present study has yielded a rich harvest of verbal forms, finite as well as infinite. Finite verbal forms are of synthetic, agglutinated, as well as analytic type. Synthetic forms had been inherited from the OIA and MIA stages of development: the so-called old present (with new modal functions), imperative, synthetic passive and future, and a large class of causal verbs whose basic derivational pattern came from the OIA, but in the NIA period developed into a complex system encompassing almost all verbal roots of the language. Agglutinative processes (noted also in the realm of nominal and pronominal inflection) were at work in building up the *g*-future; and analytic forms include the habitual present, analytic passive and also the modified verbal expressions (the so-called "compound verbs"). This richness of forms may be due partly to different stages of development of the language/dialects used in the compositon of the studied *pads*.

The observed heterogeneity makes the task of exact characterization of functions carried by particular forms difficult – for example, is there a difference in meaning between the h_2-future and s_3-future, i.e. are they to be looked upon as two elements with distinct functions within a single grammatic framework, or is their co-existence simply a product of the composite character of the linguistic material under study? In the case of these two forms of future tense, the latter alternative is more probable. On the other hand, the same can not be said about the relation between the synthetic and analytic passives: available evidence suggests that the analytic passive, used almost exclusively in negative contexts, has always modal, abilitative meanings, whereas synthetic forms cover much wider area – from the simple passive indicative to abilitative, deontic and exhortative senses.

In such heterogeneous context, and with a relatively small sample, it would be too ambitious to form definite conclusions about e.g. the status of verbal aspect of particular finite or infinite forms. At this place only few general observations must suffice. It seems that in the past tense, formed most often by the simple participle in the predicative position, the aspect is to be understood as explicitly unmarked. The participle itself is a descendant of the OIA past participle in *-ta* and *-na* and as an adjective presents the action denoted by the root of a transitive verb as happened, passed, endured,

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as a state. The traditional designation of this participle as "perfective" may reflect this feature; it has been retained although in the majority of instances recorded in the present texts the concrete participial forms, when used as predicates, could be interpreted as aspectually neutral. Explicit perfectivity carried by the so-called modified verbal expressions appears to be limited to contexts where the speaker may have felt, in the first place, the need for a greater semantic specification: e.g. *būḍi mūvo* "died by drowning", "drowned and died" (363.2); *hvai baiṭhe* "became (inappropriately, impudently)" (145.3); *bahi āyā* "flowed in" (20.2); perfectivity comes to the fore in expressions like *dīyā calāī* "set in motion" (256.1), where using the unmodified *calāyā* would mean simply "turned", "grinded" with the beginning of the action unexpressed; similarly *soi gaye haĩ* "have fallen asleep" (94.2, an example of analytic perfect tense) cannot be substituted by the simple *soye* with the meaning "they slept".

The modified verbal expressions appear to be slightly more frequent in the present and particularly in the imperative (where they may carry an additional emphasis). In both we meet more often the modifying (or "vector") verb *jā-*. It is not without interest that it shares, in the available examples at least, certain semantic affinity with verbal roots it combines with – perhaps a sign that *jā-* had not yet been entirely divested of its semantic content in the process of developing into a general marker of perfectivity.

The so-called imperfective participle (t_3-participle) occurs in the position of predicate much less often than the perfective; the only recorded examples are with the auxiliary verb in the present tense in contexts where the combination of participle + auxiliary can be interpreted as carrying habitual meaning. Unmarked for perfectivity, the t_3-participle appears to be marked for habituality.

A. Verbs "to be", "to become"

The language of the analysed Rājasthānī manuscript uses several different verbs to express the meaning "to be (here/there)", to exist", and "to become". A closer look will show that the main distinction between the two basic meanings "to be" (static), and "to become" (dynamic) has its correlate on the lexical plane. The dominant lexical unit conveying the sense of static "being" is the verb h_1- with the attested forms of the present tense:

sg. 1.	*hũ̃*	pl. 1.	-
sg. 2.	*hai*	pl. 2.	*haĩ̃u*, *hau*
sg. 3.	*hai*	pl. 3.	*haĩ*

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The verb *h_1-* is defective and for the past tense (preterite) the base *th_1-* is used. *h_1-* (and also the rare form of the 3rd sg. *āhi*) has its origin in the OIA verb √*as-*, *asti* / **asati* "to be", *th_1-* in the OIA verb √*sthā-* or √*stabh-* (or possibly both). *h_1-* may stand as main verb, copula, or auxiliary. *th_1-* is attested, in the present corpus, as copula. Similar in meaning is the verb *ach-* "to be", "to exist", "to be alive" (etymology unclear, isolated case in the present corpus).

Another verb expressing the concept of being is represented by the basic forms *bha-*, *$hu̯_2$-*, *$hū_1$-*, *ho_1-* and *hv-*, all derived in the last instance from the OIA root √*bhū-*, *bhavati*. Verbal forms derived from them also may have the sense "to be", but more often they correspond to the English verb "to become", those formed from *ho_1-* frequently carrying an additional modal meaning (abilitative modality, real condition, contingent future). Among finite verbal forms the 3rd pers. sg. and 3rd pers. pl. predominate. Non-finite forms include imperfective and perfective participles, absolutives and a verbal adjective. Some forms are homonymous (notably absolutives and the 3rd pers. pres. forms *hoi* and *hvai*). This verb does not occur in the function of an auxiliary.

1. *Verb "to be"* : ach-, āh-, th_1-, h_1-

ach-	to be, to exist, to be alive	F *-a_2-*
āh-	to be	F *-i_9*
th_1-	preterite of h_1-	F *-$ā_{11}$, -au_4*
h_1-	to be, to exist	F *-0_2-, -$ũ̯_3$-, -ai_{13}, -ai_{12}, -$aĩ̯_8$, -$aũ̯_5$, -au_5*

1.a. achata *as imperfective adverbial participle*

This verb, particularly important in the eastern NIA languages, has no easily identifiable predecessor in the OIA period. Candidates include the Skt. verbal roots √*as-* "to be", √*ās-* "to sit", or √*ṛ-* in the sense "to get (somewhere)" (Pischel, *GPS*, §480, p. 340), √*akṣ-* "to appear" (Beames, *CGMALI*, III, §63, p. 183). Chatterji, *ODBL*, II, §766, p. 1035-1037, rejects all these derivations and suggests as the initial OIA form, the hypothetic verbal root **√acch-/āch-/ch-*, not preserved in Vedic or classical Sanskrit, but derivable from the IE root **√es-*, **eseti*, **esketi* (with the IE verbal theme *-ske-/-sko-*). Whatever the correct explanation may be, already in the MIA we meet with the full conjugation of the verb *acchati* (Pischel, *ibid.*), and in the NIA period mainly in Bengālī, Uṛiyā and several Eastern Hindī dialects. In the medieval Hindī literature it is found in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* (*āchai*, *āchahi*), and also in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa* where we can find seven instances of the same adverbial form that occurs in Kabīr's verse, as quoted below. E.g.:

Rm. I.273.3: *sujasu tumhārā tumhahi* achata *ko baranai pārā* "so long as you live who else can extol your bright glory?"

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Rm. II.1: *āpa* achata *jubarājā pada rāmahi deu naresa* "thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Rām, O king!" (transl. by Beames)
Rm. II.3.2: *mohi* achata *yahu hoi uchāhū* "let this happy event take place during my life-time"
Rm. II.273: achata *rāma rājā avadha maria* "may we die in Ayodhyā while Rāma is our king".

The verb *ach-* is not mentioned by Varma in his description of Braj bhāṣā, but is briefly treated by Tessitori, *OWR*, §114. In Old Mārvāṛī the initial *a-* is frequently dropped, so that the verbal forms have the variants 2nd and 3rd sg. *acha:i* and *cha:i*, etc. The present participle is quoted as *chata:u*, genetically related to the form found in Kabīr's *pad* quoted below, which, however, still appears to be a clear eastern import. In the present corpus there is single occurrence of *ach-*:

473.3 *jīva* achata *jobana gayau, kachū kīyā na nīkā* "while the life lasts/ / goes on, youth is gone, [and I have] not done anything good"

1.b. āhi *as 3rd pers. sg. pres.*

This appears to be a regional variant of the much more frequent form *hai* (see under its heading for a discussion of its etymology and meanings). Hoernle, *CGGL*, §514, p. 363, identifies it simply as Old Hindī, Kellogg, *GHL*, Tab. XVIII, as Old Baisvāṛī. A search in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* yields more than thirty occurrences of *āhi*; whereas, Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, strangely, has none. But there are variants of this in the *Mānasa* – *aha:i*, *ahai*, and *āhī*, as e.g. in I.219.4: *apara deu asa kou na āhī* "there is no other god [like him]". Varma, *LB*, §225, p. 114, mentions only the form *āhĩ* as appearing "exceptionnellement chez certains auteurs". In the Hindī edition of his *Brajabhāṣā vyākaraṇa*, p. 89, however, he elaborates a little more, stating that the forms *ahai*, *āhi* and *āhī* sometimes occur in the Braja bhāṣā of eastern authors. Kellogg, *GHL*, §467, p. 280, in his treatment of the Braj substantive verb mentions only in passing a single occurrence of *āhi* in the *Premasāgara*, commenting that it "properly belongs to E. Hindī". McGregor, *LIO*, §3.113, p. 163, on the other hand, reports seven instances of *āhi* (six times as 3rd pers. sg., once as 3rd pers. pl.) in the text analysed by him. To him, the context suggests that "*āhi* may occur at points of heightened interest, with a slightly greater degree of emphasis than the vastly more common, unemphatic *hai*".

The sole quotable example from the present corpus of Kabīr's *pads* does not allow us to draw any definitive conclusion concerning the possible specific shade of meaning of this verb. Despite its higher frequency in the LIO text there is probably no reason to doubt its eastern provenance. It is not found in Tessitori's OWR.

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In contrast to a single occurrence of *āhi*, the analysed *pads* yielded 24 occurrences of the negative forms *nãhĩ* and *nãhi*; from this total only five incidences can be interpreted as variants of the negative particle *nahĩ*, and nineteen carry the meaning "is not" or "are not". Apparently the forms with the long nasalized medial vowel resulted from merging of the negative particle *na* with the 3rd pers. pres. of the verb *āhi* – the above quotation from Tulsī still shows them as two separate words (see also Saksena, *EA*, §370, p. 309; Kellogg, *GHL*, §472, p. 281; Hoernle, *CGGL*, §514, p. 364). Overt similarity with the emphatic negative particle *nahĩ*, and in many cases probably also considerations of the rhythmical structure of the verse, led to relatively frequent interchange of both forms: from 54 occurences of the forms with the short medial vowel *nahĩ* / *nahī*, 45 are negative particles and 9 have to be interpreted as negative verbal forms "is not" or "are not". The extended negative verbal form *nãhina* (or its variants *nahĩna*, *nāhĩna*, *nāhina*) are attested in Old Braj and Old Avadhī (Varma, *LB*, §244, p. 124; Saksena, *EA*, §367, p. 307).

114.4 *kahai kabīra yahu kahiye kāhi, sādha sãgati baikũṭha hi* āhi "Kabīr says: to whom should (or: "can") this be told (i.e., "to whom it makes sense to explain") – the company of saints is the true paradise" (or *baikũṭhahi* as obl. sg. m.: "in the company of saints [one] is in the paradise")

negative verbal form:

285.4 *alā pāka tũ nãpāka kyũ, aba dūsara* nãhĩ *koi* "Allāh is clean, [so] how [could] you [be] unclean? Now / in this respect, nobody is different" (or: "in fact, [there is] nobody different/other [than Him]")

188.1 *taravara eka anāta mūrati, surttā lehu pramãṇī; sāṣā peḍa phūla* nãhī, *tākī ãmrita bãṇī* "[there is] a tree [whose] form [is] infinite; attentive (or: "with [your] mind concentrated") take the proof [of its existence]; there are no branches (or: "there is no branch"), no trunk, no blossom; [only] its immortal speech/sound"

129.3 *koṭi kalapa jīvana vṛthā, jā kau* nãhina *hari syũ heta* "life of myriad *kalpas* is in vain [for him] who does not love Hari" (lit.: "whose is not love of Hari")

emphatic negative particle instead of verbal form:

256.3 *kahai kabīra sūta bhala kātā, rahãṭau* nahī *parãma pada dātā* "Kabīr says: [the spinner has] spinned the thread well, [but] the spinning wheel is not the giver of the ultimate state [of being]"

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1.c. th_1- + -$ā_{11}$/-au_4 : *preterite of* h_1- *"to be"*
OIA √*sthā*- > MIA *thā* / *ṭhā* : Hoernle, *CGGL*, §514, p. 366-367; Kellogg, *GHL*, §606.3, p. 348; on the other hand, Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §430, p. 480, and §769, p. 1042, referring to a hypothesis of Hoernle (which the present author was unable to locate in Hoernle's main opus), suggests as starting point ("certainly the true derivation") the OIA root √*stabh*-, as extended by the nominal OIA affix *-a-ka* or *-kṛ̊ta*, merging later in MIA into general form *-akka*. The derivation would be: OIA **stabhaka* / **stabhakṛ̊ta* > MIA *thaka* / *thāka* > NIA *thā*. He notes, however, that the OIA √*sthā*- may have merged into it.

The forms *thā* and *thau*, the only ones occurring in the texts analysed here (the feminine ending is extremely rare, in the MS 3190 found only in a single *sākhī* 36, *biraha kau āga*, fol. 257b: *kabīra birahāṇi thī tau kyũ rahī*) have been segmented in the stem *th_1*-, and nominal endings -*$ā_{11}$* and -*au_4*, identical with those used in the *g*-future (for their more detailed treatment, see the section 5.C.1). The *pad* 172 in which the form *thãũ* occurs is written by a different hand and is probably a later addition.

In Kabīr's *pads thā* serves as copula with an adjectival predicate complement; in 129.5 it fills the position of auxiliary verb. In all quotable instances the meaning is static "was" or "were", corresponding with the basic sense of both OIA roots posited as the hypothetic sources of the NIA forms.

8.0 *gura prasādi akali bhaī to kũ, nahĩ tara* thā *begãnã̃* "by the grace of Guru you have been endowed with reason; if not, then [you] were an alien [here]"

129.5 *hũ̃ṇā* thā *so hoi rahyā, mānahĩ na kījai āsa* "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]; one should not entertain [false] hope(s) [in one's] mind"

315.1 *ubhara* thā *te sūbhara bhariyā, trisnā gāgari phūṭī* "what was empty, that was filled [so as to be] full to the brim (or: "was filled with a clear/radiant [substance]", if *sūbhara* < OIA *śubhra*); the jug of thirst burst"

315.4 *je* thā *sacala acala hvai thāke karate bāda bibādã* "what was changeable/fickle, that has become changeless/steady by becoming weary due to [constant] engagements in disputes and quarrels"

172.0 *dharanī akāsa doũ nahī hote, taba yaha nãda kahã̃* thãũ "[when] there was neither earth nor sky, where was this Nanda then?" (for the nasalized ending in *thãũ*, see the note under the *pad* in question)

1.d. h_1- *"to be"*
OIA √*as*-, *asti*, **asati* > MIA √*ah*- > OH *ahahi, ahai*, *hai*: Beames, *CGMALI* III, §59, p. 172-174, and, later, Kellogg, *GHL*, §606, p. 347-348. Hoernle,

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CGGL, §514, p. 364, on the other hand, points out that neither the change of *-s-* into *-h-* nor the change of verbal class fom II. to VI. is noted by Prākrit grammarians. He derives these forms from the root *bhū-*: OIA *bhavati* > MIA *hava:i* > NIA, Mārvāṛī *hvai* > H. *hai*. Moreover, according to him, the MIA root *hava* might become *ahva* by transposition, and then *āha* by a compensatory lengthening of the initial vowel for the elided *-v-*. Thus, MIA *hava:i* / **ahva:i* > Baisvāṛī *ahai*, Marāṭhī *āhe*, etc. The Apabhraṃśa 3rd pl. *bhaṃti*, *haṃti* "would regularly become *haĩ* in W[estern] H[indī]." Chatterji, *ODBL II*, §767, p. 1038-1040, generally agrees with the position of Beames and Kellogg subjecting both √*ah-*/ √*ha-* and √*hō-* verbal forms to a more detailed analysis.

One should be particularly careful to identify and interpret correctly the form of the 1st pers. sg. The 1st pers. sg. *hũ* is homonymous with the dir. case of the personal pronoun of the 1st person current in OWR and also in several dialects of the Braj (Tessitori, *OWR*, §83; Varma, *LB*, §157, p. 70). An example quotable from the present corpus occurs in the verse 477.1: *tũ merī purīṣā hũ terī nārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife". Here *hũ* standing in opposition to 2nd pers. sg. pronoun *tũ* "you", "thou" is to be understood as "I", i.e. pronominal form (equivalent to the more common *maĩ* / *mai*) rather than 1st pers. sg. pres. of the verb h_1-.

In Kabīr's *pads* the meaning of this form is "to be" in the sense "to be there", "to exist"; it often stands as a predicate verb with adjectives or pronouns expressing or asking about a stable quality, property etc., or may predicate the existence of entities denoted by substantives; it is not used to express becoming or a change of one state into another). With participles it occurs as auxiliary verb in forming habitual present tense (as in 145.3 quoted below) and present perfect tense (as in the verse 1.1).

In the verse 398.2 in the form *kaṭai hai*, the verb h_1- can be interpreted as auxiliary combined with the simple present tense described in grammars as Rājasthānī periphrastic, compound or definite present (Tessitori, *OWR*, §118; Grierson, *LSI*, IX.2., p. 13 and 48, Mevāṭī; Kellogg, *GHL*, §490a, p. 291; Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe*, p. 101-102: "Imperfektives Präsens"), occurring as a borrowing also in the Braj bhāṣā (Grierson, *LSI*, IX.1, p. 81; Varma, *LB*, §234, p. 119). All examples given by Tessitori, and also those supplied by Kellogg and Metzger characterize this form as denoting an actual or momentaneous present; although the form *kaṭai hai* in the context of the verse 398.2 can be understood in this way, more probable identification of *kaṭai* seems to be the perfective participle followed by auxiliary with the meaning "the chains are broken" (in the MSH translation of Gupta, *KG*, p.350: *zãjīrẽ kaṭī huī haĩ*; the evidence of variant forms in other MSS is not unambiguous – see the footnote below the text of the respective *pad*).

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hũ as 1st pers. sg. pres.:

440.1 *bhāgau hastī cīsã̃ mārī, vā mūrati kī* hũ *balihārī* "the elephant, trumpeting, had run away; to this image [of God] I volunteer to sacrifice myself" (lit.: "I am [coming for] self-sacrifice")

76.0 *maĩ̃ sabanana maĩ̃ ara maĩ̃ na* hũ *saba* "I [am present] in all, and I am not [this] all"

hai as 2nd pers. sg. pres. – auxiliary:

381.0 *rãma sumiri bhāī; rãma nãma sumiraṇa bina,* būḍata hai *adhikāī* "remember Rām, o brother; without remembering Rām's name you (will) get bogged down even deeper" (or: "you will sink very deep"; in the present context the form *būḍata hai* can be understood also as 3rd pers. sg.: "gets bogged down", " sinks" etc. and *adhikāī* as dir. sg. f., *-āī-* + *-0*$_4$: "without remembering Rām's name plenty [of people] get drowned")

hai as 3rd pers. sg. pres. – main verb, copula:

114.2 *jaba laga* hai *baikũṭha kī āsā, taba laga nahĩ̃ hari ke carāṇa nivāsā* "so long as there is a hope/longing for paradise, there is no resting/dwelling at Hari's feet"

178.0 hai *koī sāta sahaji suṣa upajai* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*?"

127.2 *yahu sãsāra sakala* hai *mailā, rãma kahaĩ̃ te sūcā* "this whole world is dirty; clean are those [who] say [the name of] Rām"

129.4 *sãpati deṣi na hariṣiyẽ, bipati deṣi na roi; jyũ̃ sãpati tyũ̃ bipati* hai*, karatā karai sa hoi* "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing/experiencing calamity, do not weep; just as [there is the state of] prosperity, so there is [also] calamity; [what] the Creator ordains, that happens / will happen" (note the difference in use of the present *hai*, expressing *being* on the one hand, and *hoi*, denoting *becoming*, *happening* and possibly contingent future, on the other)

hai as 3rd pers. sg. pres. – auxiliary:

148.0 *hai harijana syũ̃ jagata* larata hai*, phunigā kaisaĩ̃ garara* bhaṣata hai "hey, the world fights with Hari's devotee! [But] how can the snake devour Garuda?"

1.1 *rãma deva more pahũnẽ* āye hai "the God Rām has come as my bridegroom"

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398.1 *bā̃dhi jājīra jala* bore hai *kabīrā* "tied by chain, Kabīr is plunged into water"

hā̃u / hau as 2nd pers. pl. pres. – auxiliary:

145.3 *beda* paḍhata *ara jīva* badhata hā̃u "you read Vedas and kill animals"
47.1 *je mere jiya doi* jā̃nata hau, *tau mohi mũkti batāvo* "if you know my soul [and yourself] as two [separate entities], then tell me [the way of] liberation"

hā̃ī as 3rd pers. pl. pres. ("to be" as "to be there", "to exist"):

129.7 *jā kai rūpa na reṣa* hā̃ī "[that] which has no form, no contour" (lit.: "in which there are neither form, nor contour")

hā̃ī as 3rd pers. pl. pres. – auxiliary:

325.1 *karāma basi yahu jīva* kahata hā̃ī "they say that this *jīva*/soul is in the grasp of *karman*"
114.0 *saba loga* kahata hā̃ī "all people say"
398.2 *jala kī tarā̃ga uṭhi* kaṭai hā̃ī *jājīra, hari sumira taṭi* baiṭhe hā̃ī *kabīra* "raised (lit. "having risen") by the wave of water, the chains are broken; remembering Hari, Kabīr sits on the river-bank" (lit.: "Kabīr are seated")
1.3 *kahai kabīra hama* byāhi cale hā̃ī, *puriṣa eka abināsī* "Kabīr says: the One eternal bridegroom has come (lit.: "have come") to take me as his bride"
23.2 *bairī ulaṭi* bhaye hā̃ī *mi̇̃tā* "having turned around, the foes have become friends"
94.2 *pā̃ca paharavā* soi gayẽ hā̃ī "five watchmen have fallen asleep"

hau as perfective participle – auxiliary:

Past participle of the verb h_1- (here equivalent with preterite *thā*), used as an auxiliary in forming the pluperfect tense together with the past participle *kīnhā̃*. For the form *ho* as past form, see e.g. Kellogg, *GHL*, p. 280, §467 (Braj), §469 ("Rajputana dialects") and Table XVIII; *hau* as a variant is attested by dictionaries: *HŚS*, vol. 11, p. 5566 (*ho*, p. 5560); Lālasa, *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 931 (where it has been described as adjective – *viśeṣana*).

440.3 *kahā aparādha sāta* hau kīnhā̃, *bādhi poṭa kũjara kũ dīnhā̃* "what crime had been commited by the saint, [that], bound into a bundle, [he was] given to (i.e. thrown in front of) an elephant?"

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2. *Verb "to become", "to be"*: ho_1- / hv- / $h\tilde{u}_2$- / $h\bar{u}_1$- , bha-

ho_1-	F -i_9 , -i_{11}, -$\bar{i}_{10}$, -$\bar{i}_{11}$, -t_3-, -v_3-, -hu_3
hv-	F -$a\tilde{i}hi$, -ai_{13}, -ai_{14}, -ai_{16}
$h\tilde{u}_2$-	F -n_3-, -hi_3
$h\bar{u}_1$-	F -0_2- (in: *hūvā*)
bha-	F -0_2-

2.a. hoi *as 3rd pers. sg. pres.*

OIA √*bhū-*, *bhavati* > MIA *hava:i*, *hoi* > NIA *hoi* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §514, p. 362); Beames, *CGMALI* III, §66, p. 197, notes that "owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of "I am" etc. from *as*, the tense derived from *ho* is more usually employed to mean "I may be"; on the 3rd pers. he says: "Also occasionally **होइ** in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for **होए** (**हूए**)." *Ibid.*, p. 200; "To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the medieval poets **होइह**, **होइहि**, **होहि**, and **होई** are the forms of the ordinary regular future; **होगा** is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. [...] In the majority of the poets the forms *hvai* and *hoi* seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre." *Ibid.*, p. 201. Tessitori, *OWR*, §113, notes as general form *hui*, and also *hoi*, poetical form *hoya*, old Prākrit forms *hava:i*, *huva:i* which survive in Mārvāṛī *huvai* and *vhai*. Significantly, he adds that "this verb generally admits of the substantive meaning only, except for the participial forms, which are also capable of being employed in the auxiliary function."

In our texts *hoi* is never used as auxiliary. Most often it expresses condition or assumption in the present or contingent future. The meaning is either "to become", or "to be" used as main verb or copula.

real condition:

95.4 *ādhā ghaṭa ḍolai, bharyā* hoi *tau muṣa̐ na bolai* "half[-empty] vessel/mind wobbles; if it is filled, it does not talk in vain / with its mouth" (*muṣā* either from *mr̥ṣā* = in vain, or *mukhā* = with [its] mouth).

187.2 *gāvanahārā kai rūpa na reṣā, satagura* hoi *laṣāvai* "the singer has no form, no mark; who is (or: "if one is") the *sadguru*, he will/can explain it"

182.4 *dīpaka bina joti, joti bina dīpaka, hada bina anāhada sabda bāgā; cetanā* hoi *su ceti līyau* "lamp without flame, flame without lamp; without limits, the sound of *anāhata* resounded; [if] there is comprehension, let this be comprehended" (or *līyau* as optative of active voice: "let him comprehend [it]")

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unreal assumption:

138.1 *nāgaĩ phiryā̃ joga je* hoī*, bana kā mrigha mukti gayā koī* "if the [goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?"

138.2 *mũḍa muḍāiyaĩ jau sidhi* hoī*, srãgaĩ bheḍa na pahutī koī* "if the final goal is [achieved] by having one's head shaved, [then why] has no sheep got into the paradise?"

406.1 *jala kai majani jau gati* hoī*, tau mı̃nā̃ nita nhāvai* "if the final deliverance is [achieved] by (ritual) bathing in water, then [surely,] the fish perform the bath continuously"

contingent future:

363.1 *je jārāĩ tau* hoi *bhasma tana, rahāĩ krima jala ṣāī* "if they cremate [them], then the body becomes / turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worms and water eat [them]"

281.2 *rojā karāĩ nivāja gujārāĩ, kalamāĩ bhisti na* hoī "by fasting, by performing *namāz*, by [reciting] *kalima*, paradise is not [attained]"

129.4 *karatā karai sa* hoi "[what] the Creator ordains, that happens / will happen"

325.3 *kahai kabīra rā̃ma na mana chāḍū̃, sahajaĩ* hoi *su* hoī "Kabīr says: I shall not forsake Rām in my mind; [after all, what] arises in the state of *sahaja*, that is Him"

315.3 *je bahu rūpa kīyā te kīyā, aba bahurūpa na* hoī "the many forms/roles that were assumed [by me], they were assumed; now he who would take [these] many forms/roles is not here [anymore]" (or: "what various parts were played, [well,] they were [all] acted out; now the actor – *bahurūpa* – will not appear [anymore]")

2.b. hvai *as 3rd pers. sg. pres.*

281.3 *āpā jā̃ni aura kū̃ jānāĩ, tau* hvai *bhisti nijī kī* "knowing / having known oneself, one knows others; [that] then becomes / will become one's own paradise"

2.c. hovai *as 3rd pers. sg. pres.*

444.1 *ṣasama marai yahu nāri na rovai, usa raṣavālā aurai* hovai "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep; somebody else becomes her protector"

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2.d. hvai *as 3rd pers. pl. pres.* (*?*)

236.3 *kahai kabīra chāḍi gaye bichure* hvai *sāthī* "Kabīr says: [my] companions have left [me alone], [they] are left behind" (*hvai* as 3rd pers. pl. pres., according to Kellogg, *GHL*, Tab. XIX; the interpretation of *bichure hvai* as *vicyuta* [*hue*] *haĩ̃* where *hvai* is understood as finite verbal form, copula to predicate complement *bichure*, is alternative explanation to taking *hvai* as an absolutive – *vicyuta hokara*)

2.e. hữhi *and* hvaĩ̃hi *as 3rd pers. pl. pres.*

In several Rājasthānī MSS edited in MKV the form *hvaĩ̃hi* of 145.2 has the variant *hữhi*, and Tivārī, *KG*, p. 111, gives as another *varia lectio*, extant in Dādūpanthī and Nirañjanī MSS, *hohĩ̃*. This latter form corresponds with 3rd pers. pl. of an alternative set of present tense forms in Braj bhāṣā. Describing them in his *LB*, §225, p. 114, Varma remarks that they "se rencontrent également avec le sens du subjonctif présent". Kellogg, *GHL*, Table XIX. – Dialectic conjugation of *honā* "to be", classifies the form *hohĩ̃* as 3rd pl. of the contingent future occurring in texts written in Old Baisvāṛī.

Gupta, *KG*, p. 169, in his MSH translation of the *pad* 145.2 translates the expression *suphala hữhi* as *saphala ho sakate haĩ̃*, indicating the modal force of this form.

285.3 *darogã̃ bako baki* hữhi *ṣusiyã̃, beakali bakahi puvã̃hĩ̃* "liars are pleased prattling nonsense, foolish [people just] babble and boast"

145.2 *jã̃maṇa marãṇa taĩ̃ tau tữ chūṭai, suphala* hvaĩ̃hi *saba kã̃mã̃* "then (if) you free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying, all [your] undertakings are / will be successful"

2.f. hvaigā *as 3rd pers. sg. fut.*

102.3 *eka dina* hvaigā *hvāla hamārā* "one day [this] will be our state [too]"

2.g. hohu *as 2nd pers. pl. imper.*

127.1 hohu *nisãka mãgana hoi nācau* "be fearless, be engrossed in dance!" (lit.: "being engrossed, dance!")

2.h. hota, hote, hotī *as imperfective participle*

For etymology, see the section 5.E.1 describing the morph -t_3-. In contrast to imperfective participles of other verbs, the corresponding (relatively infrequent) forms of the verb ho_1- do not occur with auxiliaries, and if met without them, they do not appear to convey the sense of the conditional, but rather that of duration in a more distant past. In 257.3 the participle is used adverbially.

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249.2 *pūraba janama hãma bãbhana* hote*, vocha janama tapa kīnhã̃* "in my previous birth I was a *brāhmaṇa*/*bābhan*; [being] of inferior birth, I performed *tapas*"

23.1 *tana mãī* hotī *koṭi upādhi, ulaṭi bhaī suṣa sahaja samādhi* "there was a myriad of disturbances in the body; it turned into bliss in spontaneous *samādhi*"

257.3 *āpanau puriṣa mũṣa kabahũ̃ na deṣyau, satī* hota *sãmajhī samājhāī* "[I have] never seen the face of [my] own husband; during *satī* I understood, having been instructed"

2.i. hūvā *as perfective participle*

Tessitori, *OWR*, §113, derives this form from OIA √*bhū*-, past part. *bhūtakaḥ*; he does not quote any form with the intervocalic glide *-v-*, but several others with *-y-*: *hūya:u*, *huya:u*, apart from shorter *hūa:u*, *huā* etc.)

23.5 *aba mãna ulaṭi sanātana* hūvā "now the mind having turned around became eternal"

2.j. bhayau / bhayā*,* bhaye*,* bhaī *as perfective participle*

According to Beames, *CGMALI* III, §66, p. 194-195, OIA √*bhū*-, past participle *bhūta*, **bhavita* > MIA **bhavio* > OH *bhayo*, etc. Concerning the use of this form, Hoernle, *CGGL*, §513, Note 2, p. 361, points out: "The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होब् *to be* is never used as mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning "he became", and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action ... The corresponding Gḍ. forms are: W. H. भयौ (aux. थौ), [...]" . Varma, *LB*, §231, p. 117, notes that in Old Braj these alternative forms of the past participle (besides *hō* / *hao*, *hutõ* / *hutao*, not represented in our corpus) are employed also as preterits with the sense "to become". Examples from Kabīr's *pads* given below corroborate this observation.

As far as the texts of the present corpus are concerned, in the great majority of instances the perfective participle *bhayā* occurs in the role of the predicate. In the verse 23.2 the participle is used with plural ending (*bhaye*), again in predicative position. In contrast, verse 224.2 shows it as adjectival postpositive formative strengthening the preceding adjective, the *tatsama* perfective participle *udita* "arisen", "emerged" (cf. the equivalent MSH expressions *āyā huā*, *nikalā huā*, *paidā huā*, etc.). The exact meaning of this verse appears to have caused some problems to modern interpreters. M. P. Gupta in his translation has understood the form *huā* as predicate; this has led him to invent a new subject, the word *jagat* "world" which is however not supported by the original text: *bhānu ke prakaṭa hone para* [*jagat*] *udita* (*prakāśita*) *huā aura andhakāra kṣīṇa ho gayā.* (Gupta, *KG*, p. 154.) In his edition of KG,

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P. N. Tivārī has chosen a different variant of this verse and has relegated the present one to a footnote, adding question mark to it.

268.1 *tīsa barasa kai rā̃ma na jā̃nyau, phiri pachitānau biratha* bhayau *re* "for thirty years he did not know Rām, then feeling remorse was in vain"

315.4 *kahai kabīra maĩ̯ pūrā pāyā,* bhayā *rā̃ma parasādā̃* "Kabīr says: I attained the full/fullness [of being], [when] came Rām's grace"

23.2 *bairī ulaṭi* bhaye *haĩ̯ mĩ̯tā, sāṣata ulaṭi sajana* bhaye *cĩ̯tā* "having turned, the foes have become friends, having turned, the *Śāktas* became relatives in [my] mind"

224.2 *bhā̃ṇa kai pragaṭaĩ̯ udita* bhayā *tama sīṇā* "after the sun appeared, the darkness that had come [with the storm] dwindled away"

2.k. hoi *as absolutive*

127.1 *hohu nisā̃ka mā̃gana* hoi *nācau* "be fearless, be engrossed in dance!" (lit.: "being engrossed, dance!")

2.l. hvai *as absolutive*

47.1 *je mere jiya doi jā̃nata hau, tau mohi mū̃kti batāvo; ekameka* hvai *rahyā sabani maĩ̯, tau kāhe bhramāvo* "if you know my soul [and yourself] as two, then tell me [the way of] liberation; [if you] dwell as single one in all [creatures], then why do you lead [me] astray?" (note the form *hau*, 2nd pl. pres. of the verb h_1- "to be" used as auxiliary, and *hvai*, absolutive of ho_1-, "to become" in modified verbal expression)

145.3 *āpaṇa tau munijana* hvai *baiṭhe, kā syū̃ kahū̃ kasāī* "now, you yourself have become (a self-appointed) sage, [so] whom shall/should I call a butcher?" (MSH equivalent *ho baiṭhe*, modified verbal expression conveying the sense of undesirable activity, usurpation etc. here gives better sense than the plain *baiṭhe ho*; apart from that, the use of the verb ho_1-/*hv*- as auxiliary would be highly unusual)

315.4 *je thā sacala acala* hvai *thāke karate bāda bibādā̃* "what was changeable/fickle, [all these thoughts and impulses] now having become changeless/steady, have become weary while engaging in disputes and quarrels" (cf. Gupta, *KG*, p. 314: *acala ho kara thaka rahe haĩ̯*; the form *thāke*, however, can be interpreted also as adverbial participle and *hvai* as 3rd pers. pres. predicate)

182.3 *sūrā hoi su parā̃ma pada pāvai, kīṭa patā̃ga* hvai *sabai jariyā* "he who is/becomes a hero (or: "the Sun"), attains the supreme state; having become worms or moths, all [others] burnt away"

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2.m. hũ̃ṇā *as verbal adjective*
hũ̃ṇā is an isolated occurrence of the deriver of the verbal adjectives of necessity *-ṇ₃-* (variants: *hoinā* in J146.3, and *hvainā* in C75.3); identical formation is current in MSH. All other quotable instances are verbal nouns of action (see in the section "*-ṇ₁-* / *-n₁-* verbal substantive" below). It is significant that this isolated gerundival, adjectival meaning is formally expressed by the extended form in *-ā*; nouns have more often the final vowel short (for details, see the section 1.A.3.a). This would correspond to the state noticed by Smith, *VR*, p. 43, in the language of *Vīsaladevarāsa*: unextended forms in *-ṇa* occur as infinitives; whereas, the extended form *-ṇau* is gerundival and adjectival. In the present corpus the gerundival meaning is mostly supplied by passives in *-i̇₃-* / *-ī₃-* or *-ījj-* (for copious examples, see the section 5.D.1 and 2).

129.5 hũ̃ṇā *thā so hoi rahyā, mãnahĩ na kījai āsa* "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]; one should not entertain [false] hope(s) [in one's] mind"

B. Endings of finite forms

1. Simple present tense

The origin of the forms of the present indicative (which gradually take over the functions of subjunctive) can be traced to the active forms of the OIA present indicative. The MIA period saw a gradual disappearance of the clearly defined OIA system of ten present verbal classes, which were all reduced to thematic stems. Medium and often also passive verbs took active endings. The dual was lost entirely. Apabhraṃśa, the direct predecessor of the oldest stage of the NIA languages, continued the process of further phonological and morphological simplification which had been clearly evident as early as in the period of the literary Prakrits. However, not all extant forms of the Apabhraṃśa present tense can be explained as direct descendants of older OIA and MIA forms. As will emerge from the discussion of the origin of individual endings below, the explanation of their formation has to take into account processes of possible agglutination of pronominal forms (in the attempt to explain the origin of endings of the 1st pers. sg. and pl., and also in the 3rd pers. pl.), contamination of indicative endings by those of the imperative (2nd pers. pl.), and analogical formations (1st and 3rd pers. sg. and pl.).

The simple present tense, apart from expressing actual or general present action in the indicative, is also very often used in the force of the subjunctive

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expressing deliberation, obligation, real condition or intention, thus taking over some functions of the future tense. In texts analysed in the present study, this wealth of meanings is especially prominent in the 1st and 2nd pers. sg.; not infrequently, however, the context does not allow us to determine the exact modal value with certainty. 1st pers. pl. is of relatively rare occurrence and in the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. and also in the 2nd pers. pl. the indicative meaning seems to prevail.

The present tense in the active voice, as described above, does not have a non-zero marker of its own; thus the distinctly simple form of the Old Hindī present active correlates well with its greater semantic diversity (made possible by the smaller degree of its functional specificity), quite in agreement with the isomorphic principle formulating a direct relationship between the complexity of morphological structure on the one hand, and specificity of its content on the other.[1] The forms of the respective persons of sg. and pl. are given below separately, each with examples of characteristic functions.

1.a. *1. pers. sg.*

-ũ	P *ã̃$_1$-, -ã̃$_3$-, ā$_1$-, -ā$_4$-, jã̃-, jī$_1$-, pā-, samā-, -h$_2$-*
-ũ̃$_3$	P *ā$_1$-, kar$_1$-, kah-, jī$_1$-, tār-, tir-, caḍh-, chā̃ḍ-/chāḍ-, ḍar-, deṣ-, pã̃-, mar-, mār-, rah-, h$_1$-, -h$_2$-*
-aĩ̯u$_4$	P *kar$_1$-, chāḍ-, jap$_1$-, jā̃n$_1$-, ḍhũ̃ḍh-, taj-, tir-, paḍh-, barā̃ṇ-, bin-/binav-, bhar$_1$-, ram-, rah-, -v$_3$-*

OIA *-ā-mi* > Pkt. *-āmi/-ami* > Apa. *-ami/-a:uṃ* > OH *-a:ũ/-ũ* (Hoernle, §497, p. 334-335). According to Beames, *CGMALI* III, §33, p. 105, the form *-aĩ̯u*, an improbable derivation from *-ami*, is better explained as resulting from an inversion of the 1st pers. sg. and 1st pers. pl. in Old Hindī and Gujarātī ("because natives universally speak of themselves as "we" even when only one person is speaking"). Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §676, p. 934, on the other hand, believes that the phonological shape of the ending may have been "at least influenced" (p. 808), or even directly formed by the agglutination of the personal pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. **haĩ̯u* to the root form of the verb ending in *-a*. This is also the opinion of Tagare, *HGA*, §136, p. 286-287, who characterizes *-aĩ̯u* as "a *bona fide* Ap.[abhraṃśa] desinence". According to his observations, in Western Apabhraṃśa the form *-aĩ̯u* gradually substituted the older ending *-ami* between the 6th and the end of the 12th centuries.

In our texts the longer forms *-ũ̃$_3$* and *-aĩ̯u$_4$* appear interchangeably with roots ending in consonants. *-ũ* follows after the long final vowel of the root or after the causative affix *-ã̃$_3$-/-ā$_4$-*.

[1] For an overview see, Waugh and Lafford, in: *Morphology*, p. 272-281.

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General present:

280.0 *alaha rā̃ma* jīũ *tere nā̃ī, bãde pari mihari karau mere sā̃ī* "Allāh, Rām, I live in/by your name; have mercy on [your] servant, o my Lord!"

27.1 *jaba laga* bharā̃ũ *nalī kā bheva, taba laga tūṭai merau rā̃ma sāneha* "as long as I wire the shuttle (lit.: "fill the hole of the shuttle"), so long my love of Rām snaps"

Future or intention:

257.4 *kahai kabīra mai sala raci marihū̃,* tirũ̃ *le kãta tūra bajāī* "Kabīr says: having piled up funeral pyre, I shall die; embracing my lord, beating the drum (or: "sounding the clarion"), I shall cross (to the other shore)"

29.1 *de muhurā lagā̃ma* paharā̃ũ*, sikalī jīna gagana* daurā̃ũ "having fixed the bit, I shall put the bridle; [seated] in firm saddle (or: "[seated] firm in saddle"), I shall drive [the horse of contemplation] to heaven"

440.2 *mahāvata to kū̃* mārũ̃ *sāṭī, isahi* marāũ mārũ̃ *kāṭī* "[hey,] *mahāvat* (elephant driver), I shall beat you with a club, [and] him I shall get killed, I shall cut [him] to pieces"

Future tense:

1.1 *tana rata kari mai mana rata* karihũ̃ "having painted [my] body red, I shall paint red [my] mind [too]" (or: "having inflamed [my] body with passion, I shall inflame [my] mind [too]". *rata kar*$_1$-: lit. 1. „to make red"; 2. „to make impassioned")

Deliberation (abilitative, deontic meanings):

97.0 *hari kai bivoga kaisa͠ī* jīũ *merī māī* "how shall/can I live in separation from Hari, o mother?" (in the MS 3190 final *-u* is without nasalization)

126.1 *tāna māna* ḍhū̃ḍhā͠ũ *coṭa na* pāũ*, voṣada mūlī kahā̃* lagāũ "on [my] body, in [my] mind I search, [but] I do not / I cannot find the wound; where should I put the (healing) herb, the (medicinal) root?"

473.0 *kahā* karũ̃ *kaisa͠ī* tirā͠ũ*, bhau jala ati bhārī* "what should I do, how should I cross (to the other shore)? The ocean of existence is very difficult [to cross]"

Condition:

459.3 *rā̃ma* chā̃ḍũ̃ *tau mere gurahi gāri* "[if] I forsake Rām, then [it will be taken as] an insult to my guru"

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1.b. *2nd pers. sg.*

-ahĩ$_3$	P *jap$_1$-*
-ahi$_3$	P *soc-*
-i$_8$	P *jā$_1$-* (in future tense: *tũ jāigau*)
-ī$_9$	P *ṣā-*
-e$_9$	P *ḍūb-, deṣ-*
-ai$_{12}$	P *kar$_1$-, giṇ-, chūṭ-, tūṭ-, toṛ-, thak-, pāṛ-, birol-, būjh$_2$-, bol-, mār-, -v$_3$-, ṣel-, sumir-, h$_1$-*

OIA *-a-si* > Pkt. *-asi* > Apa. *-asi/-ahi* > OH *-ahi/-ai/-e* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §497, p. 335). Tagare, *HGA*, §136, p. 287-288, notes that in the later Apabhraṃśa period (after the turn of the millenium) increasing sanskritization led to frequent replacements of the more popular, true Apabhraṃśa desinence *-ahi* by *-asi* forms. This development, observable in Western Apabhraṃśa texts, affected the southern regions too, where it has been ascribed to the revival of Brahmanism in Mahārāṣṭra during the 12th and 13th centuries (for possible instances of 2nd pers. sg. in *-asi*, see below, in the section of *-s$_3$*-future).

In Kabīr's *pads* in the Jaipur MS 3190 we can see all the stages of gradual contraction of the archaic *-ahi* to the MSH standard form *-e*. The forms *-ai*, *-e*, and also *-i/-ī* (after final long vowel of the root) are homonymous with endings of the 3rd pers. sg., and in several cases it is difficult to decide which person is meant. Frequently, however, the form is disambiguated by the use of the personal pronoun *tū*, by direct address, as e.g. *re bhāī* etc., or by the broader context of the *pad*.

The form *ṣāī* in the verse 381.3 presents still another problem of interpretation: in the present tense verbal roots ending in vowels regularly insert between this vowel and the vocalic ending the intervocalic glide *-v$_3$-* (see below, section 5.J.4). The resulting forms are clearly distinct from the feminine perfective participles – pres. *lāvai* against pp. *lāī*, pres. *rovai* against pp. *roī*, etc. However, in the verse quoted below the feminine gender of the participle would not tally with the masculine subject *biṣa*; *ṣāī* is therefore better interpreted as irregular 2nd pers. sg. present tense, a form attested also in the AG, explained as alternative present form by Shackle, *GNG*, p. 91 (*khāi*), and understood as present tense in the English translation of the AG version of the respective verse by Sant Singh Khalsa, *SGGS*, p. 2850 (*kāhe bikhu khāĩ* "why do you eat poison?"). The compulsion of the rhyme with *-āī* at the end of the preceding verse may have played a role in the selection of this form.

General present:

145.0 *pā̃ḍe kaũna kumati tohi lāgī, rā̃ma na* japahĩ *abhāgī* "oh *pāṇḍe*, what a foolish idea have you taken into your head? You do not revere [the name of] Rām, you wretch!"

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310.0 *hari kā nā̃ū na lehu gavārā, kā* socahi *bārā̃bārā* "bumpkin, you do not take/revere the name of Hari? What are you thinking about all the time?"

212.1 *bhūlī mālaṇi pātī* toṛai*, pātī pātī jīva; jā murati kū̃ pātī* toṛai*, so murati nrijīva* "naive flower-girl, you pluck leaves, [and] in every leaf there is a soul; [but] the idol, for which you pluck the leaves, is soulless" (2nd pers. sg. inferred from the context)

410.1 *jaba laga mai mai merī* karai*, taba laga kāja eka nahī̃ sarai* "as long as you do/will practice only 'me, me, mine', until then a single undertaking does/will not succeed" (the second verb *sarai* too can be understood as 2nd pers. sg.: "you do/will not succeed in a single undertaking"; Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 384, interpret *sarai* in this locus as 3rd pers. sg.: *pūrā hotā hai, kāma calatā hai*; both verbs can be also taken in the sense of contingent future)

338.2 *je ridai sūdha mana gyā̃nī, tau* tū̃ *kahā* birolai *pā̃nī* "if [you are so] pure in [your] heart [and so] wise in [your] mind, then why do you churn the water (i.e. do the ritual bathing)?"

381.3 *svā̃na sūkara kāga kīnhā̃u, tau u lāja na āī; rā̃ma nā̃ma ā̃mrita chāḍi kāhe biṣa* ṣāī "[in your previous births(?) you were] made a dog, a pig, a crow – but still felt no shame? Having forsaken the nectar of Rām's name, why do you eat poison?"

Future:

138.4 *pā̃ḍhe gū̃ṇē upajai ā̃hakārā, adhadhara* ḍūbe *vāra na pārā* "by studying and philosophizing arises pride; you will die in midstream, with either shore beyond reach" (2nd pers. sg. inferred from the address *bhāī* and *re bhāī* in the preceding and following verse)

Deliberation (abilitative, deontic meanings):

145.2a *beda paḍhyā̃ kā e phala pā̃ḍe, saba ghaṭi* deṣe *rā̃mā* "what [is gained] by studying the Vedas? [It is] this fruit, *pāṇḍe* – [that] you see Rām in every creature"

Condition:

145.2b *jā̃maṇa marā̃ṇa tā͠ī tau tū̃* chūṭai*, suphala hvā͠ihi saba kā̃mā̃* "then (if) you free yourself from the [wheel of] birth and dying, all [your] undertakings will be successful"

29.2 *cali baikū̃ṭha tohi le tārū̃,* thakai *ta prema tājiṇai mārū̃* "going to heaven, I shall take you along with me; if you get tired, I shall flick you with the whip of love"

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1.c. *3rd pers. sg.*

-0_{13}	P *-i_3-, -$ī_3$-*
-a_{15}	P *ucār$_2$-, chūṭ-, -v_3-*
-i_9	P *āh-, kah-, jā$_1$-, da$_1$-, de-, deṣ-, binas-, biyā-, ṣā-, ho$_1$-*
-$ī_{10}$	P *-$ā_4$-, jā$_1$-, de-, nhā-, pā-, vyā-/byā-, ṣā-, -s_3-, samā-/ samã̄-, suhā-, ho$_1$-*
-e_{10}	P *cal-, mus-, rah-, l-*
-ai_6	P *cīnh-, jã̄ṇ$_1$-, nīd$_1$-, mã̄n$_1$-, ram-*
-ai_{13}	P *ã̄ṇ-, ucar-, utār-, upaj-, katar-, kath-, kar$_1$-, kah-, kāch-, grās-, ghat$_2$-, caḍh-, cāl-, citav-, cūṣ-, cet-, chāḍ-, chīj-, chūṭ-, jar-, jã̄ṇ-/jã̄ṇ$_1$-/jān-, jã̄m-/jām-, jāg-, jār-, jūjh-, jhakol-, jhar-, jhol-, ṭūṭ-/tūṭ-, ḍar-, ḍarap-, ḍār-, ḍig-, ḍol-, taj-, tã̄n-, tār$_1$-, tir-, tor-, tol-, dīs-, dūjh$_1$-, dūjh$_2$-, deṣ-, daur-, dhar-, nāc-, nikas-, nihār-, paṛ-, par-, parajar-, peṣ-, prakās-, phir-, phūl$_2$-, bãdh$_1$-/badh$_1$-, baḍh-, badh$_3$-, baras$_1$-, baṣã̄ṇ-, bas$_4$-, bah-, bigas-/vigas-, bigir-, bicār$_1$-, binas-, būjh$_1$-, būḍ-, bol-, byāp-/vyāp-, bhaj-, bhāṣ-, bhir-, bhīj-, bhūl-, mar-, marad$_1$-, mã̄n$_1$-, mār-, mil-, melh-, rãj-, rām-, rah-, rāṣ-, lar-, lah-, lāg-, lūk-, -v_3-, ṣūṭ-, ṣed$_1$-, ṣel-, ṣol-, sāc-/sã̄c-, sak-, sar$_1$-, savār-, sã̄dh$_3$-, surajh-, sūjh-, soṣ-, soh-, h$_1$-, -h$_2$-, hār$_2$-, hulas-, hv-*
-aihi	P *l-, -v_3-*
-aī	P *chūṭ-* (possibly *chūṭ-* + *-a_{15}/-ai_{13}* + *-$ī_{14}$*)

OIA *-a-ti* > Pkt. *-a:i* > [Apa. *-a:i* >] OH *-ai/-e* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §497, p. 335). The most frequent ending is *-ai*; whereas, the contracted form *-e*, perhaps a recent innovation, is relatively rare. In several places this *-e_{10}* is difficult to disambiguate from *-e_3* of the past participle (as e.g. in the form *cale* in 206.3). After the final long vowel of the root and also after the causative affix, the ending can be segmented as mere *-i/-ī*. There are, however, several cases where this *-i* is appended to stems ending in consonants (*kah-i* several times in the *bhaṇitā*, where it cannot be interpreted as absolutive; similarly, *deṣ-i* in 76.3 is also 3rd pers. sg.; *binas-i* in 34.0 is followed by *-g-*, affix of the future tense). This type of contraction of the ending of 3rd pers. pres. is attested by Tessitori for Old Mārvāṛī, with the termination *-a:i* often weakened to *-i*; quoted examples include the forms *kah-i*, *lah-i* and *rah-i* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §117, and also §10.1). Another uncommon form, final *-a*, appears only once and is explicable as accommodation to the rhyme: see the form *ṣāva* in the verse 212.2, quoted below. The ending *-aihi* in *jīvaihi* (verse 27.2) is a variant of the regular Old Braj ending of the 3rd pers. pres. sg. *-ahi* (Kellogg, *GHL*,

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§484, p. 286), and has an attested plural parallel *-aĩhĩ* (*sovaĩhĩ* in 149.1). In a similar context we find a nasalized variant of this verbal form in Dādū's *pad* 161.1 (8.11): *bālika dūdha na dei mātā, tau vai kyũ̃ kari jīvaihĩ vidhātā* (tr. by Thiel-Horstmann, *Dādū: Lieder*, p. 158 as "Wenn die Mutter ihrem Kinde keine Milch gibt, wie mag es wohl am Leben bleiben, Schöpfer?" *-aī* in the form *chūṭaī* in 473.1 can be understood as consisting of two component parts: the regular ending *-ai*$_{13}$ or *-a*$_{15}$ is followed by the exclusive emphatic particle *-ī*$_{14}$: *-a*$_{15}$/*-ai*$_{13}$ + *-ī*$_{14}$ > *-aī*. But Taṇḍana, *Sūra kī bhāṣā*, p. 335, recognizes this form as a possible variant of the 3rd pers. sg. ending, quoting the form *karaī* as an example.

In five instances the ending is nasalized, although the singular number is certainly meant. Four cases can be explained as due to contact nasalization, i.e. caused by preceding nasal consonant: *jā̃ṇaĩgā* in 146.0, *jā̃ṇaĩ* in 182.0, *mā̃naĩ* in 429.0, and *ramaĩ* in 204.3. The form *nīdaĩ* in 251.3 occurs in three MSS against two others that have the regular *nīdai*; although one would logically expect the singular, the plural cannot be completely ruled out either. For explanation of the ending *-0*$_{13}$ (in effect, the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. *-i*$_{9}$ fused with the immediately preceding affix of the passive added to causative stems), see in the section 5.H below dealing with causatives.

Apart from indicative meanings (the great majority of cases), there are three instances where the 3rd pers. sg. has clearly deontic meaning, expressing warning or prohibition denoted by the negative particle *jini* (94.0; 147.0; 486.2). Here the indicative takes over the functions of the imperative whose independent morphological manifestation (with its own ending in *-u* or *-a:u*, as extant in other NIA languages) disappeared. The verse 94.0 is particularly interesting: prohibitive meaning is expressed with the help of the negative particle *jini* (used normally with imperative); whereas, the apprehension in the adverbial clause is denoted by the negative particle *nahĩ̃*.

General present:

251.3 *sāṣata sunahā̃ dūnyũ̃ bhāī, vo* nīdaĩ *vo bhaũkata* jāī "*Śākta* and dog, both [are] brothers: the former slanders, the latter keeps barking"

76.3 *trigũna rahita phala rāmi hāma rāṣila; taba hāmārau nā̃u rāma rāī ho; jaga maĩ deṣũ̃ jaga na* deṣi *mohi; ihi kabīra kachu pāī ho* "free from the three *guṇas*, enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]; then, my name is Lord Rām; I see the world, [but] the world does not see me; of this [state], Kabīr has acquired something (i.e. some knowledge?)"

19.4 kahi *kabīra bhava bā̃dhana* chūṭai "Kabīr says: the bond(age) of the world disappears"

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473.1 *biṣai bikāra na* chūṭaī*, aisā mãna mādā* "the deformation [caused] by the objects of sense perception does not disappear at all – so dull is the mind"

439.3 *hãma nẽhī tumha nāhĩ re bhāī,* rahe *rãma bharapūrā re* "neither me nor you [shall endure], o brother; only Rām in his plenitude lasts / shall last"

206.3 *bhāgī puriyā gharahĩ chāḍī,* cale *julāha risāī* "she ran away having left the frame of the warp at home; the weaver walks away in anger" (or past participle: "walked away"; exact meaning unclear)

212.2 *ṭẽcaṇahārai cẽciyā, de chātī upari pāva; je yā mūrati sakala hai, tau ghaḍanahārai* ṣāva "the sculptor chiseled, having put his foot on the chest [of the chiseled statue of an idol]; when this idol is finished, does it devour the sculptor?" (however, Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 89, interpret the form *ṣāva* as imperative: *khāo*, *nigala jāo*).

Modality – deliberation, abilitative meanings:

27.2 *ṭhāḍhī rovai kabīra kī māi, e larikā kyũ* jīvaihi *ṣudāi* "standing in front [of him], Kabīr's mother weeps: how, o God, will this boy live / be able to live?"

288.1 *ceti* sakai *so cetau re bhāī, mūriṣa mūla gamāyā* "[who] is able to think, let him think, o brother; the silly one has squandered his capital"

200.2 *āpā para ẽnãda nahĩ* būjhai*; bina anabhai kyũ* chūṭai "[mind] itself does not / cannot understand the bliss of *paramārtha*; [but] without [authentic] experience how can it liberate itself?"

Modality – deontic prohibitive meanings:

147.0 *saba dunī sayẽnī maĩ baurā, hãma bigare* bigirai jini *aurā* "whole world is wise, [only] I am mad; I have gone mad, let nobody else go mad" (i.e. let the others keep what they think is mental sanity, I do not ask them to follow me)

486.2 *kahai kabīra rãma mai jẽnyẽ, bhrãmi* bhūlai jini *koī re* "Kabīr says: I have known Rām – let nobody be mistaken having gone astray" (*bhrãmi* can be understood also as loc. sg. of the noun *bhrãm-*, "error, delusion": "let nobody go the wrong way in delusion")

185.0 *avadhū jāgata nīda na kījai; kāla* na ṣāi *kalapa* nahĩ byāpai*, dehī jurā* na chījai "*avadhūta*, staying awake one should not not fall asleep! Let death not devour [you], let restlessness not swamp [you]: let the soul not waste away with [old] age" (or with adverbial clause: "one should not fall asleep, so that death would not devour [one]"; or indicative: "[then] death wil not devour [you]", etc.)

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In adverbial clauses:

138.1 *nāgaĩ phiryā̃ joga je* hoī*, bana kā mrigha mukti gayā koī* "if [the goal of] yoga is [attained] by walking around naked, [then] did any deer in the forest attain salvation?" (conditional clause)

200.0 *bābā karahu kṛpā jana māragi lāvo, jyū̃ bhava bādhana* ṣūṭai "Father, show mercy, put the devotee on the [right] path, so that the bond of worldly existence may end" (purpose clause)

406.3 *hṛdai kaṭhora* marai *bā̃nā̃rasī, naraka na bā̃cyā jāī* "[man of] cruel heart may die in Vārāṇasī (or: "even if he dies in Vārāṇasī"); [still,] he is not / cannot be saved from hell" (concessive clause)

419.0 *hari kau bīlovanau bīloi merī māī; aisaĩ biloi jaisaĩ tata* na jāī "[the product of] churning (i.e. butter) for/of Hari churn, oh my mother; churn in such a way that the essence is not lost" (negative purpose clause)

94.0 *mana re jāgata rahiye bhāī; gāphila hoi basta jini ṣovai, cora* muse nahĩ *jāī* "o mind, brother, it is necessary to stay awake; let you not lose the (precious) thing, being careless – so that a thief may not snatch it away" (or: "let not a thief snatch it away" – prohibitive or negative purpose clauses)

1.d. *1st pers. pl.*

-aĩ$_7$ P *upaj-, binas-, mar-, rah-, -h*$_2$*-*

OIA *-ā-maḥ* >Pkt.*-āmo/-āmu/-āma/-amo/-amu/-ama/-imo/-imu/-ima* > Apabhraṃśa *-imu/.../-ahuṃ* ... > OH *-a:ĩ/-ahĩ/-aĩ/-ẽ* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §497, p. 335-336). Hoernle (and others after him) appears to be at a loss to explain the change of the Apabhraṃśa terminal *-u* into OH *-i*; he states only that "the Pr. form *-imu* or *-ima* contracts in E.H. to *-ĩ* [...] But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to *-a:ĩ* and modified to *-ahĩ*, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. *-ahĩ*." Beames, *CGMALI* III, §33, p. 105-106, explains the Hindī forms by possible inversion of the 1st pers. sg. and pl. (see above, under the discussion of the 1st pers. sg.), where the Hindī forms *calaĩ* etc. would be easily derivable from Skt. *calāmi* through *calā̃i* and *calāĩ*. The reason for this change, in the case of the plural form, is seen in the analogy with the 3rd pers. pl. Beames concludes his discussion with the statement that his remarks "leave this difficult point still far from elucidation". This is also the position of Bloch, *IA*, p. 246 [248], who glosses over the problem of formal identity of the 1st and 3rd pers. pl. in Hindī and Braj simply as an "unexplained peculiarity". Tagare, *HGA*, §136, p. 289-290, seems to suggest a similar explanation for the 1st pers. plural ending as that devised by him for

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the 1st singular: he does not mention the problem of the central Hindī form *-aĩ*, but explains the Apabhraṃśa form *-ahũ* by tracing it to OIA **asmaka*, nom. pl. of the 1st pers.of the personal pronoun. According to him: "In Ap. morphology vowel+*-sm-*+vowel resulted into vowel+*-h-*+nasalized vowel e.g. *tasmāt>tahã̃*, *tasmin>tahĩ̃*. ... In Pali also we have *vatteyāmhe<vattey amheā*."

In MS 3190, both *binasai* and *marai* are written without nasalization after the pronoun *hama*; this may be an accidental omission – in both cases four other Rājasthānī MSS have the expected nasalized ending. 1st pers. pl. occurs rarely, attested occurrences do not allow definitive conclusions. Verse 41.3 shows this ending (and also the ending *-ai*$_{13}$ of the 3rd pers. sg.) used in the h_2-future tense.

41.0 *hãma na* marai *marihai sãsārā* "I/we shall not die [when / even if] the world will die"

200.1 *jā kārāṇi hama* upajaĩ binasai*, kyũ̃ na kahau samajhāī* "due to what cause are we born and die – why do you not explain?" (*upajaĩ* can be also read as adverbial perfective participle "(by) having been born")

145.4 *hari bhaji* rahaĩ *samāī* "let us remain immersed in Hari, worshipping [him]"

In future tense:

41.3 *hari marihai tau hãma hũ̃* marihãĩ*, hari na marai hãma kāhe kũ̃* marihãĩ "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (i.e. is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?"

1.e. *2nd pers. pl.*

-ahu$_2$	P *ubar-, bakas-*
-o$_5$	P *-v*$_3$*-*
-aũ$_5$	P *jā̃n*$_1$*-, h*$_1$*-*
-au$_5$	P *kah-, cet-, deṣ-, -y*$_2$*-, lãgh-, -v*$_3$*-, h*$_1$*-, -h*$_2$*-*
-hu$_2$	P *jā*$_1$*-, de-, le-*

OIA *-a-tha* > Pkt. *-aha/-ahã* > Apa. *-aha/-ahu* > OH *-ahu/-a:u/-au/-o* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §497, p. 336). Hoernle is of the opinion that the Apabhraṃśa form *-ahu* could be best explained as derived from the Skt. 2nd pers. du. *-athaḥ*. Beames, *CGMALI* III, §33, p. 104, presupposes the change of OIA *-atha* in *-adha* and *-aha*, and then by an elision of *h* and conflation of the two vowels into final *-ā*, as e.g. *calatha* > *calaha* > *cala:a* > *calā*. "Then final *ā* has been lengthened to *o*, as in the plural of nouns." This, of course, leaves the Old Hindī forms *-ahu/-au* unexplained. Bloch, *IA*, p. 244 [247], points to the close relation of Apabhraṃśa indicative to the imperative and maintains that "the 2nd pl.

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karahu (for Pkt. *karaha*) [...] can only come from the third persons *karau*, pl. *karantu*, supported moreover by 1st pl. **karamu* or *karahuṃ*, a contingent present naturally adapted to the imperative." Similarly Tagare, *HGA*, §136, p. 289, points to a contamination or confusion between the endings of the 2nd persons in Apabhraṃśa indicative and imperative.

In the present corpus of Kabīr's *pads* too, the endings of 2nd pers. pl. indicative and imperative have homonymous endings *-ahu/-au/-o*. The nasalized form *-aũ*$_5$ occurs only with the root *jā̃n*$_1$- (twice) and once with the substantive verb *ho*$_1$-. The form *-au*$_5$ appears to be more frequent than the more archaic *-ahu*$_2$, as attested once in the future tense (*ubarahuge*) and by the single occurrence in the present (*bakasahu*, in the manuscript written as *bakasauhu*, perhaps a conflation of the older and and more recent form). In verse 288.3 we have the 2nd pers. pl. endings appended to both the present and *h*$_2$-future stem of the verb *ja*$_1$-/*jā*$_1$-; but the form *jāhu* can be interpreted also as genuine imperative *-hu*$_3$. In verses 413.0 and 47.1, quoted below, the indicative or imperative force of verbal forms can be inferred only from the context; cf. the section 5.B.2.c. The contracted form *-o*$_5$ appears only once (*bhramāvo*, in rhyme with 2nd pers. pl. imper. *batāvo*).

General present:

275.1 *jau tumha pāḍita paḍhi guni* jā̃nāũ*, bidyā byākurāṇā̃; tāta māta saba voṣada* jā̃nāũ*, āti ta u marāṇā̃* "even if you are a *paṇḍit*, having studied and philosophised, you (may) know the sciences, grammar, tantras, mantras, you (may) know all the medicinal herbs, but still, in the end [there is] death"

288.3 *bhagati* jāhu *pari bhāva na* ja:ihau*, hari ke carāṇa nivāsā* "(outward signs of) veneration, you (may) perish, but you, love, will not perish, [having your] abode at Hari's feet"

121.0 *hari jananī mai bālika torā, kāhe na auguna* bakasauhu *morā* "Hari, [you are] mother, I am your child; why do you not forgive my transgressions?"

78.2 *beda kateba* kahau *kyũ jhūṭhā, jhūṭhā jau na bicārai* "why do you say that that the Vedas and the Book (Qurān) are false? False is he who does not think/contemplate"

413.0 *jāgau re nara,* sovau *kahā* "wake up, o man/men, why do you sleep?" (note the homonymy of the imperative and indicative ending)

47.1 *je mere jiya doi jā̃nata* hau*, tau mohi mũkti batāvo; ekameka hvai rahyā sabani mā̃i, tau kāhe* bhramāvo "if you know my soul [and yourself] as two, then tell me [the way of] liberation; [if you] dwell as single one in all [creatures], then why do you lead [me] astray?"

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145.3 *beda paḍhata ara jīva badhata* haũ, *yahu ko dharãma kahāī* "you read Vedas and kill animals: what [kind of] *dharma* can this be called?" (in the context of preceding verses it appears that the speaker is addressing a single person)

In adverbial clause:

249.4 *bhau būḍatẽ kachu upāi karījai, tau tiri* lãghau *tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you may jump on the [other] shore" (purpose clause; *lãghau* can be assigned abilitative meaning)

1.f. *3rd pers. pl.*

-ahĩ$_4$	P *kar*$_1$-
-ahi$_4$	P *nīd*$_1$-, *bak*$_1$-
-ī$_{11}$	P *aghā-, ṣā-*
-aĩ$_8$	P *ãṇ-, kah-, gujār-, cīnh-, jap*$_1$-, *jãn*$_1$-/*jān-, jār-, dīs-, nigal-, phir-, baṣãṇ-, bāj*$_1$-, *binās*$_1$-, *būḍ-, bol-, mar-, mil-, rah-, lūṭ-, loc-, -v*$_3$-, *ṣoj*$_1$-, *h*$_1$-, *-h*$_2$-
-aĩhĩ	P *-v*$_3$-
-aĩhi	P *hv-*
-hĩ$_1$	P *puvã-*
-hi$_3$	P *hũ*$_2$-
-hĩ$_1$	P *jã-, samã-*
-hī$_1$	P *de-*

OIA *-a-nti* > Pkt. *-aṃti* > Apa. *-aṃti/-ahiṃ* > OH *-ahĩ/-a:ĩ/-aĩ/-ẽ* (Hoernle, *CGGL* §497, p. 336-337). Hoernle explains the change of *-aṃti* to *-ahiṃ* by the intermediate stages *-aṃdi* > *-anni* > *-anhi* and supports this hypothesis by quoting Old Hindī preterite endings *-anhi/-enhi*. Beames, *CGMALI* III, §33, p. 103, offers another variant of the change, and pointing to possible elision of the dental nasal, "which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process", derives *-anti* > *-ani*, as e.g. *mārani* > *mārã:i* > *māra:ĩ* > Braj *mārāĩ*. He reports the intermediate forms as being still in use in dialects (the type *mārã:i* in Avadh and Revā, *māra:ĩ* in the area of Eastern Hindī). This seems to have been accepted by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §679, p. 937, who notes only in passing that "in E. and W. Hindī, and in other NIA., the «-nti» has similarly given place to a mere nasalization or to «-n»". Tagare, *HGA*, §136, p. 290, on the other hand, rejects the line of reasoning that tries to explain the new formation by continuous development from the OIA/MIA ending (and that does not treat properly the emergence of *-h-* in the Apabhraṃśa period) and

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presents *-ahĩ* as new Apabhraṃśa development which "can never be traced to *-anti*, but is an analogical formation after the 1st Pers.:

1st p. sg. *-aũ* : plur. *-ahũ*.
3rd p. sg. *-a:i* : " *-ahĩ*.

-h- in both might be due to *-h-* in 2nd p. plur." The same explanation based on correspondence between the 1st and 3rd persons sg. and pl. is put forward by Bloch, *IA*, p. 245 [248]. To conclude this varied review of explanations, we may quote Kellogg, *GHL*, §601, p. 342-343, who posits as a source for the termination of the 3rd pl. "a Prakrit form, *ahanti*, for *asanti* (Sk. *santi*), of the substantive verb, as the original of the Hindí form in *hín*." This development might be seen as analogous to the 1st sg. and pl., where, as he notes, Prākrit often substituted for the original Sanskrit terminations the full forms of the substantive verb.

The forms in *-hi*/*-hĩ* have been recognized by Kellogg, *GHL*, §484, p. 286, as older forms of regular Braj terminations of the contingent future (in our terminology, simple present). Tessitori, *OWR*, §117, and Grierson, *LSI*, IX.2, p. 12, point out that in Rājasthānī the 3rd pers. pl. ending is often not nasalized. *sovaĩhĩ* in 149.1 can be interpreted as a variant of the regular 3rd pers. pl. *sovahĩ*, either a conflation of *-aĩ*$_8$ and *-ahĩ*$_4$ endings, or a regional form. Cf. also the sg. *jīvaihi* in 27.2. For the form *hũhi* and *hvaĩhi*, see the section 5.A.2.e above, dealing with the substantive verb "to be", "to become".

280.3 *bā̃bhaṇa gyārasi* karahĩ *caubīsaũ, kājī maha ramadā̃nā̃* "*brāhmaṇas* celebrate the total of twenty-four *ekādaśīs* [in succession, separately, whereas] *qāzīs* [prescribe the single] month of Ramadān"

149.0 *āpana* dehī *caravā pā̃nī, tāhi* nīdahi *jāhi gā̃gā ā̃nĩ̃* "they themselves pass [you just a single] cup of water, [but] they slander those who brought the river Ganga [down to earth]"

280.2 *mana maĩ kapaṭa nivāja* gujārāī*, tau kyā haja kābai* jā̃hĩ "fraud in mind, they perform *namāz*; why then do they go on *hajj* to Kaaba?"

20.0 *iha rasi siva sanakādika māte, pīvata na ajahũ̃* aghāī "Śiva, Sanaka and others have been intoxicated by this nectar: drinking [it], even today they are not satiated / have not enough" (rhymes with *duhāī* on the preceding line)

285.3 *darogā̃ bako baki* hũhi *ṣusiyā̃, beakali* bakahi puvā̃hĩ "liars are pleased prattling nonsense, foolish [people just] babble and boast"

149.1 *āpana* būḍāĩ *aura kũ̃* byāvāĩ*, agni lagāi mādira mā̃* sovaĩhĩ "they drown themselves and with them they drag down others too; they sleep in the very house they had set fire to"

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2. *Imperative*

From the imperative forms inherited from the OIA and MIA/Apabhraṃśa period, the language of Kabīr's Rājasthānī corpus preserves only those of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg., and 2nd pers. pl. The 2nd pers. sg. has probably its origin in the OIA passive suffix; the 2nd pers. pl. seems to be a genuine descendant of OIA imperative, perhaps resulting from conflation of 2nd pl. and 3rd sg. forms. The form of the 3rd pers. sg. imper., attested in other NIA dialects where it retains its own ending in *-a:u*, does occur only twice in our texts and appears to have been fully supplanted by indicative. (For the 3rd sg. passive form *līj̃yau*, see the discussion in the section 5.D.2 of the *-ij̃-* passive below). Often the imperative meaning has to be inferred from the context; in negations the prohibitive particle *jini* may be used to disambiguate meaning. This applies also to 1st pers. sg. and pl. where the relatively broad range of possible meanings of indicative can accommodate deontic and abilitative functions.

2.a. *2nd pers. sg. imper.*

-0$_{14}$	P *de-, le-*
-a$_{16}$	P *tor-*
-i$_{10}$	P *kar*$_1$*-, kah-, kāt-, kīr-, gah-, cal-, cet-, chāḍ-, jā̃n*$_1$*-, jā*$_1$*-, jār-, jīt-, ḍār-, taj-, tā̃r-/tār-, deṣ-, nriṣ-/niraṣ-, par*$_1$*-, parahar-, pichā̃n-, batā-, bār-, bicār*$_1$*-, bilo-, bhaj*$_1$*-, mā̃n*$_1$*-, meṭ-, rāṣ-, ro-, liṣ-, le-, ṣoj*$_1$*-, samo-, sun-, sumir-, soc-, hār*$_2$*-*
-ī$_{12}$	P *kamā-*
-u$_6$	P *rah-*
-hi$_4$	P *jā*$_1$*-*

OIA *-(d)hi / -a* > Pkt. *-ahi / -a* > Apa. *-ahi / -a*; *-i* (< OIA pas. *-ya*?/< *-ahi*?) > OH *-(h)i / -a* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §497, p. 337-338; Tagare, *HGA*, §138, p. 297-299). From the wealth of nine Western Apabhraṃśa forms (registered and analysed in detail by Tagare), the texts collected in the present corpus appear to have inherited two or three: *-i*, modified by necessity of rhyme to *-ī*, or, if joined to a long final root vowel, to *-hi* (Varma, *LB*, §215, p. 107); *-u* attested also in Old Braj and Avadhī (Varma, *LB*, §215, p. 107; Saksena, *EA*, §308, p. 266-267), and possibly *-a* (single occurrence, if this is imperative form at all). *-i* appears to be a Prākrit formation, derivable either from the OIA passive affix *-ya-* (Tagare), or from *-ya-* of the optative (Pischel, *GPS*, §461, p. 327). Kellogg, *GHL*, §604, p. 346, however, derives the form *-hi* from the identical Skt. termination of the athematic classes of the present. For *-i* he does not offer any explanation (strangely, he does not mention it even in his

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discussion of 2nd pers. imper. in Braj and the Rājasthānī dialects, §§486 and 503). Accoring to Tagare, *-u* is probably due to the extension of the ending of the imperative 3rd pers. sg. The zero ending occurs with the verbal root *de-* and possibly also *le-* in two ambiguous forms *sodhi le* "search" and *gāi le* "sing" (understood as modified verbal expressions formed by absolutive of the main verb followed by imperative of the vector verb) in the verses 129.7 and 129.8 respectively. In an alternative segmentation both forms can be interpreted also as adverbial participles *sodhile* and *gāile* – see in the sections 5.E.4 and 5 below dealing with participles in *-al-*/*-il-*.

It seems that in the two instances where the imperative forms are introduced by the verb *bhāvai* ("if it pleases [you]", in 459.3 and 408.5), the real sense is closer to permission or possibility (corresponding to subjunctive, "you may") rather than to direct order. The available context shows the form used in addressing a single person.

Not infrequently the imperative in *-i*$_{10}$ occurs in contexts where the form can be understood as absolutive *-i*$_{11}$ and vice versa: typical examples can be seen in the verses 408.1 and 381.4 quoted below; the form *taji* in 381.4 is also ambiguous.

129.7 *sũni mãḍala mãĩ sodhi* le *parãma joti prakāsa* "in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahmarandhra*) search for the glow of supreme light"

440.0 *aho mere gobĩda tumhārā jora, hastī bakibā hastī* tora "o, my Govinda, [that was] your [show of] might: [when the *qāzī* ordered:] let the elephant be incited, set the elephant [on him]!" (meaning uncertain)

408.1 *gura sevā* kari *bhagati* kamāī*, je tãĩ maniṣā dehī pāī* "serve (or absolutive: serving) the Guru, earn [the fruits of] *bhakti*, when you have got the human body"

29.2 cali *baikũṭha tohi le tārũ̃* "come, I shall take you along to the paradise" (or *cali* as absolutive: "[myself] going / on my way to paradise I shall take you along": Gupta, *KG*, p. 160-161)

381.4 taji *bhrama krãma bidha niṣedha, rã̃ma nã̃ma* lei "get rid of (or *taji* as absolutive: "having got rid of") delusion [as well as] prescriptions and prohibitions relating to actions, take the name of Rām!"

459.3 jāri bāri *bhāvai māri* ḍāri "set [me] on fire, burn, if you like, kill [me]" (*māri ḍār-* is a modified verbal expression with the meaning "to kill"; *mār-* here stands in absolutive; *bhāvai*, 3rd pers. sg. pres., expresses real condition "if it pleases [you]")

408.5 *kahai kabīra* jīti *bhāvai* hāri*, bahu bidhi kahyau pukāri pukāri* "Kabīr says: you may either win or lose; I have explained [to you] in many ways, calling repeatedly/urgently/forcefully"

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129.4 *sãpati deṣi na hariṣiyẽ, bipati deṣi* na roi "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing/experiencing calamity, do not/ /you should not weep"

408.0 bhaji *gobyãda bhūli* jini jāhi*, maniṣã janama kau yau hī lāha* "worship Govinda, do not forget, this is the real gain of the birth of man" (i.e. of the birth in the form of a human being. The phrase *bhaji gobyãda* sounds like an echo of the famous Sanskrit poem "*bhaja govindam*"; *bhūli* is here absolutive in the modified (perfective) verbal expression *bhūli jā-*; on the problematic form of *jāhi* as written in the analysed MS, see the note under the respective *pad*)

420.0 *āsana pavana kīye diḍha* rahu *re, mana kā maila chāṛi* de *baure* "stay firm by performing *āsana* and breath [control]; throw away the filth of the mind, o fool!"

2.b. *3rd pers. sg. imper.*

-au$_6$ P *cet-, -y*$_2$*-*

OIA *-tu* > MIA *-u, -ahu* > Apa. *-a:u, -au* (Tagare, *HGA*, §138, p. 299; §138A, p. 303).

288.1 *ceti sakai so* cetau *re bhāī, mūriṣa mūla gamāyā* "[who] is able to think, let him think, o brother; the silly one has squandered [his] capital"

182.4 *dīpaka bina joti, joti bina dīpaka, hada bina anāhada sabda bāgā; cetanā hoi su ceti* lījyau*, kabīra hari kai ãgi lāgā* "lamp without flame, flame without lamp; without limits, the sound of *anāhata* resounded; [if] there is [the ability of] comprehension, let this be comprehended; Kabīr has merged into Hari" (*lījyau*: either passive affix *-ījwith* active ending *-au*$_6$, or optative of active voice – "let him comprehend [it]"; see also the section 5.D.2 further below)

2.c. *2nd pers. pl. imper.*

-ahũ	P *ram-, sũn-/sun-*
-ahu$_3$	P *kar*$_1$*-, jap*$_1$*-, deṣ-, bhaj-, -v*$_3$*-, sun-*
-o$_6$	P *-v*$_3$*-*
-ãũ$_6$	P *ṣoj-, suṇ-*
-au$_7$	P *kar*$_1$*-, kah-, cīnh-, chāḍ-, jāg-, ḍār-, naber-, nāc-, pūch-, pūj-, bẽdh-, būjh*$_1$*-, bol-, rāṣ-, ly- sumir-, sev*$_1$*-*
-hu$_3$	P *de-, lai*$_1$*-/le-, ho*$_1$*-*

OIA *-(a)tha* (2. pl. ind. pres. act.) ~ *-tu* (3. sg. imper. act.) > **-athu* > MIA, Apa. *-ahu/-ahũ/-aha* (Tagare, *HGA*, §138, p. 299-300). *-ãũ/-au* and *-o* are results of

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the contraction of the Apabhraṃśa forms. Tagare explains the nasalized variant *-ahũ* as due to association of nasalization with plural forms, a feature that has descended from Apabhraṃśa to the NIA period. In Kabīr's *pads* analysed in this study, this is true to a limited extent: the distinction appears more or less systematically applied in the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the indicative; however, in the imperative (and also in the 2nd pl. of the indicative), the effects of contact nasalization have got the upper hand – nasalized forms appear regularly with stems ending in nasal consonants (here *ram-* and *sun-/sũn-/suṇ-*), and only as an exception with others (*ṣoj-*, h_1*-*).

Particular attention should be paid to forms of the verb *le-* "to take". The root undergoes various modifications depending on the type of affix and also dialect; for these reasons the verbal root of this verb arrived at in the process of segmentation takes several variant forms: *l-*, *li-*, *lī-*, *le-*, lai_1*-*, and *ly-*. The last form occurring with the imperative ending $-au_7$ is worth of special note as it is homonymous with the noun *lyau-* "devotion", "attachment". In certain contexts – as, e.g. in verse 78.0 quoted below – the form may look ambiguous. In this particular instance the collocation with the absolutive *kari* may supply the clue. At least two other expressions of this kind can be found in the *NBhS-DHL*: *sãbhāli lyau* in *sākhī* 19.17 of Dādū, and *deṣi lyau* in *pad* 66.2 of Hardās. *lyau* as imperative occurs also in *pad* 6.0 of Gorakhnāth: *sonẽ lyau rasa sonẽ lyau merī jāti sunārī re*; and probably also in his *pad* 12.2 in the expression *joga lyau dhari dhari* (for translations and possible interpretations of these *loci*, see Baḍathvāla, ed., *Gorakha-bānī*, pp. 91 and 99 respectively).

2nd pl. imper. is used when the speaker talks to a single person (mother, as in 27.3, person addressed *re bhāī*, etc.), to more than one person (*sãta, bhagatā jana*, as in 96.2), also in addressing God (in 429.3), or one's own mind (*re mana* in 127.0). It may be also used in contexts where the respective person is otherwise addressed by 2nd pers. sg. of indicative (apart from 390.0 and probably in 413.0-2). In certain contexts the form can be interpreted either as imperative, or 2nd pl. of the indicative pres.: e.g. in verse 280.5 quoted below the form *ṣojãũ* can be understood to mean "if you search", condition expressed by indicative.

372.0 *sāra suṣa pāiye re, rãgi* ramahũ *ātmārāma* "let us attain the ultimate bliss (or: "if the ultimate bliss is to be attained"), rejoice in the love of *ātmārāma*!"

27.3 *kahai kabīra* sunahũ *rī māī, pūrāṇahārā tribhuvanarāī* "Kabīr says: listen, o mother – it is the King of the three worlds who feeds [us all]"

77.3 *kahai kabīra eka rãma* bhajahu *re, hīdū turaka na koī* "Kabīr says: worship one Rām, there is no Hindu or Turk"

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429.3 *kahi kabīra hari darasa* diṣāvo*, hamahi* bulāvo *ki tumha cali* āvo "Kabīr says: show your splendour/*darśan*, o Hari! Either summon me [to your presence], or come yourself [to me]"

280.5 *dila hī ṣoji dilā̃ dila* ṣojā̃ū*, tau ihī̃ hī̃ rā̃ma rahimā̃nā̃* "searching for the heart, search for the heart of/in the heart (i.e. for the innermost of the heart); for [it is] there [where dwells] Rām Rahmān"

96.2 suṇā̃ū *sā̃ta* sumirau *bhagatā jana, hari bina jā̃nā̃ma gā̃māī* "listen, ye virtuous, remember, ye *bhaktas*, without Hari the life is wasted"

78.0 *mulā̃ kari* lyau *nyā̃va ṣudāī* "*mullah*, do the justice [which conforms to the will] of God!"

127.0 *ḍagamaga chāḍi* dehu *mana baurā* "stop wavering, o foolish mind!"

97.2 *kā̃ūṇa puriṣa ko kā kī nāri, abhiā̃tari tumha* lehu *bicāri* "who is husband, who is whose wife? Concentrate on [what is] within [your heart]!"

127.1 hohu *nisā̃ka mā̃gana hoi* nācau "be fearless, be engrossed in dance!" (lit.: "being engrossed, dance!")

3. *Inflected perfect*

In the texts analysed in the present study two interesting forms have been found that can be interpreted either as 2nd pers. sg. of the sigmatic future, or as Avadhī imports of the inflected past tense (so-called inflected perfect; Kellogg, *GHL*, §557, p. 322): *cīnhyasi* (in verse 138.0), and *mājisi* (in 338.0). This tense is used in the nominative construction and the verbal form is to be understood as active: thus the two forms given above can be translated as "(you/he) knew" or "recognized" and "(you/he) bathed", respectively. The use of this past tense is, according to Grierson, *LSI*, VI, p. 5, "preeminently the typical shibboleth of a speaker of Eastern Hindī." In the context of the predominantly western character of the language of the studied *pads* eastern forms are certainly uncommon, but not total exceptions: one can remember the occurrence of eastern pronominal forms *mor-*, *tor-*, *tumha*, and *tumhahi*, or occasional occurrence of perfective participles in *-al-*.

The two verses in which these two abovementioned forms occur allow their interpretation as either future or past tense: in the first case, M. P. Gupta and V. Sīha translate *cīnhyasi* by the past tense (*pahacānā*, *pahacānā hai*), while the present author believes that on both formal and semantic grounds future tense is equally tenable. The second form, *mājisi* has been translated by both authors by the present habitual – in the given context cerainly possible solution, acceptable on purely formal grounds too (see the discussion of the *-asi*, *-esi*, *-isi* Rājasthānī forms, in the section 5.C.2 below). But the

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possibility to interpret it as an imported form of the 2nd or 3rd pers. of the past tense should not be left out of consideration.

Historians of Hindī grammar agree that the base of this past tense is the old perfective participle (OIA *-ita* > MIA *-ida* > *-iya*) that took, in the dialects of eastern Hindī, affixes of person, gender and number. There are several explanations of the origin of these affixes. According to Grierson, *LSI*, VI, p. 15, the *-s-* of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. is the remnant of an old enclitic pronoun; to Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §708, p. 979, it represents the OIA 2nd pers. sg. ending *-asi* of the indicative present; Bloch, *IA*, p. 270-273 [274-276], devotes considerable space and attention to reconstructing the historical development of these composed forms from the past participle and the auxiliary verb. His examples of OIA *gatāsi* "thou didst go" (fem.), and MIA *gahido'si* "thou art taken" (m.) can be seen as precursors of the NIA forms. Also the tendency to give these composed forms active meaning has been demonstrated by him as old: MIA *prahidesi* already meant "thou hast sent", etc. Bloch's conclusions were accepted by Saksena, *EA*, §299, p. 253-254, with the additional remark that the 2nd pers. sg. ending *-isi*, *-esi* was later extended to 3rd pers. sg. One should nevertheless pay attention to observation of Grierson, *LSI,* VI, p. 14, who noted the parallel existence of the active and passive/ergative construction in different dialects, with the latter prevailing in western districts of the Avadhī area (Unão). Considering the fact that in the case of Kabīr's *pads* these verbal forms travelled even further west into areas where the ergative construction was firmly established, their (in the present contexts syntactically unobjectionable) passive meaning should be taken as a distinct possibility. Interesting is also the note of Saksena and Chatterji that these affixes are contemptuous in sense – a feature that fits well in the context of both verses quoted below.

The suggested segmentation of these forms for the purposes of the present morphological analysis is as follows: *cīnh-* + *-ya*$_2$*-* + *-0*$_2$*-*+ *-si*, resp. *mãj-* + *-i*$_2$*-* + *-0*$_2$*-* + *-si*, where *-si* is defined as 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. infl. perf.

138.0 *kā nāgã̃u kā bắdhai cắma, jau nahĩ̃* cīnhyasi *ātamarã̃ma* "what [is gained] by [going around] naked, what [is achieved] by binding animal skin [around the body], when you have not recognized God in the Self?" (or passive construction, "if God has not been recognized"; or as future tense: "if you will not recognize")

338.0 *kāyā* mājisi *kã̃una gunã̃, je ghaṭa bhītari hai malanã̃* "why (lit.: "for what benefit") did you/he rub the body when the pot is dirty inside?" (or passive/ergative construction: "why was the body rubbed"; or future: "why are you going to rub [your] body")

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C. Future

1. g-*future* + *sg. m.* -ā$_{11}$ / -au$_4$, *pl. m.* -e$_8$, *sg.f.* -ī$_8$

Present tense augmented by the morph *-g-* as marker of future tense is an innovation of the early NIA period. *-g-* is explained as a remnant of the unenlarged form of the OIA past participle *gata-* > MIA *gao* > NIA (MSH) *gā* or (Braj) *gau* (Kellogg, *GHL*, p. 345, §603(3); Bloch, *IA*, p. 287-288 [290]; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, p. 908-909). The originally participial, i.e. nominal suffix was marked for gender and number, a feature inherited by the *-g-* future. Each Hindī *g*-future form has therefore two types of desinences: first, a verbal ending of the present tense denoting person and number, and second, a nominal one which expresses gender and number. In certain cases, the apparent redundancy – with the category of number expressed by two different affixes – can in fact disambiguate a verbal ending that may be understood as either a singular or plural number. An example is the form *jā̃ṇā̃igā* in the verse 146.0, quoted below: here the verbal ending can be interpreted as either 3rd pers. pl. *-ā̃i$_8$*, or 3rd pers. sg. *-ā̃i$_6$* with the nasalization conditioned by the preceding nasal consonant. The nominal singular ending *-ā$_{11}$*, formally distinct from the plural *-e$_8$*, helps to identify the whole form as 3rd pers. sg. (It should be noted, however, that in the dialect of Mālvī the affix *-gā* does not change for gender and number: Grierson, *LSI*, IX.2, p. 13.)

Formally the nominal endings of the *g*-future are nearly identical with those of nouns and adjectives, the only difference being the absence of the category of case in the former. The relation of endings occurring in texts analysed in the present study can be summarized as follows:

g-future		*nominal*
sg. m. *-ā$_{11}$*	≈	dir. sg. m. *-ā$_5$*
sg. m. *-au$_4$*	≈	dir. sg. m. *-au$_1$*
pl. m. *-e$_8$*	≈	dir. pl. m. *-e$_1$*
sg. f. *-ī$_8$*	≈	dir. sg. f. *-ī$_4$*

The explanation of the origin of this type of future, as the result of compounding of two originally independent verbal forms, appears to be supported by the admissibility of inserting the exclusive emphatic particle between the two components in MSH: besides *hogā hī* ("he will certainly be") it is possible to say *ho hī gā*, etc. The original literary meaning of the verbal compound would be "I have gone in order to do" – as an analogy may be adduced the English structure, e.g. "I am going to do", emphasizing the idea of intention.

From the point of view of morphological theory this type of future tense presents an interesting anomaly: in complex words which have both deri-

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vational affixes and inflectional endings, usually derivational affixes appear closer to the stem than the endings. The generally accepted explanation of this phenomenon seems to be that derivational morphemes affect the meaning of the stem to greater degree than morphemes of inflection and therefore stand closer to it (see e.g. Lieber and Mugdan, in: *Morphology*, p. 406-407). In Old Hindī this is clearly the case with the *s*- and *h*-future tenses (both attested in the present corpus); can it be that the *g*-future emerged at a stage when the analytical character of the NIA language was not yet firmly established, so that the new morpheme could be simply agglutinated to an existing finite form?

In our texts the main function of this tense is to express the general future – actions and events actual or remote, intended or not. The example under 408.3 contains two types of the future tense – the sigmatic *bhajisi* and the *g*-future *āvaigā* and *pachitāvaigā* – in close proximity within the same verse. The *g*-future can also express probability or a degree of confidence about present actions or situations.

Future tense:

408.3 *aba nahĩ bhajisi bhajisi kaba bhāī,* āvaigā *ãta bhajyau nahĩ jāī; je kucha kīyau soī saba sāra, phiri* pachitāvaigā *vāra na pāra* "if you will not worship now, when will you worship? [When] the end will come, it is impossible to worship. Whatever [you] have done, all that is the essence [of your being]; later you will regret immensely"

78.3 ubarahuge *kisa volai* "under which cover (or: "with whose support") will you attain salvation?"

439.3 *dharatī pavana ākāsa* jāigā *cãda* jāigā *sūrā re* "the earth, the air, the sky will perish, the moon will perish [and] the sun"

96.0 *jīvarā tũ̃* jāigau *mãĩ jãnã̃* "[o my] soul, thou wilt depart, I know"

102.3 *eka dina* hvaigā *hvāla hamārā* "one day [this] will be our state [too]"

303.5 *eka rāma bhajahu re bahuri na* hvaigā *pherā* "worship one (God) Rām, there will be no return (i.e. another birth) again"

410.2 *jaba yahu syāla syãgha kũ̃ ṣāi, taba* phūlaigī *yā banarāi* "when this jackal devours the lion, then this big tree will blossom"

Probability:

146.0 *kahau bhāī ãbara kā syũ̃ lāgā, koī* jãṇãĩgā *jãṇaṇahāra sabhāgā* "Tell me, friend: to what is attached the sky? Some fortunate wise man will [perhaps] know it" (or: "Is there any fortunate wise man who knows it?")

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2. s_3-*future*

The origin of the sigmatic suffix used in the formation of the future tense in several NIA languages and dialects can be traced back to the OIA sigmatic future suffix *-sya-*/*-i-ṣya-*, added to the strengthened form (*guṇa*) of the verbal root. In the MIA stage (Śaurasenī, Māgadhī) the suffix *-ssa-*/*-i-ssa-* is added predominantly to the present stem; the ending of the 1st pers. sg. is that of the secondary conjugation (*-m* instead of *–mi*; Pischel, *GPS*, §520, p. 362). In Apabhraṃśa, this final *-m* was together with the preceding *-a-* of the stem transformed into *-u*: Skt. *kariṣyāmi* > Pkt. *karissaṃ* > Apa. *karīsu* (with the reduction of the double consonant and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel). The known Apabhraṃśa terminations coincide to a great extent with the corresponding forms in Old Mārvāṛī – or Old Western Rājasthānī, as Tessitori preferred to call it. Some of the forms he selected as illustrative examples match closely those found in our text. He gives: *1st sg. jāisu*, *bolisu*, *karisi*, *dharisiũ*, *thuṇasyũ*, *kahīsa*; *2nd sg. jāisi*, *huisii*; *3rd sg. kahisii*, *desii*, *milisya:i*, *karisa:i*, *lahasii*, *jāṇisī*. He points out that this type of sigmatic future survives in Jaipurī for which he gives the following terminations: *1. sg. -asyũ*, *2. sg. -asī*, *3. sg. -asī*; *1. pl. -asyā̃*, *2. pl. -asyo*, *3. pl. -asī*. (Tessitori, *OWR*, §121). Similarly Kellogg, *GHL*, §502, p. 297-298, who brings further examples of use and adds that "in Bundá, Kotah, along the river Chambal, and northward to Jaipúr, the future in स्यूं, etc., is the usual colloquial form." Tagare, *HGA*, §139, p. 307, notes that in Apabhraṃśa the sigmatic suffix is followed by terminations of the present indicative; but the examples he adduces show that in the 2nd pers. sg. the ending *-ahi* (< OIA *-asi*) was in many cases reduced to a bare *-i* (*karīsi*, *gamīsi*; *lahesahi*, but also *lahīsi*), whereas the 3rd pers. sg. still retained both vowels of the original ending (*karesa:i*, *lahesa:i*, *hosa:i*). As Tessitori's examples show, this state was still prevalent in the Old Mārvāṛī but here too the *-ii* and *-ī* forms of the 3rd pers. sg. appear to be well represented.

In the texts of the present corpus, occurrences of this type of future are not numerous; in the three forms of 2nd pers. sg. we see the suffix of the future tense connected with the root by the connecting vowel *-i_2-*, in the single instance of 3rd pers. sg. the suffix is connected by the vowel *-a_2-*. In 138.0 we meet the form *cīnhyasi*, the affix *-ya-* being probably a graphic representation of weakened pronunciation of the connecting vowel *-i_2-* (cf. McGregor, *LIO*, §2.9, p. 114).

The sigmatic forms in the analysed *pads* of Kabīr are probably due to some influence of western dialects, yet another possibility for interpretation should not be ignored. Tessitori, *OWR*, §117, mentions as an alternative ending of the 2nd pers. pres. the form in *-si*, which, according to him, is

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very rare and limited to certain works written by Jainas, possibly due to the influence of Prākrit they still used in their works. He notes that before this *-si*, "thematic *a* is optionally substituted by *i* or *e*" and quotes as examples *sah-a-si*, *anubhav-i-si*, *kar-e-si*, *lah-e-si*, *rāc-e-si*. Perhaps some forms in the *pads* of Kabīr could be interpreted this way: e.g. *mājisi* in 338.0 (with a variant reading *mājasi* in several other MSS)? Finally, still another possibility is to see in the form *mājisi* (and according to M. P. Gupta and V. Sīha also *cīnhyasi* in 138.0), 2nd or 3rd pers. sg. of the Avadhī past tense: for a discussion of this possibility, see the section 5.B.3 above.

On the basis of the few examples given below it is impossible to make a comprehensive statement about the uses of the sigmatic future. The future action is either understood as certain (*deṣisi*, *binasasī*) or used in an interrogative sentence. M. Metzger's observation on the use of the *s*-future in the letters of *vakīls* of the 18th century Rājasthān may also be pertinent to our texts: "Allerdings scheint es so zu sein, dass das Futur 1 [i.e. *s*-future] ausschliesslich zur Bezeichnung von Sachverhalten eingesetzt wird, die definitiv eintreten werden (oder besser, von Sachverhalten von denen das erwartet wird [...]), während das Futur 2 [i.e. *l*-future] oft eher eine Möglichkeit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit auszudrücken scheint. "(Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe*, p. 105).

2nd pers. sg.:

138.0 *kā nāgaũ kā bā̃dhai cā̃ma, jau nahĩ* cīnhyasi *ātamarā̃ma* "what [is gained] by [going around] naked, what [is achieved] by binding animal skin [around the body], when you will not recognize God in/as the Self?" (or: "when you have not recognized the God in the Self?")

367.2 *kahā̃ vai loga kahā̃ pura paṭāṇa, bahuri na* deṣisi *āi* "where are those people, where is the quarter, the city [you have lived in]? You will not see [them] again, having come [back]"

408.3 *aba nahĩ* bhajisi bhajisi *kaba bhāī, āvaigā ãta bhajyau nahĩ jāī* "if you are not going to worship now, when will you worship? [When] the end will come, it is impossible to worship"

338.0 *kāyā* mājisi *kaũna gunā̃, je ghaṭa bhītari hai malanā̃* "why (lit.: "for what benefit/profit") are you going to rub [your] body, when the pot (i.e. the person) is dirty inside?" (or: "for what benefit did you/he rub the body")

3rd pers. sg.:

92.2 *je upajyā so* binasasī "what has been born that will perish"

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3. h_2-*future*

The future in -h_2- shares a common origin with the -s_3- future – the OIA sigmatic future in -*sya*-/-*i*-*ṣya*-. Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §696, p. 964, notes that the change of intervocalic -*s*- to -*h*- is an unexplained problem in MIA and NIA phonology. He points out the irregular character of this change while discussing the development of forms for numerals in various NIA languages (e.g. *sattar* – *bahattar* in MSH, cf. *ODBL* II, §511, p. 783) as well as in the phonology section devoted to sibilants (*ODBL* I, p. 549, §299). Chatterji dates the change to the 3rd MIA period and suggests the Pañjāb region as a possible centre from which it may have spread to other parts of North India. The causes of the change may have been numerous and specific in each particular case. As far as the future tense is concerned, he suggests the possible influence of periphrastic forms like *dātāham* > 2nd MIA *dāhaṃ*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 549).

The forms occurring in our texts conform closely to the Braj paradigm (1. sg. *mārihā͂u*, 2. and 3. sg. *mārihai*; 1. and 3. pl. *mārihā͂i*, 2. pl. *mārihau*, according to Kellogg, *GHL*, Tab. XX). Beames, *CGMALI*, vol. III, p. 113, reconstructs the development of 3. sg.: [*kariṣyati* > *karissati* >] *karihati* > *kariha:i* > *karihai*. It can be seen that the two heirs of the original OIA sigmatic future differ from each other not only in the consonantal suffix (-*s*- against -*h*-), but also in the forms of their endings – possibly the consequence of a previous longer and separate development in different areas. Both types of future tense share a feature that goes back to their common origin: their endings are unmarked for gender and both use the connecting vowel -i_2- for joining them to the root. (The form *marahai* in the example 41.0 below may be a scribal error: other future forms of the same verb occurring in the same *pad* read *marihai* and *marihā͂i*.) The exceptions are the vowel-ending roots *de*- and *le*- which may connect to the -h_2- directly (Varma, *LB*, §214, p. 106); in one quotable instance the connecting vowel merges with the final vowel of the stem into diphthong -*ai* (in the verse 115.2, quoted below). The -s_3- and -h_2- types of the future tense appear to be identical as far as their function is concerned – what has been said above about the uses of the -s_3-future, appears to apply to the -h_2- type too.

For a regional distribution of various types of future tense in the NIA languages, see a useful synoptic map in Masica, *IAL*, p. 290, Fig. 9.7 : Future markers in NIA.

1st pers. sg.:

257.4 *kahai kabīra mai sala raci* marihũ̃ "says Kabīr: having built a funeral pyre I shall die"

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3rd pers. sg.:

387.6 *pĩḍa parẽ jīva* jāihai *jahã̃ jīvata hī le rāṣau tahã̃* "where the soul will go when the body dies, take and keep it there while still alive"

41.0 *hãma na marãĩ* marahai *sãsārā, hãma kũ̃ milyā jīvã̃vanahārā* "we do/will not die [even when] the [whole] world will die: we have met Him who gives life"

115.2 *pũjī bitaṛi bãdi lai* daihai*, taba kahãĩ kãũna kai chūṭai* "having distributed the capital [the Lord-investor] will put [you] into jail; then at whose intercession will you be freed?"

1st pers. pl.:

41.3 *hari marihai tau hãma hũ̃* marihãĩ*, hari na marai hãma kāhe kũ̃* marihãĩ "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (i.e. is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?"

2nd pers. pl.:

47.0 *rãma mohi tāri kahã̃ lai* jaihau*; so baikũṭha kahau hai kaisā, kari pasāva mohi* dehau "Rām, having ferried me across, where will you take [me]? Say, what is the paradise like, [which,] by your grace, you will give [me]?"

77.2 *binasi gaye thãĩ kā nã̃u* dharihau "when [you are] dead what name will you bear?"

D. Passive

1. $-i_3-/-ī_3-$ *passive* + $-y_2-$ + $-ẽ_3/-e_{11}/-ãĩ_9/-ai_{15}$

The synthetic *-i*$_3$*-/-ī*$_3$*-* passive is a descendant of the OIA passive in *-ya-*. In Sanskrit, this suffix was followed by personal endings of medium which were, during the MIA period, substituted by terminations of the active voice. Thus, e.g. Skt. *kriyate* "is (being) done" was transformed into *kijja:i*; *śrūyate* "is (being) heard" into *suṇijja:i* or *suṇīa:i*. In NIA this *-ijja-* or *-īa-* was further simplified into *-īja-* or *-ia-*; with endings of the 3rd pers. sg., the most frequent desinences occurring in the passive voice forms, the result was the typical impersonal passive marker *-ijai*, *-ījai*, *-i*(*y*)*ai*, *-i*(*y*)*e*, *-ī*(*y*)*e* (Pischel, *GPS*, §535-550, p. 369-376; Hoernle, *CGGL*, §481, p. 323; Tessitori, *OWR*, §136; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §653-654, p. 909-911; Bloch, *IA*, p. 237-238 [239-241]). In many NIA languages passive forms of the present tense were able to preserve to some extent their original non-modal function, but generally they tended

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to acquire new modal, mostly deontic and abilitative, meanings (Bubeník, *SDMIA*, p. 117-123). This shift may have been facilitated by the frequently gnomic force of the passive present (cf. e.g. the German impersonal passive sentences like "das tut man nicht" with deontic meaning).

In the analysed texts, the synthetic passive is used mostly in the 3rd person and can be formed from causative (e.g. *ḍarāi*: for an explanation of the passive affix followed by the ending *-0*$_{13}$, see the section 5.H.2 dealing with causatives), transitive (e.g. *kahiye*, *paḍhiye*), intransitive (*ḍariye*), as well as objectless verbs (*jāiye*, *rahiye*, *roiye*). The endings of the present tense which follow the regularly inserted consonant *-y*$_2$- are *-e*, *-ẽ*, *-ai*, or *-aĩ*. Analysis of their occurrence in specific contexts should give an answer to the question whether these differing forms reflect the distinction between singular and plural, or whether they are mere allomorphs. As far as the distinction between nasalized and non-nasalized endings is concerned, in the synthetic passive forms nasalization does not appear to play the role of a plural marker. In 310.4 *kā paḍhiye kā gũniyẽ kā veda purāṇã sũniyaĩ* "why to recite/read, why to philosophize, why to listen to Vedas and Purāṇas?", we have no reason to interpret *gũniyẽ* as plural; *sũniyaĩ*, on the other hand, can be seen as the plural form standing in grammatical concord with the plural "Vedas and Purāṇas". The case of *jāṇiyaĩ* in 129.6 *jau paĩ jugati na jāṇiyaĩ bhāva bhagati bhagavãna* is ambiguous: formally, *jugati*, "the right way", "right path", can be either sg. or pl.; the words *bhāva bhagati* "love and devotion" may be related to it as its attributes and the expression can be read "if the ways of love and devotion are not known". On the other hand, we have cases of obvious plurals without any nasalization: 477.3 *tumha se kete lāiyai ḍhaurī* "how many [others] like you are attached in love [towards me]!"; or 473.1 *ṣaṇi ṣaiyai kãdā* "having been dug out, roots are eaten". It is significant that these nasalized endings come with roots with the final nasal – *gũn-* in 310.4, *jãṇ-* in 129.6, and *sũn-* in 310.4: in all three cases the nasalization appears to be a phonetic, rather than grammatical phenomenon. In 129.4 *sãpati deṣi na hariṣiyẽ* "having seen/seeing wealth, one should not rejoice" (lit.: "it should not be rejoiced"), the passive, with nasal ending appended to a root without final nasal, is to be understood as sg. (four other Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV show in this place a form without nasalization).

The distinction between *-e* and *-ai* too cannot be interpreted as representing a formal difference between singular and plural forms: whereas *ṣaiyai* in 473.1 can be understood as plural, *rahiyai* and *kahiyai* in 251.0 certainly cannot. Therefore, *-ai* suffixes cannot be identified as plural forms. Following Hockett, *Language*, 1947, p. 328, we can say that the endings *-e*, *-ẽ*, *-ai*, and *-aĩ* are allophones in non-contrastive distribution: they appear to be in

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free alternation and have the same meaning (3rd pers. pres. of both the sg. and pl. numbers). Alternatively, they can be understood, as far as number is concerned, as unmarked forms (which is the case in the modern Śekhāvatī too: see, Gusain, *Shekhawati*, p. 44). For this reason, these endings are not identified as *-e*$_{10}$ or *-ai*$_{13}$/*-ãĩ*$_{6}$ "3rd pers. sg.", or, *-ãĩ*$_{8}$ "3rd pers. pl.", i.e. terminations which occur in other finite verbal forms, although from the diachronic point of view they are probably identical with them. They have been treated (as opposed to Miltner, *OHR*, p. 73, 68, and 71) as morphs of separate category, and marked as *-ẽ*$_{3}$, *-e*$_{11}$, *-ãĩ*$_{9}$ and *-ai*$_{15}$ "3rd pers. (in synthetic passive)".

An interesting form that probably expresses other than the 3rd pers. impersonal passive is *ḍahakāiyau* in the verse 129.2. The final morph *-au* could be perhaps understood as nominal ending of dir. sg. m. *-au*$_{1}$ (for examples, see the next paragraph), but here a better interpretation seems to be *-au*$_{5}$, 2nd pers. pl., with translation "you allow to be deceived", the direct address reinforced by the following particle *re*.

In one or two quotable instances the ending appended to the passive stem is (*-y*$_{2}$)*-au*, used regularly with perfective participles: it is *bheṭiyau* "[was] met", "[was] found" in 372.3, and possibly also *miliyau* in the expression *jalahi dhuri miliyau* "was poured in the water" in 486.1. In addition, in 138.2 we have the form *muḍāiyãĩ*, instrumental of the passive perfective participle, which in the expression *mũḍa mudāiyãĩ jau sidhi hoī* can be translated as "if the final goal is attained by having [one's] head shaved". The occurrence of synthetic passive marker combined with participial morphs *-0*$_{2}$- (as in these three instances) and *-t*$_{3}$- (as in *tumha kahita* "you are called" in 429.2) is relatively rare in our texts. But in Śekhāvatī even today the synthetic passive perfective participle is used to form passive perfect tense, e.g. *likhijyo hai* "has been written" (Gusain, *Shekhawati*, p. 44). Synthetic passive imperfective participle used as predicate was known also in Old Braj (e.g. *māna jānīyata* "la fierté est connue": Varma, *LB*, §209, p. 103) and in Old Avadhī (Saksena, *EA*, §294(c), p. 240). There is another possible interpretation of the forms *miliyau* and *bheṭiyau*: the *-i-* which precedes the ending may be understood as connecting vowel *-i*$_{2}$- and the verbal form as ordinary perfective participle. The decision to interpret these two forms as passives has been made with a view of the broader context of the two respective *pads*: the shorter forms without the connector occur in them too – *kahyau* in the *pad* 372 and *milyau* in the *pad* 486, both in the same verses as do the longer forms.

Another problematic form is the possible passive *nistarīyā* in 185.4. It can be interpreted either as past form (Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 219: *mukta huā*, *chūṭā*), or as present impersonal passive (Sĩha, *KKK*, p. 163: *nistāra hotā hai*, *uddhāra hotā hai*); both dictionaries introduce the quotation of

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the verse 185.4 as example. The second alternative understands this form as a variant of *nistariye* (occurring also in Tulsīdāsa's *Vinayapatrikā*, 186.6). In the present context the impersonal passive "the liberation is achieved" appears to give better meaning than perfective participle "he achieved liberation" (where the medial *-i-* would have to be interpreted as a connecting vowel *-i_2-*).

Similar dilemma for the interpreter presents the form *pāīyā* in verse 92.0: *rā̃ma rasa pāīyā re, tā tā̃ bisari gaye rasa aura.* Caturvedī and Mahendra in their *KK*, p. 241, and also Gupta, *KG*, p. 189, translate it by perfective participle, *prāpta kiyā* and *pāyā*, respectively. But the interpretation of this form as passive appears to be an equally tenable solution: the meaning is then either "there is nectar of Rām", or "nectar of Rām can be (or: "should be") found". The same verbal form occurs four times in *sākhīs* of Dādū (4.2., 4.3., 4.4., and 4.12 of the ed. reprinted in the *NBhS-DHL*, p. 143) where the meaning is invariably "there is", "there exists" – the first line of the *sākhī* 4.2 may suffice as an example: *dādū nirā̃tari pīva pāīyā jahā̃ nigama na pahū̃cai veda* "Dādū, the Beloved eternally exists where the Vedic erudition does not reach (has no access)". The perfective participle *binasi gaye* can be also understood as denoting present perfect or general present (see above, section 5.E.7.a.).

In the analysed texts the synthetic passives are used with non-modal, as well as modal meanings, typically in agentless contexts, often with the verb *kah-*; e.g. 204.1 *rājasa tāmasa sātiga kahiye tīnyu̇̃ terī māyā* "*rajas*, *tamas*, *sattva* – these three are said to be (or: "are called") your *māyā*"; or 47.2 *tārā̃ṇa tirā̃ṇa jabai laga kahiye, taba laga tata na jā̃ṇā̃* "so long as the deliverer [from *saṃsāra*] and the deliverance is [only] talked about, so long the essence has not been understood". If the agent is to be mentioned explicitly, the reflexive pronoun *āpa* or *āpā* "oneself" is used (as in verses 114.3 and 92.2). The construction in 139.4 (see below, among examples of abilitative passives) may be considered ambiguous: here the passive *kahiye* may be construed with the ergative agent *gu̇̃ge*.

More frequent are those instances where the passives are used with modal meanings. They can express demand, deontic modality, cohortative or abilitative meanings – a feature not unexpected in texts whose main function is prescriptive or normative: either to encourage listeners or readers to participate in certain kind of action or to advise them against doing something. Frequently, it is difficult to decide which kind of modality is meant in a particular case; in sentences where the goal of the action is the focus and the subject de-emphasized, sharp boundaries between alternative interpretations often do not exist. One example can be found in verse 177.4 *satagura milai ta pāiye aisī akā̃tha kahā̃ṇī* "if one meets the Supreme guru, then such unspeakable story is (or: "can be") received". *pāiye* is here either non-modal

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passive ("is received"), or has abilitative meaning ("can be received"). In the verse 102.0: *jhūṭhe tana kṹ kā grabaīye, mũvṽ pala bhari rahaṇa na paīye*, the verbal form *grabaīye* can be understood either as ordinary non-modal passive, or as deontic in meaning: "why is / should be flaunted [this] abominable body? Having died it is not able/allowed to stay even for a moment". The verse 95.3 is also instructive: *sãta milai kachu kahiye kahiye, milai asãta muṣṭi kari rahiye* "if one meets a virtuous man, then something can be said, can be said (or: "should be said"); if one meets a person lacking virtue, then one should keep silent". Here the passive *kahiye* can have either abilitative or deontic meaning; *rahiye* is deontic passive. Moreover, both *kahiye* and *rahiye* can be interpreted as cohortatives ("let us say", "let us keep silent") or even as polite imperatives. In other instances, ambiguity may be narrowed down by context. Thus, in 95.0 *bolaṇṽ kā kahiye re bhāī, bolata bolata tata nasāī* "what can be expressed by talking, o brother? By talking the essence is / can be destroyed", *kahiye* is here best understood as abilitative. In 310.3 the context of conditional clause clarifies the meaning of *cahiye*: *jau darasana deṣyā cahiye, tau darapana mājata rahiyai* "if one wants to see the *darśan* (lit.: "if the *darśan* is wanted [as] seen" or: "if the seeing of *darśan* is wanted"), then the mirror should be polished constantly". *rahiyai*, in this case, has deontic meaning. It can be noted that deontic and abilitative meanings often occur in interrogative sentences of the type "why should one..." or "how can one ...". In order to show the various uses of synthetic passive and possible variants of their translations in different contexts, the examples given below are more numerous than is usual in exemplifications of other grammatical phenomena.[2] For passives of causative stems ending in *-ā$_4$-*, see below in the section 5.H dealing with causatives.

passive indicative:

47.2 *tārãṇa tirãṇa jabai laga* kahiye*, taba laga tata na jãṇṽ* "so long as the deliverer [from *saṃsāra*] and the deliverance is [only] talked about, so long the essence has not been understood"

204.1 *rājasa tāmasa sātiga* kahiye*, tīnyṹ terī māyā* "*rajas*, *tamas*, *sattva* – these three are said to be your *māyā*"

310.2 *ãdhiyāre dīpaka* cahiyai*, taba basta agocara* lahiyai "in the darkness lamp is wanted; then invisible thing is revealed" (lit.: "is received")

372.2 *mana jītẽ juga* jītiye*, jau biṣiyā rahai udāsa* "by conquering the mind, the world is conquered, when one remains indifferent toward objects of sense-perception"

[2] For more similar examples of synthetic passives in Old Western Gujarātī-Rājasthānī and Old Pañjābī, see Khokhlova, *Distribution*, p. 139-158.

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473.1 *ghara taji bana ṣāḍi* jāiyai*, ṣaṇi* ṣaiyai *kādā* "when the house/home has been renounced, the forest-region is repaired to; hoed out, roots are eaten" (first pass. for sg., second pass. probably for pl.)

477.3 *hāma syũ prīti na kari rī baurī, tumha se kete* lāiyai *ḍhaurī* "do not fall in love with us/me, o you foolish one; how many others like you are attached in love [towards me]!"

deontic passive:

275.0 *tā taĩ* seīye *nārā̃inā̃, prabhū merau dīna dayā karanā̃* "therefore it is *Nārāyaṇa* who should be worshipped, my Lord, doer of mercy toward the poor"

387.0 *ihi bidhi* seiye *srī narahari, mana kī dubidhyā mani paraharī* "in this way Śrī Narahari is / ought to be worshipped: abandon (or: "having abandoned") in the mind the division (doubt) of the mind"

92.2 *aura marata kā* roiye*, je āpā thira na rahāi* "when others die, why should one weep when oneself is not allowed to stay (permanently)?"

310.4 *kā* paḍhiye *kā* gũniyẽ*, kā veda purā̃ṇā̃* sũniyaĩ "why should one study, why should one philosophize? Why should Vedas and Purāṇas be listened to?"

deontic or cohortative passive (> polite imperative):

129.4 *sāpati deṣi na* hariṣiyẽ "having seen/seeing wealth one should not rejoice" (or: "let us not rejoice")

129.5 *sraga loka na* bā̃chiye*,* ḍariye *naraka nivāsa* "heavenly world should not be desired (or: "let us not desire"); dwelling in hell should (not) be feared" (or: "let us (not) fear")

139.4 *taji bā̃vaĩ dā̃hiṇaĩ bikārā, hari pada diḍha kari* gahiye "having given up the aberrations on the left [as well as] on the right, the feet of Hari should be grasped firmly" (or: "let us grasp firmly")

177.3 *pyāda pare jīva kahā̃ rahai, koī bheda laṣāvai; jīvata tisa ghari* rāṣiye "when the body decays, where does the *jīva* reside? Does/can anybody explain [this] secret? While living, let it be kept within that house"

251.0 *rāma rami* rahiyai*, sāṣata setī bhūli na* kahiyai "one should keep (or: "let us keep") rejoicing in Hari; not even by mistake should one talk (or: "let us not talk") to a *Śākta*"

387.1 *nāhī deṣi na* ja:iyai *bhāji, jahā̃ nahĩ tahā̃* rahiye *lāgi* "one should not (or: "let us not") run away not having seen / when not seeing [anything]; where [there appears to be] no[thing], there one should (or: "let us") stay attached"

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129.0 *gobĩdā gũna* gāiye *re,* pāiye *parãma nidhãna* "the praises of Govinda should be sung (or: "let us sing"); [in this way] is (or: "can be", "should be") reached the supreme abode"

372.0 *sāra suṣa* pāiye *re, rãgi ramahũ ātmārāma* "let us attain the ultimate bliss (or: "if the ultimate bliss is to be attained"), rejoice in the love of *ātmārāma*!"

abilitative passive:

177.4 *satagura milai ta* pāiye*, aisī akātha kahãṇī* "if one meets the Supreme guru, then such unspeakable story is (or: "can be") received"

114.3 *kahaĩ sunẽ kaisaĩ* patiyāiye*, jaba laga āpa tahã nahĩ* jāiye "by [mere] talking [and] listening how can one believe – until one does not go there oneself"

185.4 *jā kũ yahu jagu ghini kari cālai, tā prasādi* nistariyā "whom (or: "that which", i.e. the inverted spiritual path) this world avoids / passes by with disgust, by his (or: "its") very grace one achieves / can achieve the the final deliverance" (*nistariyā* interpreted as synthetic passive; but the form can be also understood as perfective participle: "one was liberated")

8.3 *anabhai kathā kavana syũ* kahiye "to whom can be told the story of [one's own] experience?"

95.0 *bolaṇã kā* kahiye *re bhāī, bolata bolata tata nasāī* "what can be expressed by talking, o brother? By too much talking, the essence is destroyed"

139.4 *kahai kabīra gũge guḍa ṣāyā, būjhai to kā* kahiye "Kabīr says: the dumb has eaten jaggery: [if] you ask [him about the taste], then what can be said?"

abilitative or deontic passive:

95.3 *sãta milai kachu* kahiye kahiye*, milai asãta muṣṭi kari* rahiye "if one meets a virtuous man, then something can be said, can be said (or: "should be said"; or: "let something be said"); if one meets a person lacking virtue, then one should keep silent" (or: "let us keep silent")

114.4 *kahai kabīra yahu* kahiye *kāhi, sādha sãgati baikũṭha hi āhi* "Kabīr says: to whom should (or: "can") this be told (i.e. "to whom it makes sense to explain") – the company of saints is the true paradise" (or *baikũṭhahi* as obl.-locative: "in the company of saints [one] is in the paradise")

149.0 *aise logani syũ kā* kahiye*, je nara bhae bhagati taĩ nyāre, tina taĩ sadā ḍarãṇe* rahiye "what can be (or: "should be") said to such people –

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men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*? One should always remain frightened by them"

177.1 *ulaṭi pavana kahã̃* rāṣiye*, koī marãma bicārai* "having been reversed, where is (or: "should be"; or: "can be") kept the breath – does anybody concentrate on this secret?" (or with modal meaning of the 3rd pers. act. too: "somebody should ponder on this essential thing")

102.0 *jhūṭhe tana kũ̃ kā* grabaīye*, mũvã̃ pala bhari rahaṇa na* paīye "why is / / should be flaunted [this] abominable body? Once one is dead, it is not able/allowed to linger on even for a moment"

passive in conditional clause:

129.6 *kā japa kā tapa sãjamā, kā tīratha vrata snāna; jau pāĩ̃ jugati na* jãṇiyāĩ̃*, bhāva bhagati bhagavã̃na* "what [is the use] of *japa*, what of asceticism, of self-control? What [is gained] by [visiting] places of pilgrimage, by vows, by ritual bathing, if the right way is not known – the love and devotion to God?"

310.3 *jau darasana deṣyā* cahiye*, tau darapana mājata* rahiyai "if one wants see the image/*darśana* (lit.: "if the *darśana* is wanted [as] seen" or: "if the seeing of *darśana* is wanted"), then the mirror has to be polished constantly"

2. -īj- *passive* + -ai$_{15}$ / -au$_{6}$

The passive in *-ij̄-* shares a common origin with the passive in *-i$_3$-*/*-ī$_3$-* described above. Pischel, *GPS*, §535, p. 369, states that in western and southern Prākrits the OIA passive suffix *-ya-* was transformed mainly in *-jja-* or *-ijja-*; also Chatterji, *ODBL*, §655, p. 912, notes that in the Western Apabhraṃśa, the *-ijja-* suffix is more common than *-i*(*a*)*-* which is found in Old Bengāli texts of the *Caryā-padas*. Tessitori, *OWR*, §136, reports the form in *-ij̄-* (< *-ijj-*) as confined chiefly to the three verbs *karava:ũ*, *deva:ũ* and *leva:ũ*, although he notes also its occasional occurrence with other verbal roots (quoting the forms *pīja:i*, *kahīja:i*, *pāmīja:i*, *bhogavīja:i* and *mukīja:i*). The Global Index of *NBhS-DHL*, ed. by Winand M. Callewaert and Op de Beeck, shows more widespread use of this form in the Old Hindī dialects; most of its occurrences can be traced to works of Dādū and, perhaps surprisingly, to *Siddha dohe* (in the ed. of P. Kvaerne). Examples taken from Dādū include: *kahījai*, *japījai*, *jīvījai*, *tārījai*, *dharījai*, *patījai*, *parījai*, *bhãṇĩ̃jai*, *marījai*, *rāmījai*, *rāvījai*. In *Siddha dohe*: *karījai*, *kahījai* and *kahijai*, *gunījai*, *jāṇījai*, *paḍhījai*, *pāvījai*, *bhāvījai*, *vilījai*. In all instances, including those recorded in the works of other authors and not enumerated above, the vowel added to the root is long.

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The single exception is *kahijai*, found in the *Siddha dohe*. In our texts the passive suffix is *-īj-* and occurs only with four verbs: *kar$_1$-* (*kījai*), *de-* (*dījai*), *pat-* (*patījai*), and *le-* (*lījai*).

Working out the correct morphemic segmentation of the passive forms made from the roots *kar$_1$-*, *de-*, and *le-*, we have to decide whether the root forms should be identified as *k-*, *d-*, *l-*, or *ki-*, *di-*, *li-*, or perhaps *kī-*, *dī-*, *lī-*. Historical considerations lead us to the conclusion that these roots should end in a vowel (cf. skt. *kri-ya-te*, *dī-yate*). On the question whether this vowel should be long or short, perhaps the Mārvāṛī inflected passive might offer us a clue: Kellogg, *GHL*, §511, p. 302, mentions the forms *lirījaṇo* and *dirījaṇo* as passives of *leṇo*, "to take", and *deṇo*, "to give", where the root forms *li-* and *di-* are separated from the passive suffix by the inserted consonant *-r-*. The same solution is offered by McGregor, *LIO*, p. 175, who analyses *kījai* and *dījai* into *ki-*, *di-* + *-ijai*. This segmentation can be accepted for our texts too, with the small correction of his *-ij-* into *-īj-* (McGregor, *LIO*, p. 170, reports the short forms in *-ija-* in the text analysed by him as "more usual"): thus *ki$_1$-* + *-īj-* + *-ai$_{15}$* > *kījai*; *di-* + *-īj-* + *-ai$_{15}$* > *dījai*; *li-* + *-īj-* + *-ai$_{15}$* > *lījai*.

The alternative form *karījai* (in 249.4) has its direct predecessor in the Apabhramśa *karijja:i*, mentioned by Hemacandra and quoted by Pischel, *GPS*, §546, p. 374. In the NIA period, *karījai* is found in Mārvāṛī (Bloch, *IA*, p. 237 [240]) and in the east also in Avadhī of Tulsī and Jāyasī where this form coexists with *kījai*.

More problematic is the form *kījīye* (in 372.1): the pleonastic addition of the passive affix *-īye* to another passive in *-īj-* may be due to the requirements of rhyme – to the occurrence of passive *pāiye* in the preceding line. The context in which this form occurs in our text leaves no doubt that it is the true passive, and not a respectful imperative originating in late MIA optative in *-j-* (opinion expressed by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §644, p. 900).

The status of the form *lījyau* (in 182.4) is also uncertain. Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 362, giving as an example this locus, explain it as *lījie*. This type of formation is analysed by Chatterji, *ODBL*, § 644, p. 900, as an optative or precative, developed from the MIA optative *-ijja-* (and OIA optative in *-yā-*), which could occasionally assume the termination of the 3rd pers. imperative in *-u*. The form is illustrated by a quotation from the *Prākṛta-paiṅgala*, p. 427: *sō tuha saṅkara dijjaü mōkkhā* („may he, Śaṅkara, grant you liberation"). McGregor, *LIO*, p. 178, on the other hand, interprets the verbal form *kahyau*, in the contexts available to him, "as 3rd person passive imp.-subj. forms [...] these would represent an earlier formation, showing suffixation of imp. active ending to passive stem, of the type of an OIA **kathyatu*." The example he gives appears to be convincing: *jau koū yaha kahai ki* [...] *tahāṃ*

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kahyau ki [...] ("if somebody says that ..., then let it be said that ..."). Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe,* p. 109-110, notes a relatively frequent occurrence of such forms in the official correspondence of the Rājasthānī nobility at the beginning of the 18th century. The suffixes *-ai* and *-au* are characterized by him only generally as sg. and pl. respectively; the context supplied by him seems to indicate that we have here the 3rd pers.: *aba śrījī ṣaracī kī madata kījau jī* („Nun mögen (uns) Seine Majestät mit Geld aushelfen."). In the texts analysed by Metzger, these forms appear to be generally used with the force of optatives or polite imperatives of the active voice. In our example quoted below (the only occurrence found so far in the analysed texts of Kabīr's *pads*), the meaning of the phrase still appears to be passive.

Miltner, *OHR*, p. 83, identifies this passive suffix as *-j$_2$-*, i.e. ignoring the preceding vowel. He may have seen this as the simplest way of analysing the passive *kījai*, the only form of this type of passive occurring in his Morphemicon. The occurrence of any other verbal root ending in a consonant, making the vowel *-ī-* manifest, perhaps might have led him to reconsider his solution.

29.0 *apaṇai bicāri asavārī* kījai*; sahaja kai pāiṛai pāva jaba* dījai "riding upon one's own thought (i.e. taming the horse of one's own thought or mind) can be made (or: "is made") when the foot is put in the stirrup of *sahaja*"

deontic passive:

129.5 *hũṇā thā so hoi rahyā, mānahĩ na* kījai *āsa* "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]; one should not entertain [false] hope(s) [in one's] mind"

185.0 *avadhū jāgata nīda na* kījai "*avadhūta*, staying awake one should not fall asleep!"

abilitative passive:

310.5 *kahai kabīra mai jẽnẽ maĩ jẽnẽ mana patiyānẽ, patiyẽnẽ jau na* patījai *na* patījai *tau kyā* kījai "Kabīr says: I had got the insight; [when] I had got the insight, the mind was convinced; [I have been] convinced, [but] if others do not (or: "cannot") believe, [then] they (simply) do not (or: "cannot") believe – what can be done [about it]?"

421.0 *kyũ* lījai *gaḍha bãkā re bhāī* "how can be taken that formidable fortress, o brother?"

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other forms:

249.4 *bhau būḍatā̃ kachu upāi* karījai*, tau tiri lãghau tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore" (deontic passive)

372.1 *bānaha base kā* kījīye *re, jau mana nahī tajai bikāra* "what is done/ /achieved (or: "what can be done/achieved") by dwelling in forest, if the mind does not abandon [its own] defects?" (simple or abilitative passive)

182.4 *dīpaka bina joti, joti bina dīpaka, hada bina anāhada sabda bāgā; cetanā hoi su ceti* lījyau*, kabīra hari kai ãgi lāgā* "lamp without flame, flame without lamp; without limits, the sound of *anāhata* resounded; [if] there is comprehension, let this be comprehended (or *lījyau* as optative of active voice: "let it comprehend [that]"); Kabīr has merged into Hari"

3. *Periphrastic* (*analytical*) *passive: perfective participle* + jāī

The origin of this form of the passive, an innovation of the NIA period, is not quite clear. One possible explanation of the genesis of this analytical way of expressing the passive voice was put forward by Beames (*CGMALI*, III, §25, p. 74) who saw in it a result of the unconscious splitting of the synthetic passive in *-ījj-*. To him it seemed possible that "the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added *j*, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the ज of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form मारिजे "he is beaten," would easily pass into मारा जाए, as in modern Hindī." The same explanation was offered by Hoernle, *CGGL*, §481, p. 323, and also by Chatterji, *ODBL*, II, §663, p. 923-924. For Chatterji, although the analytical passive might be possibly confused with the old optative in *-ejja-*, the abilitative meaning inherent in the Bengālī variant of the analytical passive testifies to its origin in the *-ijja-* synthetic passive.

A different opinion was expressed by Bloch, *IA*, p. 292 [294], who pointed out that the analytical passive with the verb "to go" exists also in Kashmīrī, where the finite verb is constructed with the oblique infinitive; and that in Persian and Pashto an equivalent of the verb "to go" is used for the same purpose – in which case one might speculate on the foreign influences that spread in the Indian-language area through the medium of Persian and Urdū.

As the example quoted from verse 473.2 clearly shows, the perfective participle takes the gender of its grammatical subject (here the feminine *bāsanā̃*). All four examples quoted below carry a negative abilitative meaning, as is

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also often the case in Avadhī of Tulsī and Jāyasī (see, Saksena, *EA*, §349(d), p. 292-293). Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe*, p. 112, on the other hand, brings two examples of this form, used as the ordinary indicative passive in the past tense; the language studied by him dates to the beginning of the 18th century and reflects a more developed stage of the use of analytical passive, closer to that of MSH).

310.3 *jaba darapani lāgai koī, taba darasãna* kīyā na jāī "if the mirror is covered by rust, then the vision/*darśana* cannot be had" (lit.: "done")

473.2 *biṣa biṣayā kī bāsanã̃ tajã̃u* tajī na jāī "I (should) give up the craving for poison of objects of sense-perception, [but it] cannot be abandoned"

406.3 *hṛdai kaṭhora marai bã̃nã̃rasī, naraka* na bã̃cyā jāī "[man of] cruel heart may die in Vārāṇasī; [still], he is not / cannot be saved from hell"

408.3 *aba nahĩ̃ bhajisi bhajisi kaba bhāī, āvaigā ãta* bhajyau nahī jāī "if you will not worship now, when will you worship, my friend? [When] the end will come, worshipping is impossible" (lit.: "it cannot be worshipped")

E. Participles

1. -t_3- *imperfective participle*

The origin of the OH and MSH participial formative *-t-* can be traced to its OIA predecessor, the affix *-ant-*/*-at-* of the present active participle. In MIA this affix took the form *-anto* (pl. *-antā*, f. *-antī*) and went over to the thematic declension. Its basic function as marker of the present participle, was preserved into the NIA period; it appears either with the original nasal or without it. In one of Kabīr's poems included by Miltner in his OHR we find two examples of the older nasalized form (*gaḍãta* and *hasãta*), in the present corpus there is none: in all instances *-t_3-* is preceded either by connecting vowel *-a_2-* or by affix of the passive (*-i_3-*). The participial affix is followed by nominal endings identical with those of substantives and adjectives. In the masculine sg. this ending is either *-a_4*, corresponding to the unstrengthened form of the MIA participle, or *-$ā_5$* which developed from the MIA participle stregthened by the adjectival pleonastic suffix *-ka-*. Thus, e.g. from the Prākrit form *calanto* developed the Old Hindī *calata*, from *calantako* we have the Braj *calatau* and MSH *calatā*/*cal.tā*. (Kellogg, *GHL*, §597, p. 339; Bloch, *IA*, p. 257 [259]; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §732-733, p. 999-1002, for the participle and its adverbial function, and p. 682, §431 for the pleonastic affix *-aka*.) The sole

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feminine form registered in the present corpus occurs in the *pad* 23.1: *tana maĩ hotī koṭi upādhi* "there was a myriad of disturbances in the body"; see also above, section 5.A.2.h, under the forms of the verb *ho*$_1$-.

This participle occurs frequently as predicate, sometimes with the present tense of the auxiliary verb *h*$_1$- "to be", sometimes without it, to form the present tense expressing habitual action. The analysed *pads* yielded several examples of the imperfective participle in predicative constructions with finite forms of the verbs *jā*$_1$- and *rah*- denoting continuing or durative action. In the conditional clause the participle has the force of a simple conditional. As a nominal form in non-predicative contexts it takes the force of an attribute or (more often) adverbial complement. As the adjectival and adverbial forms are sometimes formally identical, an exact determination of their value may be difficult. For more detailed discussion and examples of adverbial forms, see below in the section 5.E.8.b devoted to participles used as verbal nouns.

-t$_3$- participle + -a$_4$ / -a$_6$ used as predicate:

53.3 *chāḍi kateba rãma kahi kājī, ṣūna* karata hai *bhārī* "leave alone the Book and say Rām, *qāzī*, you commit crime/violence"

325.1 *karãma basi yahu jīva* kahata haĩ "this soul is in the grip of *karman*, they say"

172.0 *lokā tuma ja* kahata hau *nãda kau nãdana* "people, when you say »Nanda's son«"

102.2 *covā cãdana* caracata *ãgā, so tana jarai kāṭha kai sãgā* "[the body which] he anoints with perfume and sandal – this body will burn down together with the firewood"

363.0 calata *kata ṭeḍhau ṭeḍhau re* "why do you walk so pompously?"

363.3 *bālū ke gharavā mai baiṭhau,* cetata nahĩ *ayãnã* "seated in a house of sand, [you] do not realize [that, you] ignorant!"

381.0 *rãma sumiri bhāī; rãma nãma sumiraṇa bina,* būḍata hai *adhikāī* "remember Rām, o brother; without remembering Rām's name you (will) get bogged down even deeper" (the form *būḍata hai* can be also understood as 3rd pers. sg. "gets drowned", " sinks", and *adhikāī* as dir. sg. f., *-āī-* + *-0*$_4$: "without remembering Rām's name plenty [of people] get drowned")

280.4 *jau re ṣudāi masatī* basta [correctly: basata] hai*, tau aura mulaka kisa kerā?* "if God dwells in the mosque, then whose is the rest of the earth/country?"

448.0 *rãma carāṇa jā kai hridai* bas[a]ta hai*, tā jãna kau mana kyũ ḍolai* "in whose heart dwells Rām's foot, why should wobble the mind of that man?"

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-t_3- participle + -a_4 in predicate continuative construction with the verbs jā$_1$- and rah-:

251.3 *sāṣata sunahã̃ dūnyũ̃ bhāī, vo nīdaĩ vo* bhaũkata jāī "*Śākta* and dog, both are brothers: the former slanders, the latter keeps barking"

113.0 *jau pai rasanā rāma na kahibau, tau* upajata binasata bhrāmata rahibau "if one will not pronounce [the name of] Rām (lit.: "if [the name of] Rām will not be pronounced") with one's tongue, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again" (for the verbal adjectives in -b_2-, see the section 5.G.4 below)

310.3 *jau darasana deṣyā cahiye, tau darapana* mājata rahiyai "if one wants (pass.) to see the image/*darśana*, then one has to polish constantly (pass.) the mirror"

-t_3- participle + -ā$_5$ used as predicate in conditional:

53.1 *jai ṣudāi turaka mohi* karatā*, āpai kaṭi kina jāī* "if God would have made me a Turk/Muslim, [then] why [the circumcision] is not done by itself?"

-t_3- participle as predicate, combined with the passive suffix -i$_3$-:

(see also the section 5.D.1 above)

429.2 *tumha* kahita *tribhuvana ke rājā* "you are called the king of the three worlds"

-t_3- participle as attribute (-a_4), or adverbial (-a_{11} obl. abs.):

477.0 *yahu ṭhaga* ṭhagata *sakala jagu ḍolai* "this trickster walks about cheating the whole world" (*ṭhagata* can be interpreted either as adjective in -a_4, or adverbial participle with the ending -a_{11})

23.5 *aba mãna ulaṭi sanātana hūvā, taba hãma jãṇyã̃* jīvata *mūvā* "now the mind having turned around became eternal; at that moment, by obtaining the [saving] knowledge, I died [to this world] while still living / being alive"

387.6 *pĩḍa parẽ jīva jāihai jahã̃* jīvata hī *le rāṣau tahã̃* "where the soul will go when the body dies, take and keep it there while still alive"

2. (-ã̃-/-ā- +) -ṇ$_2$-/-n$_2$- *perfective participle*

The form descended perhaps from OIA part. med. in *-āna*/*-māna*: Bloch, *IA*, p. 260 [257]; Kellogg, *GHL*, §560b, p. 324, notes only very briefly this form as one type of past participles ("the perfect of pure verbs") which occur in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, but does not analyse its exact meaning and

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origin. Tessitori, *OWR*, §126.2, lists this participle as one of five classes of past participles current in Old Western Rājasthānī and explains it as a form derived from the potential passive in *-ā-* (i.e. from passive of causative verb). Most of the forms he was able to excerpt from his corpus of Old Mārvāṛī texts can be interpreted as passives of causative bases (e.g. *kṣobhāṇa:u* "frightened", *chetarāṇa:u* "deceived"). As in many other cases, the most extensive explanation is supplied by Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §761, Participles of the causative, p. 1031-1032: "in Early W. Hindī, the "*-āna-*" was found, but now it seems to have fallen into disuse: thus, Kabīr has (ed. Kshiti-mōhan Sēn, III, p. 62) "māyā dēkha-kē jagata lubhānō, kāhē rē nara garabānō?..... prēma-kē hātha kāhē na bikānō?" *the world has been charmed seeing Māyā; why, O man, has been this boasting? why hast not been sold in the hand of love?* (it would be seen that in "*bikānō*" we have the causative passive participle; in the other two cases, and also in E. Hindī "*harakānē*, *akulānī*, *lapaṭānī*" given above, the forms are denominative passive participles); in Rājasthānī, forms like "*suṇāṇō*, *batāṇō*" *was heard, was displayed*, etc., are past passive forms (from passive participles: cf. *LSI*., IX, II, p. 58); and in Northern Gujarātī, "*-āṇō*" is the passive participle affix for roots in "*-ā*", *e.g.* "*mārāṇō*" *was killed*, "*dīṭhāṇō*" *was seen*, "*bharāṇō*" *was filled*, etc. (*LSI*., IX, II, p. 343)."

In the present corpus, this type of perfective participle occurs almost exclusively with verbal roots ending in or augmented with *-ā-* (the only exception so far found is *patīnā* "[he] believed", "[he] trusted", derived from the same verbal base as *patiyānā*, causative form, also attested in this corpus). In our selection of Kabīr's *pads* this participle occurs in three different contexts:

1. with causatives (e.g. *girāṇ̃ī*, *uḍāṇ̃ī*, *patiyā̃nā̃*). The roots of these verbs are *gir-*, *uḍ-*, *pati*$_1$*-*, and *girā-*, *uḍā-*, and *patiyā̃-* their causative bases, i.e. roots extended by the suffix *-ā*$_4$*-*, or, in the last example, by its nasalized allomorph *-ā̃*$_3$*-*. (For the combination of this causative morph *-ā*$_4$*-* with the endings *-i*$_9$ / *-ī*$_{10}$ of the present tense with a reflexive or passive meaning – the so-called potential passive – see below, in the section 5.H.2 dealing with causatives).

2. In several cases the long *-ā-* which precedes the participle in *-n*$_2$*-* may be interpreted as denominative suffix, or deriver of verbs, *-ā̃*$_2$*-*. The sole example quotable from the present corpus is the form *baurā̃nī* "has gone mad", derived from the adjective *baur-* "mad" (in 419.3).

3. The participle in *-ṇ*$_2$*-/-n*$_2$*-* is joined to *-ā-* of the last syllable of the verbal root. Examples are: *samā̃nī* "has entered" (419.3) formed from the verbal root *samā̃-*; *kumilā̃nī* "withered", formed from the root *kumilā̃-* (186.3).

All instances of the *-n*$_2$*-* past participle excerpted from the present corpus are inflected according to gender and number like adjectives; all have predicative function and can be translated by the present perfect or past tense.

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In causatives:

19.4 *tana kī tapati* bujhā̃ṇī "the fever of the body has been extinguished"
406.2 *pāṣā̃ḍa karika jagata* bhulā̃nā̃ "addicted to heresies (or: "indulging in pretence") the world was led to delusion"
96.0 *jo deṣyā so bahuri na peṣyā māyā syū̃* lapaṭānā̃ "who/what had been [regularly] seen, was [one day] not sighted again – engulfed/absorbed in *māyā*"
149.0 *je nara bhae bhagati tāī nyāre tina tāī sadā* ḍarā̃ṇe *rahiye* "men who became separated / stayed aloof from *bhakti*: one should always remain frightened by them"
149.2 *tā kū̃ deṣi kabīra* ḍarā̃nā̃ "seeing him / looking at him, Kabīr has been horrified"
224.0 *ṭāṭī sabai* uḍāṇī̃ "the whole bamboo-screen has been blown away"
224.1 *thū̃ṇī̃* girā̃ṇī "the pillars [that uphold the roof] have been knocked down"
310.5 *mana* patiyānā̃ "the mind has been convinced" (in the MS the verb is written as *matiyānā̃*, obvious scribal error).

In denominatives:

419.3 *gujarī* baurā̃nī "the Gūjarī woman has gone mad"

-ṇ$_2$- / -n$_2$- joined to roots ending in -ā

34.4 *je nahī̃ padahi* samā̃nā "if one has not entered into the [highest] state [of being]"
139.2 *jahā̃ kā upanā̃ tahā̃* bilā̃nā̃ "from where he had been born, in that he merged"
186.3 *kāṭata belī kū̃pala melhī sī̃cataḍā̃* kumilā̃ṇī̃ "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"
419.3 *kahai kabīra gujarī baurā̃nī, maṭakī phūṭī joti* samā̃nī "Kabīr says: the Gūjarī woman has gone mad; the butter-tub has burst, [the Gūjarī woman] has merged into the light" (or: "the light has broken in[to the broken butter-tub]" – the exact meaning is not clear)

Other:

440.4 *mana kaṭhora ajahū̃ na* patīnā̃ "stubborn mind – even now it has not believed"

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3. -nh- *perfective participle*

Bloch, *IA*, p. 266-267 [269-270] points to Prākrit form *diṇṇa* "given" of irregular formation with the suffix *-na*, which was in Prākrit much more popular than in Sanskrit: Pischel, *GPS,* §566, p. 385-386. This participle then further developed in the Old Hindī into *dīnha*; by analogy were formed participles *kīnha* "done", *līnha* "taken", *pānha* "obtained". In the present corpus only the first three verbs mentioned above use this suffix; all join it to a special form of the root (*dī-* instead of *de-*, *kī-* instead of *kar-* and *lī-* instead of *le-*).

The majority of the total of 19 occurrences of these forms are used as predicates, in passive and ergative constructions; also attested are participles used as adverbs. The nasalization of the final vowel, almost regular feature of quotable forms, is due to the contact with the nasal consonant of the preceding participial affix; it cannot be interpreted as a marker of the singular – plural distinction or of the indirect case when the participle has the force of an adverbial.

The examples introduced below show that this participle can be used both in passive and ergative constructions without any additional formal marker highlighting the difference; the only clue appears to be supplied by the sentence context (presence or absence of a noun whose semantic properties allow it to carry the function of sentence agent: compare the verses 439.0 or 325.1 with the verse 381.2).

Passive:

439.0 *kusala ṣema aru sahī salā̃mati, e doi kā kū̃* dīnhā̃ *re* "happiness, welfare and well-being – to whom have been these two given?"

439.2 *sura nara munijana pīra avaliyā, mīrā paidā* kīnhā̃ [...] *sabani payā̃nā̃* dī̃nhā̃ "gods, men, ascetics, *pīrs*, Muslim saints and aristocrats were created [...] all were given farewell (lit.: "departure", "death")

440.3 *kahā aparādha sāta* hau kīnhā̃, *bādhi poṭa kū̃jara kū̃* dīnhā̃ "what crime had been commited by the saint, [that], bound into a bundle, [he] was given to (i.e. thrown in front of) an elephant?" (for the form *hau*, see the verb h_1- "to be" in the section 5.A.1.d; the phrase *sāta hau kīnhā̃* is probably to be understood as passive: see the section 5.E.7.a)

325.1 *pā̃ca tata le kāyā* kīnhī̃, *tata kahā le* kīnhā̃ "the body was made of five elements (lit.: "five elements having been taken the body was made"), [but] the elements [themselves] had been made of what?" (lit.: "what having been taken?")

Ergative construction:

102.3 *dāsa kabīra yahu* kīnha *bicārā* "devout Kabīr conceived this idea"

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Ergative construction and adverbial use:

381.2 *ajāmela gaja ganikā, patita krama* kīnhā̃*; teu utari pāri gaye, rā̃ma nā̃ma* līnhā̃ "Ajāmela, the elephant, and the courtesan commited sinful deeds; having crossed (other MSS than S294 read *tiri* instead of *utari*) even they reached the other shore, with the name of Rām (*līnhā̃*, lit. "by taking the name (of) Rām", in adverbial use, like MSH: *Rāma kā nāma liye* (*hue*) *pāra gaye*)"

4. -al- *perfective participle*

According to Chatterji, *ODBL*, §681-685, p. 940-945, the origin of this affix is to be sought in the pleonastic (diminutive) adjective affix *-la-*, added to past participles from the early centuries of the Christian era (see also: Bloch, *IA*, p. 164 [165]; Pischel, *GPS*, §595, p. 402-404; and Jha, *Māgadhī and its Formation,* §219, p. 179-180). It was popular especially in the north-eastern area of the MIA languages, but seems to have been absent in the Midland (Ardhamāgadhī area), West and Northwest, where it was not attested as a marker of the passive participle, attributive or predicative. On the other hand, the suffix *-al-* is used for the formation of the past participle in the Bihārī dialects and Marāṭhī. A related discussion can be found in Bloch, *IA*, p. 267-268 [270]; for the past verbal base with *-l-* in Bhojpurī, see Tiwari, *ODB*, § 662, p. 190, and p. 172-173; the historical development of the past participle in *-l-* and past participial tense in Maithilī has been presented, with numerous examples, by Jhā, *The Formation of Maithilī Language*, §698, p. 503-508. The opinion of Beames (*CGMALI*, vol. III, §45, pp. 135-136) and Kellogg (*GHL*, §598. p. 340) that this affix may be somehow connected to the *-l-* affix in the active past participle in the Slavic languages has been rejected by Chatterji, *ODBL*, p. 944, who points to the different origin of this affix in Slavic (participle affix forming nomina agentis) and Indian (pleonastic affix) languages.

If present in the Rājasthānī manuscripts of Kabīr's *pads*, the *-l-* forms should be understood as an Eastern Hindī, most probably Bhojpurī, influence. The example in verse 76.2, quoted below, shows the participle *pāvala* in the ergative construction with the agent *julāhai* (instr./erg. sg.) and grammatical subject *bā̃na* (nom.). In 177.2 *nimaṣale* is understood as instr. sg./obl. abs. (for a more detailed treatment of this use, see the section 5.E.8.a below).

76.2 *julāhai taṇi buṇi bā̃na na* pāvala "the weaver having stretched the warp and having done the weaving did not get the [expected] fabric" (Different version of this *pad* is found in the Bījak, Kaharā 10, Śukadeva Sīha ed., p. 181, which, interestingly, does not contain this eastern form: *jolahā tāna bāna nahī̃ jānai*)

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177.2 *kãsā nāda bajāilai, dhũni* nimaṣale *kãsā; kãsā phūṭā pāḍita, dhuni kahā̃ nivāsā* "when a sound had been produced in the bell, when the sound had faded out in the bell; [suppose that then] the bell cracked: where, *panḍit*, [is now] the residence of the sound?"

5. -il- *perfective participle*

The participial suffix *-il-*, a variant of the preceding one, has its origin in the OIA pleonastic and adjectival suffix *-i-la-* (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §681, p. 940) which developed into the MIA *-illa-*. In the NIA period this suffix was used for strengthening the past participle: in Marāṭhī (*dekhilā* "seen" etc.) and in the area of eastern Apabhraṃśa, in Bengālī (*dekhila* "seen"), and in the eastern dialects of Hindī, while Western Hindī and Pañjābī do not use it at all. Less frequently the *-il-*forms are found in Gujarāt, Rājasthān and Sindh; Tessitori, *ZDMG* 1914, p. 571-578, reports just three instances of it in the Rājasthānī MSS studied by him (*suṇillā* "heard", *dhuṇillā* "shaken", and *kīdhalũ* "done"), but has a useful discussion of the origin and spread of this affix.

In the present textual corpus four possible forms of the *-il-* participle have been identified. One occurrence is in the position of the predicate (in the verse 76.3); it is most probably no coincidence that it occurs in the same *pad* as the participle in *-al-* mentioned above; and it is perhaps not without interest that all other manuscripts edited and published in *MKV*, pp. 194-196, which contain this *pad* (A48, V38, Gop105;7, Raj49;8), also use the eastern forms *pāvala* and *rāṣila*/*rāṣala*. In three other instances (two of them in the same *pad*) we see them used in oblique case (originally instrumental) as adverbials. As far as these forms are concerned, doubts may arise regarding their proper segmentation, as manuscripts usually do not separate words by spaces. In the case of *sodhile/gāile*, one can also segment as *sodh- / gā- + -i_{11}* (absolutive); *le- + -0_{14}* (2nd pers. sg. imper.), as does Gupta, *KG*, p. 215, in his close rendering of the *pad* (*ḍhũḍh līje* and *gā le*; cf. the section 5.B.2.a above). See also the footnote on variant readings in the text of the *pad* 129 and notes on the adverbial past participles in *-e_3* in the section 5.E.8.a further below.

76.3 *trigũna rahita phala rami hãma* rāṣila "free from the three *guṇas*, enjoying [their] fruit(s), I have guarded [it/them]"

129.7 *sũni māḍala maĩ* sodhile *parãma joti prakāsa* "by searching in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahmarandhra*), supreme light shines forth" (or, with *sodhi le* as imperative and *prakāsa* a noun: "search in the *śūnya maṇḍala* for the glare of supreme light")

129.8 *kahi kabīra guna* gāile*, sãta sãgati ridā majhāri; jo sevaga sevā karai, tā sãgi rãmaĩ murāri* "Kabīr says: the devotee who performs the ser-

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vice by singing praise [of the Lord] in the company of *sants* in [his own] heart, with him Murāri rejoices" (or: "sing the praise [...]")

177.2 *kãsā nāda* bajāilai*, dhũni nimaṣale kãsā; kãsā phūṭā pãḍita, dhuni kahā̃ nivāsā* "when sound had been produced in the bell, when the sound had faded out in the bell; [and then] the bell cracked: where, *panḍit*, [is] the residence of the sound?" (or: "strike the bell, [....]")

6. -t_4- *perfective participle*

This form, two instances of which occur in a single *pad* of the analysed corpus, is an obvious import from Pañjābī: *kītā*, "done", perfective participle of the root *kar-*/*kī-* "to do". This participle is considered as an irregular formation, derived from Skt. *kṛta-*, MIA **kītta-*. In this particular case, *-t_4-* can be probably explained as direct descendant of the OIA past participial suffix *-ta*. For etymology, see Shackle, *GNG*, p. 82; for grammatical explanation, his *An Introduction to the Sacred Language of the Sikhs*, §200, p. 127. In both instances, the participle *kītā* has the force of predicate.

78.1 *sarajīva ā̃ṇaĩ deha bināsaĩ; māṭī bisamala* kītā*; joti sarūpa anāhada lāgā; kahau halāla kyā* kītā "the body of a living being brought forward (for the sacrifice) you destroy; in the name of God you have slaughtered the clay; [its] true nature – the light has merged into the boundless; say, what is that prescribed thing (*halāl*) you have done?"

7. -0_2- *perfective participle;* -y_2- *inserted consonant*

In the present study the most frequent form of the perfective participle has been defined only as "meaningful zero" (*-0_2-*); this solution has been adhered to even in those forms which retain the characteristic suffix *-y-* (e.g. in *bolyau*, *milyā*, etc.). This semivowel *-y-* is treated here (in keeping with Miltner's practice introduced in his *OHR*, p. 98 and 65) as a mere "inserted consonant" (and included in the Morphemicon as *-y_2-*), although from the purely historical point of view it is the final product of the regular process of phonological attrition typical of the MIA period (*-ita* > *-ida* > *-iya* > *-ia*) and could be therefore understood as representing an integral part of the morpheme of the perfective participle. (Of course, to this it could be objected that even in the OIA this *-i-* was not a part of the participial suffix proper, but was used as an inserted vowel: and according to Vararuci, *Prākṛta Prakāśa* vii.32, it was inserted before the participial termination much more freely in Prakrit than in Sanskrit; see, Kellogg, *GHL*, §598.1, p. 339).

From the systemic point of view the zero makes very good sense: in the feminine forms the semivowel disappears entirely (as e.g. in *bolī*, *milī*, etc.)

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and the insertion of zero as a marker of perfectivity would be required anyway. Moreover, in the Kabīr's *pads* which have been chosen for the present analysis we often encounter verbs whose perfective participles lack the semivowel even in the masculine of the singular number: forms like *baiṭhā*, *bhāgā*, *lāgā* and others are no exceptions. Several verbs occur in both forms: thus we have *deṣau* and *deṣyau*, *jītā* and *jītyā̃*, *jā̃nā̃* and *jā̃nyā̃*. The final *-a*, *-ā*, *-au* have been treated like ordinary nominal suffixes, which they in fact are.[3]

This participial form can stand as predicate, attribute, adverbial adjunct, and, if turned into a noun, as the grammatical subject or object of sentence. Only context decides whether the participle denotes simple past or is to be translated by the present perfect tense.

7.a. *Perfective participle used as a predicate*

Predicative constructions are the kind of syntactic structure in which the perfective participles find their widest use. They occur in constructions with the subject in the direct case if they are either intransitive, or require no object. The perfective participles of transitive verbs express a state and are understood as grammatically passive; the logical subject, if explicitly stated, requires the oblique (originally instrumental) case. As in the language of Kabīr's *pads* the direct and oblique case is in many instances formally identical, the logical subject or the agent of the clause can be often identified by semantic rather than morphological criteria. The gender of the participle is governed by the formal, grammatical subject (i.e. logical object) of the clause. The meaning of this so called ergative construction is active, e.g.:

97.0 *hari ṭhagi jaga kū̃ ṭhagaurī* lāī "Hari, having cheated the world, has set / spread out [his] magic spell" (or: "Hari the cheat/trickster has set / spread out [his] magic spell before the world")

139.4 *gū̃ge guḍa* ṣāyā "the dumb has eaten jaggery"

Often the logical subject is either missing or distant and has to be filled in from the context; in several cases the passive or stative sense of the participle

[3] The problem of description of perfective markers in NIA languages has been discussed recently by Masica, *IAL*, p. 269-270. For the concept of zero as a descriptive marker Miltner refers to Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York 1955. Good and concise introduction into problems of morphological segmentation presents Hockett, Problems of Morphemic Analysis. *Language*, vol. 23 (1947), p. 321-343. Nida, *Morphology*, p. 46, suggests that „[a] significant absence in an allomorphic series may be called an allomorphic zero." This is the case of Old Hindī perfective participles dealt with in the present work: we have a series of allomorphs *-n_2-*/*-n_2-* : *-nh-* : *-al-* : *-il-* : *-t_4-* : *-0_2-*, whose distribution is governed partly by rules inherent in the grammatical structure of one particular dialect (*-n_2-*/*-n_2-* versus *-0_2-*), but in the majority of cases the allomorphy is the result of borrowings of forms properly belonging to other dialects.

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of transitive verbs comes to the foreground and endows the sentence with an impersonal character:

102.1 *ṣīra sā̃ḍa ghrita pĩḍa* savārā, *prāṇa gayẽ le bāhari* jārā lit.: "[the body] with milk, sugar and ghī nourished, when the life-breath is gone, (having been) taken out, cremated" (the logical subject of the verb *savār-*, "the man", missing, the focus shifts to the logical object, *pĩḍa*).

In two instances the perfective participle is accompanied by a form of the verb "to be" or "to become" – the agent is not expressed, the participle is transitive and the meaning passive:

53.2 hũ̃ *tau turaka* kīyā *kari sũnati* "[when,] having undergone the circumcision, I am made Turk/Muslim"

95.4 *ādhā ghaṭa ḍolai,* bharyā hoi *tau muṣā̃ na bolai* "half[-empty] vessel/ /mind wobbles; if it is filled, it does not talk in vain / with its mouth"

Here neither the forms *hũ̃* nor *hoi* should be understood as auxiliaries forming the regular perfect tense in conjunction with the perfective participles as in MSH (*hoi* never occurs as auxiliary in this position); *kīyā* and *bharyā* can be looked upon simply as predicate complements and *hũ̃*, *hoi* as copulas. Alternatively, this type of collocation could be interpreted as a kind of passive: Bloch, *IA*, p. 291 [293], gives several examples of the passive formed by the perfective participle and the verb "to be" in Bengālī and Mārvāṛī (in his treatment of the OWR, however, Tessitori does not mention this type of passive). Kellogg, *GHL*, §785.1.a., p. 471, gives as an example of such construction of the perfective participle with passive meaning Sītā's lament from Tulsīdās' *Rāmacaritamānasa*: *kehi aparādha nātha haũ̃ tyāgī* "for what fault, (my) lord, am I deserted?" (the phrase *kahā aparādha sāta hau kīnhã̃* in 440.3 appears to be of the same type); and on p. 475: *bāra bāra mẽ torana bā̃danavāra bā̃dhī haĩ̃* "in each door wreaths and garlands are fastened", but does not comment on its exact grammatical/syntactical status when the agent is unexpressed. McGregor, *LIO*, p. 225, in the section devoted to perfective-agentive constructions touches on this feature in a footnote, remarking only that "perfective participles are not formally distinct from adjectives, ..., while it is uncertain that agent forms occur in sentence subject position as regularly, and they are not systematically marked." Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe*, p. 104, introduces, under the para. "Perfektives Präteritum" two examples of this construction; however, in both cases the participle is of a verb that demands no object (a subjectverb) – *pohaco hũ* "ich bin angekommen" and *gayo hai* "ist gegangen". On expressing the active meaning by the means of passive constructions, see also the brief and general remark of Bloch, *IA*, p. 296 [297]).

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In predicative position the perfective participle can express, apart from actions completed in the past, occasionally also present result of past activity (like the present perfect tense in English); in texts of the present corpus this usage can be seen esp. with the verbs *jā̃ṇ-/jā̃n*$_1$- "to know", *rah-* "to remain", "to stay", "to persist", and *lāg-* "to be attached", "to stick". The perfective participle occurs also in contexts where the verb does not point to any definite time moment (general or gnomic present). Cf. similar observations on the varied usage of this form in KELLOGG, GHL, §787, p. 473-474, and THIEL-HORSTMANN, Crossing, p. 120 (note on the verse 1,6 ff.).

Present perfect:

47.2 *tārā̃ṇa tirā̃ṇa jabai laga kahiye, taba laga tata na* jā̃ṇā̃ "so long as the deliverer [from *saṃsāra*] and the deliverance is [only] talked about, so long the essence has not been (or: "is not") understood"

96.0 *jīvarā tū̃ jāigau mā̃ī* jā̃nā̃ "[o my] soul, thou wilt depart, I know"

186.3 *kāṭata belī kū̃pala* melhī*; sī̃cataḍā̃* kumilā̃ṇī̃ "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant has put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it has withered" (or: "... puts forth ... withers")

408.4 *sevaga sau jo* lāgau *sevā, tina hī̃* pāyau *nirā̃jana devā* "he is the [true] servant who has persisted in the service; he has gained [the access to] the God *Nirañjana*" (or: "... who persists ... he gains")

General present:

47.1 *ekameka hvai* rahyā *sabani mā̃ī, tau kāhe bhramāvo* "[if you as] one and only entity [are] present in everything, then why do you lead [us] astray?"

390.4 *kabīrai kau svā̃mī saba ghaṭi* rahyau *samāi* "Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures"

146.0 *kahau bhāī ābara kā syū̃* lāgā*, koī jā̃ṇā̃īgā jā̃ṇaṇahāra sabhāgā* "Tell me, friend: to what is attached the sky? Some fortunate wise man will [perhaps] know it"

7.b. *Perfective participle in the periphrastic passive*

Periphrastic (analytical) passive uses the perfective participle forms that are followed by finite forms of the verb *jā*$_1$-. In all three instances which occur in the corpus this type of passive is found with the negative particle and indicates the impossibility of the action expressed by the participle – very much like e.g. in Tulsī's Avadhī:

310.3 *jaba darapani lāgai koī, taba darasā̃na* kīyā na jāī "if the mirror is covered by rust, then the vision/*darśana* cannot be had" (lit.: "done")

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408.3 *aba nahĩ bhajisi bhajisi kaba bhāī, āvaigā ãta* bhajyau nahī jāī "if you will not worship now, when will you worship, my friend? [When] the end will come, worshipping is impossible" (lit.: "it cannot be worshipped")

473.2 *biṣa biṣayā kī bāsanã̃ tajã̃u* tajī na jāī "I (should) give up the craving for poison of objects of sense-perception, [but] it (i.e. the craving, *bāsanã̃*, fem.) cannot be abandoned"

One can speculate that at this stage of language development the extension of the periphrastic passive to express the simple passive voice in the past tense was unnecessary: for rendering of passive or impersonal senses the use of the simple perfective participle of transitive verbs is sufficient, if the logical subject of the construction remains unexpressed and the logical object (i.e. grammatical subject) comes in the foreground (see the instances quoted above).

A peculiar kind of a passive construction which involves the perfective participle occurs in the verse 310.3: in the conditional clause *jau darasana deṣyā cahiye*, the participle *deṣyā* can be interpreted either as part of the predicate (if the synthetic passive form *cahiye* is interpreted as a modal verb "should"), or can be explained as a substantive with the meaning "seeing", and relating, in this particular case, as grammatical subject to the verb *cah-*, "to desire", "to want" (interpretation of McGregor, *LIO*, p. 214). According to Bloch, *IA*, p. 274-275 [278] and 279 [283] this form in *-ā* can be understood as past participle employed as a neuter substantive. Kellogg, *GHL*, §435, p. 265, note *, is definitely of the opinion that "the coincidence in form with the perf. part. masc. is purely accidental" and that in expressions such as hind. *sunā cāhā* the forms *sunā* etc. "are true gerunds or verbal nouns, exactly equivalent, respectively, to *chalná* and *chalne*, which latter *n* forms are indeed sometimes substituted in them for the more usual form in *á*." On the next page, this explanation is applied by him to the description of desideratives of the type *vah bolā cāhatā hai*, etc. Kellogg also points to illustrations of this forms supplied by Hoernle, *CGGL*, pp. 388, 326, 147. Poříźka, *HLC*, §122,4c, p. 316-317, notes that "[i]n works of some Hindi writers, चाहना *cāhnā* 'to wish' takes the perfective participle in *-ā* susceptible of no change: मैं भी यही सुना चाहती थी 'I wished to hear it, too' (*said by a woman*)." Similar explanation is given by Metzger, *Die Sprache der Vakīl-Briefe,* p. 116: "Das Verbum *cāh-* wird stets, auch in Hindī Passagen, wie im zweiten Beispiel, anders als in MSH stets mit dem Partizip Perfekt konstruiert. *su paḍhakara phuramāyo ghara mẽ beṭhe mahārājā huvā cāhe he* „Nachdem er das gelesen hatte sagte er: Er will wohl ohne eigenes Zutun Maharaja werden." *hama mīrajā rājājī suṃ*

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ijārā chuṛāyā cāhate hai „Wir wollen dem Mirza Raja den Ijara wegnehmen.“" However, neither Pořízka nor Metzger mention this construction with the passive form *cahiye/cāhie*.

310.3 *jau darasana* deṣyā cahiye*, tau darapana mājata rahiyai* "if one wants to see the image/reflection (*darasana*), then it is necessary to keep polishing the mirror" (lit: "if the reflection is to be seen" with *darasana* in the dir. case and *deṣyā* as part of the predicate; or: "if the seeing of the reflection is wanted" with *darasana* in the obl. case (descriptive genitive related to its head noun in nominative *deṣyā*). Whether the meaning of *cahiye* in this particular context is "is necessary" as it is in MSH, or "is wanted", is difficult to say; the synthetic passive in *-i̯*$_3$- (*-iye*) may or may not have modal value; if it does, it can express both the aspect of necessity and volition.

7.c. *Perfective participle as an adjective in the attributive position*
Although not common, its use can be attested by the following examples:

139.3 *yahu mana bohitha ke kavā jyũ, rahyau* ṭhagyau *sau baisaĩ* "this mind is like a crow on a ship [on the high seas]: it remained sitting [feeling] as if robbed" (i.e. marooned/trapped and at a loss [how to escape])

185.3 ulaṭyau *dhaṇāki pāradhī māryā* "with the inverted bow the hunter was killed" (*ulaṭyau* only in MS 3190/S138; A157 has *ulaṭi*; V154 *ulaṭyā*; Raj72;67 *ulaṭai*)

268.4 *dhana* sãcyau *kachū sãgi na gayau* "no amassed wealth accompanied [him after death]"

363.2 *māyā moha mamitā kau* ghālyau *būḍi mūvo bina pānī* "tossed about by *māyā*, delusion and egoism, [he] died having drowned without [even having fallen into the] water"

7.d. *Perfective participle used as a substantive*
can be illustrated by the following example:

459.2 *begi chuḍãvau merau* kahyau *mãni* "I shall get you released immediately, [but] heed my word"

For the perfective participles used adverbially in absolute constructions, see the next section.

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8. *Instrumental sg. of participle used as verbal noun / obl. abs.*

8.a. *Perfective participle in* -ã̃$_7$, -ãĩ$_2$, -ai$_6$, -ẽ$_2$, -e$_3$

Bloch (*IA*, p. 274 [278]) is of the opinion that so-called absolute participles in oblique cases in NIA may have their origin in OIA past participles used as neuter substantives. According to a rule formulated by Pāṇini (3.3.114), past participle when put into the neuter gender may take the force of a noun of action: *tasyā gataṃ savilāsam* "her walk is graceful", etc. These participles-turned-into-nouns then can appear in what Speijer, *SS*, §372, p. 290, calls "semi-absolute employment" of the instrumental case – a construction similar to the locative absolute. The use of the instrumental emphasizes the fact that the action represented by it should be understood as the cause, motive or means of the main action expressed by the finite verb form. The participle in such construction takes the force of a noun of action and its meaning is active: e.g. *sakhi bhuktaiḥ phalair etair jarā na te bhaviṣyati* "friend, by eating these fruits you will never grow old".

In Sanskrit, as well as in several NIA languages and dialects, the instrumental case of a noun or of a past participle-turned-into-noun can be combined, mostly in constructing rhetorical questions, with the interrogative pronoun *kim* (or its NIA equivalents meaning "what") to form a phrase "what" [is gained] by ... ?" or "what [should be done] with ... ?". In this type of construction the word relating to the interrogative pronoun – e.g. *kāryam*, *kartavyam*, *prayojanam*, etc. – may be expressed explicitly, but more often is elided. The person to whom the matter is of no use, is put into the genitive case: e.g. *kiṃ te vilapitenaivaṃ kṛpaṇaṃ ruditena vā* "what [is the use] to you of such wailing or miserable weeping?" (*Rām.* 2.39.2). Such usage would correspond closely to expressions in Old Hindī as, e.g. *sīṣyẽ suṇẽ paṛhẽ kā hoi* "what is [gained] by learning, listening [and] reciting?" found in Kabīr (verse 34.4). It is not without interest that in the present corpus these "adverbial" perfective participles express most frequently a cause or a means. (The participial forms ending with *-ẽ* or *-ãĩ* probably originated in the OIA absolutive locative in *-asmin* > MIA *-ahĩ* > NIA *-ãĩ*, *-ẽ*, a development which might have taken place under the influence of the instrumental *-ẽ* (< OIA *-ena*), as "the locative-dative and the instrumental-ablative were all susceptible to mutual influencing", according to Chatterji, *UVP*, §63, p. 45.)

In MSH and other NIA languages too, perfective participles of both intransitive and transitive verbs when used in adverbial phrases have active meaning – they have to be understood as oblique cases (mostly instrumentals or locatives) of nouns of action (for the gerundial use of participles as verbal nouns see e.g. Kellogg, *GHL*, §754(4), p. 448-449, and §386b., p. 223). In

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contrast to the instrumental of the ordinary substantive, the instrumental of a participle in its function of an action noun presupposes the existence of a subject of this action; the subject may be either implicit, or explicit, and may be identical with the subject of the superordinate clause, or may be different from it. Another feature that sets apart the instrumentals of participles / verbal nouns of action from those of other substantives is the capability of the former to take their own objects: the verse 185.2 may serve as an instructive example: *ḍāla gahyā̃ taĩ mūla na sūjhai, mūla gahyā̃ phala pāvā* "the root is not understood by grasping the branch; by grasping the root the fruit [is] obtained". (The use of the ablative postposition *taĩ* appended to the participle again highlights its substantival character and reinforces its function as the proper cause or suitable means of performing the main action.)

The fact that the subject of the main clause is identical with the subject of the participial construction is often only implicit, not expressed by formal syntactic means. In the example quoted above the overt subject of the verb *sūjhai* is *mūla*, but the underlying, unexpressed subject (the "salient participant") of this impersonal construction is the implicit dative experiencer (to whose understanding the root, *mūla*, does not occur *na sūjhai*), the person who understands or strives for an understanding; and this same person is also the implicit subject of the participle *gahyā̃*. The impersonal tone is maintained in the second part of the sentence: the verbal form *pāvā* is perfective participle of the transitive verb *pā-*/*pā̃-* ("to obtain") with the meaning "obtained"; only if the same verbal form is supplemented by the ergative form of e.g. a personal pronoun *maĩ*, will the sense shift to the active and will be understood as "I obtained" (lit.: "by me [is/was] obtained").

The introduction of the subject of the participle in the explicit form is often necessary if this subject is different from the subject of the superordinate clause. But even here the broader context makes it sometimes possible to leave it unexpressed: see, e.g. the sentence *paṭhayẽ na jā̃u ravā̃ nahī ā̃ũ* "if sent away, I do not go; if called, I do not come" in the verse 76.1. If explicit, the subject of the participle can be (as in the MSH) either in the direct or in the indirect case: the first alternative can be illustrated by the construction *pĩḍa parẽ jīva jāihai jahā̃* "where will the soul go when the body dies" in 387.6, and the second by *bhā̃ṇa kai pragaṭaĩ udita bhayā tama ṣīṇā* "after the sun appeared, the darkness that had come, dwindled away" in 224.2. In such phrases the instrumental case loses its original function of expressing a tool, a means, a way of doing, a method etc. and takes on the force of the logical predicate in an absolute construction.[4]

[4] For a more detailed treatment of implicit subjects determined by mental perspective taken in the sentence, i.e. by pragmatical rather than by strictly syntactical means, see the introductory chapter by Haspelmath, *Converbs*, p. 1-55).

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Typical co-occurrence of the instrumental of verbal noun with a postposition is, of course, its construction with *bina*/*binā* "without" which has survived from the OIA into the MSH, and is represented also in the present corpus (*bina bolyā̃* "without speaking" in verse 95.1, and *bina kātẽ* "without spinning" in 256.2, both quoted below).

The forms *karaĩ* and *gujāraĩ* in verses 281.2 and 312.3 can be interpreted either as 3rd pers. pl. pres., or as instrumentals of perfective participles used as nouns. For the admissibility of interpreting *karaĩ* in 281.2 and 312.3 as perfective participle – when the expected forms would be *kiyẽ* or *kīyẽ* – see *Tulasī śabda-sāgara*, and also *BBSK*, vol. I, p. 220, lemma *kare*. The phrase *mana maĩ kapaṭa nivāja gujāraĩ* in 280.2 is another example of this kind of morphological ambiguity.

The affix *-ile* calls for a short comment. Chatterji deals with the forms in *-ile* in his *ODBL* II, §735, p. 1003-1006 under the heading of indeclinable conjunctives or gerunds. According to him, they are originally locatives with an absolutive or conditional force, expressing a purposive gerund and past conditional, respectively. The first case is well-illustrated by the Bengali sentence *jē budhi karilē rahē āmhāra jībana* "by doing such contrivance by which my life can endure" (p. 1005), where the participle stands in similar position as the the *-ile* forms in the verses 129.7 and 129.8 quoted below (see, however, the note on these forms in 5.E.5 above). For the origin of oblique case endings *-ai*$_6$, *-aĩ*$_2$, *-e*$_3$, *-ẽ*$_2$, *-ã̃*$_7$, see the sections 1.A.3.h, i, k, l, m (chapter Nouns and Adjectives).

Perfective participle in -ã̃$_7$:

95.1 *bina* bolyā̃ *kyũ hoi bicārā* "[but] without speaking, how can arise an idea?"

95.2 *sādhū syũ* bolyā̃ *hitakārī, mūriṣa syũ* bolyā̃ *jhaṣa mārī* "from talking with a saint [there follows something] worthwhile, by talking with an ignorant [one's] time [is] wasted"

185.2 *ḍāla* gahyā̃ *taĩ mūla na sūjhai, mūla* gahyā̃ *phala pāvā* "the root is not understood by grasping the branch; by grasping the root the fruit [is] obtained"

200.3 kahyā̃ *na upajai* upajyā̃ *hĩ jā̃nai, bhāva abhāva bihũ̃ṇā* "by [mere] speaking [the experience of supreme bliss] does not arise, it is only when it has arisen [spontaneously] that one knows what is beyond being and non-being"

Perfective participle in -ai$_{17}$ / -aĩ$_{10}$:

114.3 kahaĩ *sunẽ kaisaĩ patiyāiye* "by [mere] speaking and listening how can one believe?"

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224.2 *bhẽ̃ṇa kai* pragaṭaĩ *udita bhayā tama ṣīṇā* "after the sun appeared, the darkness that had come [with the storm] dwindled away"

281.2 *rojā* karaĩ *nivāja* gujāraĩ, *kalamaĩ bhisti na hoī* "by fasting, by performing *namāz*, by [reciting] *kalima*, paradise is not [attained]"

312.3 *rojā* karaĩ *nivāja* gujāraĩ, *bãga de loga sunāī hiradai kapaṭa milai kyũ sẽ̃ī* "by fasting, by performing *namāz*, giving prayer call [and] preaching to people, [but with] falsehood in heart, how can the Lord be found?" (or: "they fast, they perform *namāz,* having given prayer call [and] preaching to people [with] falsehood in heart ...")

138.2 *mũḍa* muḍāiyaĩ *jau sidhi hoī* "if the final goal is [achieved] by having one's head shaved" (for a more detailed treatment of the form *muḍāiyaĩ*, see the section 5.H.2)

Perfective participle in -e_3:

77.2 *māṭī kā pĩḍa sahaji utapānā, nāda ru bĩdu samẽ̃nā; binasi* gaye *thaĩ kā nẽ̃u dharihau* "o you lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, permeated by (or: "dissolved in") *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu* – from [the moment of] perishing (i.e. once you are dead) what name will you bear?"

420.0 *āsana pavana* kīye *diḍha rahu re, mana kā maila chāṛi de baure* "stay firm by performing *āsana* and breath [control]; throw away the filth of the mind, o fool!"

315.4 *je thā sacala acala hvai* thāke *karate bāda bibādã* "what was changeable/fickle, that has become changeless/steady by becoming weary due to [constant] engagements in disputes and quarrels" (*thāke*, however, can be interpreted also as adjective participle in the position of predicate, and *hvai* as absolutive)

129.7 *sũni māḍala maĩ* sodhile *parãma joti prakāsa* "by searching in the *śūnya maṇḍala* (i.e. *brahmarandhra*), supreme light shines forth" (or, with *sodhi le* as imperative and *prakāsa* a noun: "search in the *śūnya maṇḍala* for the glare of supreme light")

129.8 *kahi kabīra guna* gāile, *sãta sãgati ridā majhāri; jo sevaga sevā karai, tā sãgi rãmaĩ murāri* "Kabīr says: the devotee who performs the service by singing praise [of the Lord] in the company of *sants* in [his own] heart, with him Murāri rejoices" (or: "sing the praise [...]")

Perfective participle in -$ẽ_2$:

34.4 sīṣyẽ suṇẽ paḍhẽ *kā hoi* "what is [won] by learning, listening, reciting?"

310.4 paḍhẽ *gune mati hoī, maĩ sahajai pāyā soī* "by reciting and meditating arises [only a state of] mind / an idea – [but] in [the state of] *sahaja* (locative of the noun) I have reached Him"

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127.0 *ḍagamaga chāḍī dehu mana baurā, aba tau* jarẽ barẽ *bani āvai* "Stop wavering, o foolish mind! Now, after all, when you have burst into flames, when you burn, comes your great moment" (lit.: "Now, after all, having been created by [your] bursting into flames, by burning, [your great moment] comes")

256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū aisaĩ, bina* kātẽ *nistaribau kaisaĩ* "mother-in-law says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?"

8.b. *Imperfective participle in* -a_{11}, -$ã_7$, -e_3

Chatterji (*ODBL*, p. 1000-1002) characterizes the Bengālī present participle in *-itē* as "an inflected form – a locative absolute, and it indicates the condition under which an act is done", standing in adverbial relation to the finite verb. In examples taken from Bengālī, early Assamese, Uṛiyā, Maithilī and Hindustānī the oblique form is, according to Chatterji, locative (H. *sārī rāt talaphte kaṭī* "the whole night passed in restlessness", *ḍarate ḍarate maĩ pās gayā* "I approached (it) in great fear (fearing much)", *ham gāte gāte sītī haĩ* "we (*fem.*) keep singing while we stitch"). As far as OWR and Marāṭhī are concerned, he follows Tessitori (*OWR*, §124) who understands this form as an absolute plural genitive. (On p. 1052 while discussing the Bengālī staticals of the type *nācite nācite gāwā* "to sing while dancing", Chatterji notes that here the *-ite* forms have an adverbial sense.) Bloch and V. K. Rājawāḍe, on the other hand, see the Gujarātī and Marāṭhī participle in *-tã* as descended from the MIA absolutive in *-tvā-nam*, *-ttāṇaṃ* occurring in Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī.

In the texts of Kabīr's *pads*, the participles can be either related or unrelated to the subject of the sentence. In the unrelated, absolute position, the actual voice may be perceived as passive (see the verse 186.3 below).

Imperfective pcp. in -a_{11}:

95.1 bolata bolata *baḍhai bikārā* "distortion [of truth] grows because of much talking" (unrelated adverbial participle used without reference to the subject of the sentence)

186.3 kāṭata *belī kũpala melhī; sĩcataḍã kumilãṇĩ* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered"

Imperfective pcp. in -$ã_7$:

268.0 *merī merī* karatã *janama gayau* "thinking of (lit.: "doing") 'mine', 'mine', the life went by" (for possible interpretation of *merī* as a noun with the meaning "egotism", "vanity", see above, section 3.B.1)

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477.1 *tũ merā purīṣā hũ terī nārī, tumha* calatã̃ *pāthara taĩ bhārī* "you [are] my husband, I [am] your wife; leaving [me] you [are] harder than stone!"

Imperfective pcp. in -e_3:

315.4 *je thā sacala acala hvai thāke* karate *bāda bibādã̃* "what was changeable, that has become changeless/steady by becoming weary due to [constant] engagements in disputes and quarrels"

F. Absolutives

Absolutive (conjunctive participle, gerund) is a verbal form widely used in the IA languages since Vedic times. Its development has been traced to the instrumental or locative cases of the OIA verbal noun in *-tu* (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §738, p. 1008-1010; Bloch, *IA*, p. 280-283 [284-286]; Hoernle, *CGGL*, §491, p. 329-330). From the greater number of absolutive affixes used in the Vedic language, classical Sanskrit retained two: *-tvā* for unprefixed verbs, and *-(t)ya* for those with prepositional prefix. But already in the OIA period this rule was not strictly adhered to and in MIA it was ignored altogether. In the languages of the north-western area and in the Madhyadeśa the prevailing form of the affix appears to have been *-ya* > *-ia*, which in the Apabhraṃśa period was further reduced to *-i* (for a more detailed treatment of the complex development of different MIA forms based on their different OIA predecessors, see Tagare, *HGA*, §151, p. 324-329).

1. -i_{11} / -$ī_{13}$ / -ai_{16} *absolutive*

In the texts analysed in the present study, we encounter three morphs forming the absolutive: *-i_{11}* with the allomorphs *-$ī_{13}$* and *-ai_{16}*, the morph *-a_{17}*, and zero, which is used with two roots, *de-* and *le-* only (for *-a_{17}* and zero, i.e. *-0_{15}*, see the next two sections). Tessitori, *OWR*, §131, and Chatterji citing him in *ODBL* II, §739, p. 1010, explain the long vowel *-ī* extant in the Mārvāṛī and Gujarātī languages as a development of the earlier locative absolute of the past participle, common in the Apabhraṃśa period. In our texts, however, the *-ī* appears to be a result of lengthening necessitated by rhythm and rhyme: in all instances without exception the long forms stand at the end of a verse or half-verse, rhyming with the last word of the preceding or following (half-) verse. E.g. in 440.1 we have *bhāgau hastī cīsã̃ mārī* "the elephant, trumpeting (lit.: "having let out a shriek"), had run away", where the absolutive *mārī* falls in line with the following noun

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balihārī; or, in 310.2, *dīpaka rahyā samāī* "the lamp/light has entered" rhymes with preceding *basta agocara pāī* "the unseen thing (was) obtained/revealed", where *samāī* is absolutive and *pāī* is identified as dir. sg. fem. of the perfective participle of the verb *pā-* (the short form *samāi* is also attested: in 390.4 we read *kabīrai kau svā̃mī saba ghaṭi rahyau samāi* "Kabīr's Lord dwells (lit.: "has remained having entered") in every body", *samāi* rhyming with the noun *ṣudāi* "God" at the end of preceding half-verse). The same kind of lengthening "*metri gratia*" is frequently encountered also in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*, and verses of Sūrdās (Kellogg, *GHL*, §536, p. 311-312; Śukla, *Jāyasī kī bhāṣā*, p. 153; Ṭaṇḍana, *Sūra kī bhāṣā*, p. 312). It should be also noted that putting the absolutive at the very end of the sentence (and the verse), i.e. after the finite verb, is a relatively frequent phenomenon, even in cases where the absolutive and finite verb constitute a modified verbal expression.

The verb *le-/l-* "to take" may form the absolutive either by changing the final vowel into a diphthong, or by taking an unsuffixed form identical with the root. In the first case, the absolutive is *lai*, attested also in Old Braj (Varma, *LB*, §221, p. 111; Ṭaṇḍana, *Sūra kī bhāṣā*, p. 312). In the texts analysed in the present study there are only four instances of this *lai*: one in the modified verbal expression *rā̃ma mohi tāri kahā̃ lai jaihau* "Rām, having got me to the other shore, where will you take me?"; then in the somewhat enigmatic verse 177.0: *aisā gyā̃na bicāri lai, lai lāi lai dhyā̃nā̃; sū̃ni mā̃ḍala mai ghara kīyā jaisā̃ rahai sicā̃nā̃* "contemplating such wisdom/knowledge (MSH *vicāra lekara*), concentrating devoutly (MSH *laya lagākara*, lit. "having applied the fusion"), fixing attention (MSH *lekara dhyāna*), [I have] made [my] house in the *śūnya-maṇḍala*, as [high] as [where] the falcon lives" (as in the verbal system the grammatical morph *-ai* shows considerable homonymy with other morphs, other interpretations of this difficult passage may be possible). The fourth instance has been found in 448.1: *bārā̃bāra baraji biṣiyā tā̃, lai nara jau mā̃na tolai* "again and again turning away from objects of sense-perception, when man, taking his mind, balances it (i.e. brings it under his control)". McGregor, *LIO*, §159, p. 180, reports two instances of the absolutive *lẽ* (could not it be a wrong reading for *lai*?). On the same page he introduces two instances of the absolutive of the verb *de-*: *dei* and *dai* (apart from extended form *daikari*), the second looking like an analogous formation to *lai*. (Some scholars see in the form *lai* a mere graphic variant of recording the sequence of two consecutive vowels *-e* + *-i*: Śrīvāstava, *Tulasīdāsa kī bhāṣā*, p. 123).

Another problem of segmentation presents the form *hvai*, the absolutive of the verb *ho-*. The correct solution probably is *hv-* + *-ai*$_{I6}$, analogous to *lai*, dealt with above (the form has a homonymous counterpart in *hv-* + *-ai*$_{I3}$, 3rd

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pers. sg., in 281.3, 315.4, and also in the future form *hv-* + *-ai*$_{13}$*-* + *-g-* + *-ā*$_{11}$ in 102.3). Apart from the form *hvai*, one also meets absolutive form *hoi* (as in 129.5; again, homonymous with the form of 3rd pers. sg.). Generally one can say that as far as absolutives are concerned, ambiguity in meaning arising from a widespread morphemical homonymy of nominal as well as verbal suffixes and endings is of rather frequent occurrence. Sometimes even the context does not suffice to disambiguate certain forms that can be interpreted either as an absolutive, 2nd pers. sg. of imperative (*-i*$_{11}$ versus *-i*$_{10}$), dir. sg. f. of a perfective participle (*-ī*$_{13}$ versus *-ī*$_{4}$), or locative in *-i*$_{6}$:

381.4 taji *bhrama krãma bidhi niṣedha, rãma nãma lei* "having got rid of (or imper.: "get rid of") delusion [as well as] prescriptions and prohibitions relating to actions, take the name of Rām!"

281.4 *kahai kabīra bhisti* chiṭakāī*, dojagi hĩ mãna mãnã̃* "Kabīr says: having rejected heaven (or perfective participle: "[you have] rejected heaven", "heaven rejected"), [your] mind has become enamoured of hell" (the same phrase occurs also in 78.4)

486.2 bhrãmi *bhūlai jini koī re* "let nobody be mistaken, having gone astray" (or locative: "let nobody go the wrong way in delusion")

In the total of one hundred *pads* of Kabīr analysed in the present study, there are more than two hundred instances of absolutives that serve several more or less distinct functions and express a number of particular shades of meaning. The examples given below are therefore divided into several groups, each showing specific uses and meanings of this widely-used grammatical category. The absolutive may express:

1.a. *Action preceding the predicate verb*

459.2 *prahilāda bãdhāyau begi* āi "having come quickly, [Hiraṇyakaśipu] got Prahlāda tied"

178.1 *kãma krodha moha mada machara* kāṭi kāṭi *kasa dīnhã̃* "having chopped (in turn / thoroughly) lust, anger, infatuation, conceit and jealousy, [I have] added [them as] seasoning admixture"

312.2 *banaṣãḍi* jāi *joga tapa kīnhã̃, kãda mūla* ṣaṇi *ṣāyā* "having gone into forest [you] performed yoga and austerities, having dug up roots ate [them]"

459.2 *taba sã̃ḍā muragã̃ kahyā* jāi "then Śaṇḍa and Marka having gone said" (i.e. "went to report")

15.2 pakaṛi *bilaīyā muragai ṣāī* having caught a cat, the hen has eaten [it]"

12.1 pahari *colaṇã̃ gādaha nācai* "having put on a smock, the donkey dances"

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212.3 pūji *pūjārau le gayā,* de *mūrati kai muṣi chāra* "having performed *pūja*, the *pujārī* has taken [the oblation] away, having put ashes in the mouth of the idol"

261.0 *māyā moha* mohi *hita kīnha, tā tai merau gyā̃na dhana hari līnha* "having deluded [me] with [her power of] delusion, *māyā* aroused passion [in me]; in consequence of this she has destroyed the treasure of my wisdom" (*mohi*, interpreted here as absolutive, can be also understood as dat.-acc. of the pronoun of the 1st pers. sg.; the basic meaning would not change)

257.4 *kahai kabīra mai sala* raci *marihu̇̃* "Kabīr says: "having piled the funeral pyre, I shall die"

149.1 *agni* lagāi *mā̃dira mā̃ sovai̇̃hi̇̃* "they sleep in the house having set fire [to it]"

1.b. *Action accompanying the predicate verb*

Absolutive may express progress of action simultaneous with that of the predicate verb; reduplication may indicate either extended duration of the action expressed by the absolutive, or an action performed in turns if it relates to more than one subject. (In not a few contexts it is difficult to chose between these two aspects as well as between the functions under a. and b.)

129.4 *sā̃pati* deṣi *na hariṣi̇yẽ bipati* deṣi *na roi* "seeing/experiencing prosperity, one should not rejoice, seeing/experiencing calamity, do not weep"

312.1 *beda purā̃na sumriti guna* paḍhi paḍhi, paḍhi guni *marama na pāyā* "studying (in turn / continuously) the qualities of Vedas, Purānas and *smṛtis*, studying and meditating [you have] not understood the essence" (or: "[their] essential meaning")

138.3 *bī̃da* rāṣi *je ṣelai bhāī, tau ṣosarai kā̃ṇa parā̃ma gati pāī* "my friend, if you play [the game of] retaining the semen, then [tell me,] which castrate has reached the Supreme stage / final deliveration?"

65.3 haraṣi haraṣi *guna rā̃mai kabīra* "(constantly) rejoicing, Kabīr is engrossed in the praise [of Lord]"

1.c. *Transition to the status of adverb*

Depending on context and semantic properties of the verb in the absolutive, the purely verbal meaning may gradually pass into that of an adverb or adverbial adjunct. A number of examples of absolutives turned into adverbs with more or less stabilized meanings can be found in MSH too: e.g. *kasakara* "tight(ly)", "forcefully"; *ḍaṭakara* "unwaveringly", "firmly"; *banākara* "properly";

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bhūlakar (*bhī nahĩ*) "(not even) by chance/mistake" etc. To the examples given below can be added the adverb *bharapūri* (occurring in 65.2), a variant of the geminated absolutive *bhari-pūri*, with the meaning "completely", "totally". Similar adverbizing function carries in certain contexts also the nominal affix of the loc./instr. sg. m. -i_6; in cases where the formal as well as functional properties of this nominal and verbal affix coincide it may be practical to describe them under one common head as an "adverbizer" (marked in the present corpus as -i_{12}).

187.3 *kahai kabīra* bicārī "advisedly (lit.: "having pondered") Kabīr says" (The collocation *kah-* + *bicārī*/*bicāri* appears several times in *pads* attributed to Kabīr; more than a dozen can be found in Tulsīdās's *Rāmacaritamānasa* and at least one in Jāyasī's *Padmāvat*. The most frequent formula is *kahahu bicārī*, translated as "tell after mature thought/consideration", "speak after due deliberation, "speak with forethought", etc. The adverbial force is absent when the absolutive takes an object: e.g. *kahai kabīra eka budhi bicārī* "pondering one question, Kabīr says" in 121.3. Similarly in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, II.191.3: *būṛhu eku kaha saguna bicārī* "an old man thought over [the meaning of] the omen and exclaimed".

372.3 *guri gyẽna kahyau* samajhāi "guru has expounded the spiritual knowledge intelligibly" (lit.: "having explained it". The expression *kah-* + *samajhāī* is a relatively frequent collocation in Kabīr's *pads* – three times in the present corpus only. The verb *kah-* always precedes the absolutive which stands at the end of verse or half-verse. The exact meaning depends on the context, but the general sense is "to tell emphatically", "to speak in unambiguous terms", "to instruct intelligibly", "to advise", "to admonish". Although both verbs form a single semantic unit, they do not necessarily follow immediately one after another.)

251.0 *sāṣata setī* bhūli *na kahiyai* "not even by mistake / no way should one speak to a *Śākta*"

288.4 *te kabahũ na hārai je* jẽni *ḍārai pāsā* "he never loses who casts the dice prudently / with deliberation"

408.5 *kahai kabīra jīti bhāvai hāri, bahu bidhi kahyau* pukāri pukāri "Kabīr says: you may either win or lose; I have explained [to you] in many ways, calling repeatedly / urgently / forcefully"

41.2 *sākata marãĩ sãtajana jīvãĩ,* bhari bhari *rẽma rasẽĩna pīvãĩ* "the *Śāktas* will die, the virtuous will live; they will drink the nectar of Rām to their hearts' content"

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1.d. *Absolutive transposed as adverbial postpositive formative* (kari$_1$) *and adverbizer* (-kari$_2$, *and* -kai$_2$)

The adverbial force of the absolutive can be used to strengthen the adverbial character of existing adverbs or in converting adjectives into adverbs (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.163, p. 181-182, reports the use of the absolutive *de-* in similar contexts). In the analysed texts, the absolutive *kari* appended to a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a syntactic unit as a kind of postpositive formative, is used for this purpose. The finite verb is often *jān-* "to know" or *dhyā-* "to think", and the whole expression carries the meaning "to know (something) as", or "to look at (something) as (if)". In this category belongs probably the contracted form *-kai* which appears twice in the verse 268.1 (if it is not to be understood as an expletive particle): the constructions *bīsa barasa kai* and *tīsa barasa kai* can be interpreted as adverbials of time meaning "for twenty years" and "for thirty years", *kai* in this particular instance being more or less equivalent to MSH postposition *-taka*. But unlike the genuine Hindī postposition, *-kai* is understood as retaining its absolutive value in governing the direct (accusative) case. (See also the notes of Kellogg, *GHL*, §173, p. 112, and §645b, p. 382; McGregor, *LIO*, §3.180, p. 188; for similar uses in MSH, Poříźka, *HLC*, §*16,1, p. 581; §*20,4, p. 594-595.)

Adverbizer (-kari$_2$, and -kai$_2$) with noun or adjective:

95.3 *milai asāta* muṣṭi kari *rahiye* "if one meets an unworthy person, one should keep silent"

139.4 *taji bā̃vāĩ dā̃hināĩ bikārā hari pada* diḍha kari *gahiye* "having given up (or: "give up") the aberrations on the left [as well as] on the right: the feet of Hari should be grasped firmly"

185.4 *jā kū̃yahu jagu* ghini kari *cālai, tā prasādi nistarịyā* "whom (or: "that which", i.e. the inverted spiritual path) this world avoids / passes by with disgust (lit.: "having made disgust"), by his (or: "its") very grace one can achieve the final deliverance"

Adverbizer (-kari$_2$, and -kai$_2$) with adverb:

15.3 tali kari *sāṣā* upari kari *mūla, bahuta bhā̃ti jaṛa lāge phūla* "[with] branches below [and] the root above, flowers of many kinds budded at the root"

20.3 *pā̃ca jane so* sāgi kari *līnhā* "with five persons [I have] made company" (for possible interpretations of the problematical sequence *so sāgi kari līnhā*, see footnote 6 under the respective *pad*)

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Adverbial postpositive formative (kari$_1$) with noun, adjective or numeral:

288.1 *yahu sãsāra* hāṭa kari *jÃnaũ* "I know this world to be a marketplace"
23.0 *aba hãma sakala* kusala kari *mÃnÃ, svÃtī bhaī jaba gobĩda jÃnÃ* "now, I have understood everything as beneficient, the peace of mind was found when I knew Gobinda"
204.2 *lohā kãcana* sami kari *jÃnaĩ, so mūrati bhagavÃnÃ* "[who] knows iron and gold as [of] the same [value], he [assumes] the likeness of God"
78.2 *pahalī* eka eka kari *dhyāvai bhī* dūjā kari *mārai* "at first you contemplate [all beings as] one [unity], then making/changing [them] into [something] different [than yourself], you kill [them]"

Adverbial postpositive formative (kari$_1$) with a syntactic unit:

281.2 *satari kābā ika dila hī bhītari je* kari *jÃnai koī* "inside a single heart [there are] seventy Kaabas, if [only] one knows it [to be the case]"
268.1 *bāra barasa bālāpaṇi ṣoyā, bīsa barasa* kai *tapa na kīyau; tīsa barasa* kai *rÃma na jÃnyau* "twelve years were wasted in childhood, for twenty years he performed no austerities, for thirty years he did not know Rām"

1.e. *Absolutive transposed as absolutive emphatic particle* (-kari$_3$, -ka$_2$)
The transposed absolutive of the verb *kar$_1$-* "to do" can be used to strengthen the absolutive in *-i$_{II}$*; the strengthening might be felt desirable in such cases where the pronunciation of the final *-i* is weakened by preceding long stressed vowel. In the analysed texts only one instance of this form has been found: *bajāi kari* in 129.1. As against Miltner's treatment of this form as a single absolutive suffix *-ikari* (*OHR*, p. 73), the present author has decided to treat it as a particle: McGregor, *LIO*, §160, p. 180, quotes the form *vicāri hī kari*, where *kari* is separated from the simple absolutive by the exclusive emphatic particle *hī*. In one quotable instance the absolutive *kari* is itself strengthened by the emphatic particle *-ka* (perhaps a shortened form of *-kari*).

129.1 *anahada bena* bajāi kari *rahyau gagana maṭha chāi* "playing the flute of *anāhata* [*nāda*], having pitched my tent I stayed in heaven"
406.2 *pāṣāḍa* karika *jagata bhulÃnÃ* "going by heresy, the world was led into delusion"

1.f. *Absolutive transposed as postposition*
The transposed absolutive can be used as postposition. The absolutive *lāgi* "because of" may be used in this function; however, in other instances, *lāgi*

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retains its original verbal force: e.g. *satagura carāṇa lāgi yũ binavaũ* "clinging to the feet of Sadguru I pray humbly thus" (verse 200.1).

261.2 *kāla pāsī mugdha bā̃dhyau kanaka kā̃mani* lāgi "the fool was tied by the noose of Kāl – because of gold and women"

1.g. *Absolutive in modified verbal expressions with predicate verbs*

The finite verb occurring in close proximity to the absolutive may be either fully (typically, forms of the verb *jā-*), or partly grammaticalized; in the first case the finite verb *jā-* denotes perfectivity, pure and simple; other finite verbs combined with the absolutive, apart from imparting the perfective aspect, may retain part of their original semantic content and add a particular shade of meaning to the verb in the absolutive. The state of affairs emerging from the present analysis anticipates the main features of the category of the perfective verbal aspect in MSH (as described in greater detail by Pořízka, *Opera Minora*, p. 131-245, and Nespital, HKK).

As in MSH, it is always necessary to distinguish between genuinely modified verbal expressions where the absolutive and the finite verb form single semantic unit, and combinations where both verbs retain their meanings and denote two actions or processes either contemporaneous to each other or following one after another (as, e.g. in a textbook example taken from Pořízka, *HLC*, §151,8, p. 435-436: *khā āyā hū̃* (= *khākara āyā hū̃*) 'I had my dinner before I came'.) Some cases may be considered ambiguous – one such example taken from the present corpus may be found in the sentence *jaisaĩ jalaihi jalahi ḍhuri miliyau yũ ḍhūri milyau julāhā* "just as water merged with water, so has merged the weaver", where *ḍhuri miliyau* / *ḍhūri milyau julāhā*, lit. "having spilled/poured, the weaver joined/met" can be understood either as two separate verbs describing two processes following closely one upon another, or as a single process with the meaning "to merge into", analogous to MSH *jā milanā* or *ḍhulaka ānā* (described by Nespital as the perfective with the sense "to roll down towards": see *HKK*, p. 650, sub *ḍhulakanā* 1.). Another similar instance is the sequence *āye cora turãga musi le gaye* in 268.2: here *musi* can be understood either as independent absolutive ("thieves came [and] having stolen the horse, took [him] away"), or – more probably – as a perfective modified verbal expression *musi le jā-* denoting a single action ("thieves came and whisked away the horse"). Correct interpretation may be made more difficult by inverted word order where the absolutive does not precede but follows the finite verb and by occasional insertion of another word between the two (see, eg. the locutions quoted below: *lehu bicāri* in 97.2, *hāki sāvaja dīnhā̃* in 236.2, or *cālyau cejai uṭhi* in 384.2).

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Several modified verbal expressions have attained a more idiomatic meaning that cannot be derived from the meanings of their individual components. To this category belong the expressions *bani ā-* "to come", "to present oneself" (of an appropriate time or opportunity) in 127.0, *bani nahĩ ā-* "to be of no use", "to be pointless" in 281.0, *uṭhi cāl-* "to die" in 384.2, and also *hvai baiṭh-* "to become" (in a pejorative sense), in 145.3.

ā- :

429.3 *hamahi bulāvo ki tumha* cali āvo "either summon me [to your presence], or come yourself [to me]" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 446, calnā 7.: cal ānā *perf.*: = to have come to a certain point of a way)

127.0 *aba tau jarẽ barẽ* bani āvai lit.: "now, after all, having been created by [your] bursting into flames, by burning, comes [your great moment]" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 888, bannā 1.: ban ānā, *fig.*, *perf.* = (misfortune) to befall (s.o. para))

281.0 *mīyã̃ tumha syũ̃ bolyã̃* bani nahĩ āvai "*miyã̃*, you are impossible to talk to"

20.2 *ulaṭī gãga nīra* bahi āyā "water of the reversed Ganga (i.e. of the stream of *amṛta* running upwards) has flown in" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 904, bahanā 6.: bah ānā, *perf.*: to flow / to run forth / as a gradual process limited in time and quantity)

cal- :

1.3 *hama* byāhi cale *haĩ puriṣa eka abināsī* "an immortal bridegroom has come to take me as his bride"
It is possible to see the verb sequence as denoting two actions following one after the other: "having married he has gone away [with me]"; this would fit into Nespital's subgroup II within the category of isolated verbal expressions, where both components "constitute with an equal share a new complex meaning". As an example of the type of verbal expressions belonging in this group he adduces *le jānā* (Nespital, *HKK*, p. xvi-xvii; the sequence *byāh calnā* does not occur in the list of "standardized configurations" covered by his dictionary: *HKK*, p. 947, has under *byāhnā*: intr. only *byāh lānā*)

cāl- :

384.2 *sūkara svãna kā*[*ga*] *kī nãĩ,* cālyau *cejai* uṭhi "like a pig, dog, or crow, he died in a hole/dump" (Nespital, *HKK*, does not record the expression *uṭh calnā*; but Shackle, *GNG*, p. 2, records two modified verbal expressions *uṭṭhi jāi* and *uṭṭhī calli* with the meaning "get up and go, die, depart")

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jā- :

In all quoted examples *jānā* happens to occur in sequence with verbs whose semantics appears to allow it to retain something of its original meaning of going away, disappearing, vanishing – or perhaps vice versa: the fact that *jānā* still retains something of its proper meaning of going away etc. allows it to combine only with certain verbs whose semantic profile enables or encourages such combination: *jānā* here stresses or brings out a particular semantic feature already inherent, but not necessarily prominent or dominant, in the main verb. In such cases *jānā* does not appear to be semantically empty, so as to express solely the perfective verbal aspect, as e.g. in MSH expressions *rah jānā*, *ā jānā*. (Nespital explains this MSH state of affairs not as a complete semantic emptying and concomitant full grammaticalization of *jānā*, but as its retaining several inherent semantic features: 1. dynamic, active movement; 2. proceeding to a certain goal; 3. reaching a final or terminal point: Nespital, *HKK*, p. ix. One can, of course, speculate, to what extent the feature of "proceeding" and "termination", inherent in *jānā* in an attenuated and generalized form, is still a semantic feature, or already a grammatical one.) The examples below suggest that *jānā* still retains one of its more specific semantic features – that of going away, vanishing, ceasing to be active.

20.4 *dāsa kabīra ihi rasi mātā, kabahũ* uchaki na jāī "*bhakta* Kabīr has been intoxicated by this nectar, he will never sober up" (Nespital, *HKK*, not recorded)

236.3 *kahai kabīra* chāḍi gaye *bichure hvai sāthī* "Kabīr says: [my] companions have left [me] alone, [they] are left behind" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 526, choṛanā 16.: choṛ jānā *perf.*: to leave (s.o.), to let (s.o.) behind or alone)

315.1 *bharãma bhoyana* gaye chūṭī "the delusion and the world (i.e. worldly distractions) have vanished"

19.2 chūṭi gayī *sãsārī* "the worldliness has disappeared" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 519, chūṭnā 27.: chūṭ jānā *perf.*: (a habit ...) to be given up or abandoned)

147.1 *sãtagura* jāri gayā *bhrama morā* "Sadguru has burnt down my delusion" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 549, jalānā 4.-5.: jalā jānā *perf.*: "to set on fire / to scorch [and go away again]". Nespital's definition omits any mention of thoroughness and "going away again" suggests the existence of two actions following one after the other. But the examples supplied by Nespital himself allow to interpret this verb sequence as single semantic unit with the meaning "to burn down", "to burn completely")

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77.2 binasi gaye *thaĩ kā nẵu dharihau* "after [you have] perished, what name shall you bear?" (Nespital, *HKK*, not recorded)

92.0 *rẵma rasa pāīyā re tā taĩ* bisari gaye *rasa aura* "Nectar of Rām can be acquired (or: "there is nectar of Rām"), due to it[s effect] other nectars have vanished from memory" (Nespital, *HKK*, not recorded)

387.1 *nāhī deṣi na* ja:iyai bhāji "one should not (or: "let us not") run away not having seen / not seeing [anything]" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 963, bhāgnā 6.: bhāg jānā, *perf.*: to run away, to flee ('completely' or far away))

408.0 *bhaji gobyãda* bhūli jini jāhi "worship Govinda, don't forget" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 794-795, bhūlnā II. tr. 5: bhūl jānā, *perf.* = to forget, to lose from one's mind (s.o. or s.th.))

410.1 *jaba yahu mai merī* miṭi jāi*, taba prabhū kāja savārai āi* "when this 'me' and 'mine' disappears, then Lord shall come and (help) accomplish the task" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 1007, miṭnā 16.: miṭ jānā *perf.* = (worries, tirednes ...) to disappear)

94.2 *pãca paharavā* soi gayẽ *haĩ* "five watchmen have fallen asleep" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 1150, sonā 6.: so jānā, *perf.* = to fall asleep)

ḍār- :

459.3 *jāri bāri bhāvai* māri ḍāri "set [me] on fire, burn, if you please, kill [me]" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 1001, mārnā 15.: mār ḍālnā, *perf.*: "to kill outright, to slay; to murder")

de- :

178.0 *hai koī sãta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā kũ japa tapa dehũ dalālī; eka bũda* bhari deī *rẵma rasa, jyũ* bhari dei *kalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage [who] will give [me] a drop of Rām's nectar, just as the seller of liquor gives [a taste of her drink]?" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 955, bharnā II tr. 18.: bhar denā, *perf.* = to fill (s.o.'s pocket ...; strangely, no example mentioning water or other liquid substance)

420.0 *āsana pavana kīye diḍha rahu re, mana kā maila* chāṛi de *baure* "stay firm by performing *āsana* and breath [control]; throw away the filth of the mind, o fool!"

127.0 *ḍagamaga* chāḍi dehu *mana baurā* "stop wavering, you foolish mind" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 526, choṛnā 34.: choṛ denā, *perf.* = to give up (s.th.), to abstain from (s.th.))

236.2 *kẵma krodha lobha moha* hāki *sāvaja* dīnhẽ "[I have] driven out the beasts of lust, anger, greed and delusion" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 1158,

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hãknā 4.: (ghoṛe, bail ... ko) hãk denā, *perf.*: = to drive [...] (to a field, pasture, or astray)

256.1 *cāri ṣũṭī doi camaraṣa lāī, sahaji rahaṭavā* dīyā calāī "having fastened four pegs and two leather straps, I set the spinning wheel in motion easily" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 454, calānā 19.: calā denā, *perf.* = to set in motion (a machine ...))

baiṭh- :

145.3 *āpaṇa tau munijana* hvai baiṭhe*, kā syũ kahũ kasāī* "now, you yourself have become (a self-appointed) sage, [so] whom shall/should I call a butcher?" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 1163, honā 6.6.: ho baiṭhnā, *perf.* = to become (... without any proper reason))

mar- :

363.2 būḍi mūvo *bina pãnī* "[you] have drowned without [even having fallen in the] water" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 639, ḍūbnā 9.: ḍūb marnā *perf.* = to drown oneself; or dūbnā 11.: ḍūb marnā, *perf.* = to to die by drowning (because of one's own fault or carelessness))

mār- :

440.2 *mahāvata to kũ mārũ sāṭī, isahi marāũ* mārũ kāṭī "[hey,] *mahāvat* (elephant driver), I shall beat you with a club, [and] him I shall get killed, I shall cut [him] to pieces" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 218, kāṭanā 89.; kāṭa māranā, *perf.* = to cut off, to chop off (the action is characterized as extreme and cruel))

rāṣ- :

185.8 *nadī nīra* bhari rāṣyā "the river filled up with water" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 956, bharanā 35.: "(pānī ... bālṭī mẽ) bhara rakhanā *perf.* = to have filled / to fill (a bucket ...) quite some time before or in advance"; in our case the grammatical subject seems to be the river which "held/ /contained water having filled up with it")

le- :

20.3 *pãca jane so sãga* kari līnhā "with five persons [I have] made company" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 193, karnā 72.(approx.); for possible interpretations of the problematical sequence *so sãgi kari līnhā*, see the note 6 under the respective *pad*)

92.1 kalapi laihu *jini bhāra* "do not lament the burden" (Nespital, *HKK*, p. 202, kalapnā 4.: kalap lenā, *perf.* = to wail, to lament to oneself (for relief, to calm down ...) for a while)

182.4 *dīpaka bina joti joti bina dīpaka, hada bina anāhada sabda bāgā; cetanā hoi su* ceti līyau "lamp without flame, flame without lamp;

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without limits, the sound of *anāhata* resounded; [if] there is comprehension, let this be comprehended" (or as the optative of active voice: "let him comprehend [it]") (NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 487, cetnā II tr.: cet lenā, *perf.*: = to think (of), to reflect (on))

387.1 *jahā̃ nahī tahā̃ kachū jā̃ni, jahā̃ nahī̃ tahā̃* lehu pichā̃ni "where [there appears to be] nothing, there know something [to exist]; where [there appears to be] nothing, there find out [something]" (NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 794, pahcānnā 5.: (kisī ko ...) pahcān lenā, *perf.* = to recognize (s.o.), or pahcānnā 7.: (kisī ko, kuch ...) pahcān lenā, *perf.* = to distinguish, to find out (s.o., s.th.)

97.2 *abhi ātari tumha* lehu bicāri "concentrate on [what is] within [your heart]"

177.0 *aisā gyā̃na* bicāri lai*, lai lāi lai dhyā̃nā; sū̃ni māḍala mai ghara kīyā* "pondering such knowledge, having accomplished the merging, contemplating, I have made my house in the *śūnya maṇḍala*" (NESPITAL, *HKK*, not recorded)

27.0 *rā̃ma nā̃ma* liṣi liyā *sarīra* "[Kabīr] has written the name of Rām on [his own] body" (NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 1087, likhnā 39.: likh lenā, *perf.* = to write down [...] oneself, and in one's own interest)

261.0 *māyā moha mohi hita kīnha, tā tai merau gyā̃na dhana* hari līnha "having deluded [me] with [her power of] delusion, *māyā* aroused passion [in me]; in consequence of this she has destroyed the treasure of my wisdom" (NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 1158, harnā 1.: (kisī ke prāṇ) har lenā, *perf.* = to kill (s.o.))

439.0 *āvata jāta duhū ghā̃ lūṭe, sraba tata* hari līnhā̃ "when coming [to this world] and when leaving [it] – at both occasions [we are] robbed, all substance taken away" (NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 1158, harnā 1.: see under 261.0 above)

1.h. *Absolutive as autonomous verb with the verb* rah- *"to stay" and modal verb* sak- *"to can"*

rah- :

The basic meaning of all examples quoted below appears to be "to stay/ /remain in a state expressed by the verb in the absolutive". In the expression *samāi*/*samāī rah-* the function of absolutive gets very close to that of adverb: "having entered > inside" (for other examples of this feature, see the subsection c. above).

145.0 *bharā̃ma karā̃ma mā̃ī* ūrajhi rahyau "you remained entangled in [the web of] delusion and karma"

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251.0 *rā̃ma rāma rā̃ma rā̃ma rāma* rami rahiyai "one should (or: "let us") keep rejoicing in Rām"

398.0 *kevala rāma* rahe *lyau* lāi "[the mind] stays (firm) having fixed [its] devotion solely on Rām"

387.1 *nāhī deṣi na ja:iyai bhāji, jahā̃ nahī̃ tahā̃* rahiye lāgi "one should not (or: "let us not") run away not having seen / when not seeing [anything]; where [there appears to be] no[thing], there one should (or: "let us") stay attached"

145.4 *hari bhaji* rahaĩ samāī "let us remain immersed in Hari worshipping [him]"

310.2 *jaba basta agocara pāī, taba dīpaka* rahyā samāī "when the invisible thing was attained, then the light entered it and remained in it"

390.4 *kabīrai kau svā̃mī saba ghaṭi* rahyau samāi "Kabīr's Lord dwells within all creatures"

76.1 *sahaji* rahũ hariāī "I stay fresh in the state of *sahaja*" (MSH: *sahaja mẽ harā-bharā hokara rahatā hũ*; at end of the verse, *hariāī* in rhyme with *cilakāī* standing at the end of preceding line)

129.5 *hū̃ṇā thā so* hoi rahyā "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]"

47.1 *ekameka* hvai rahyā *sabani mãi, tau kāhe bhramāvo* "[if you as] one and only entity [are] present in everything, then why do you lead [us] astray?" (Gupta, *KG*, p. 177: *yadi tuma eka aura sarvathā eka hokara saba mẽ rāma rahe ho, to phira kyõ mujhe bhramāte* (*bhaṭakāte*) *ho?*)

sak- :

288.1 ceti sakai *so cetau re bhāī* "[he who] is able to think, let him think, o brother!"

253.0 *hari bina* rahi na sakai *merā jīva* "my soul cannot live/exist without Rām"

1.i. *"Unrelated absolutives"*

In the types of absolutival constructions presented in the groups a. and b. above, we may encounter absolutives used without reference to the subject of the sentence (i.e. absolutives whose subject is different from the subject of the predicate verb), the so-called "unrelated absolutives" (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.162, p. 181). An example quotable from the present corpus is the verse 281.4: *māṭī eka bheṣa dhari nā̃nā̃, tā mai vrahma samā̃nā̃* lit.: "the same clay taking / having taken different shapes: *brahma* has pervaded it" – unless the form *dhari* is interpreted as a variant of 3rd pers. sg. pres. act. *dharai*. Another instance of this syntactic feature is supplied by the verse 206.1: *sāta sūta de*

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gāḍa bāhatara, pāṭa lagī adhikāī "having used seven kinds of threads and seventy-two knots, plenty of cloth arose / was produced".

2. -a$_{17}$ *absolutive*

Final *-a* of this not very frequent absolutive results from weakened pronunciation of the final unstressed *-i*. This feature, occasionally encountered in older literary manuscripts, has been described and explained by McGregor, *LIO*, §2.8-2.9, p. 114-115 (phonology), and §3.159, p. 179 (verbal absolutives) as a variant of the absolutive in *-i*.

23.4 *āpa jā̃ṇi* ulaṭa *le āpa, taba nahī byāpai tīnyū̃ tāpa* "having known myself, having turned myself – then the triple affliction does/will not engulf [me]" (or: "know yourself, ... will not engulf [you]")

200.2 *āsā pāsa* ṣāḍa *nahī̃ pāṛai, yū̃ mana sū̃ni na lūkai* "[when] you do not break and rip the noose of longing, then [your] mind does/will not merge into [the state of] *śūnya*" (*ṣāḍa* here can be interpreted also as obl. sg. of the noun *ṣāḍ-*, *var. lect.* of *ṣā̃ḍ$_1$-* "sword": "when you do not break with a sword the noose of longing, ..."; see also the note 4 under the text of the respective *pad*)

398.2 *hari* sumira *taṭi baiṭhe hā͠i kabīra* "remembering Hari, Kabīr sits on the river-bank"

3. -0$_{15}$ *absolutive*

The short forms of the absolutive, formally identical with the root, are evidenced in two verbs – *de-* "to give" and *le-* "to take". Other verbal roots ending with the vowels (*ā$_1$-*, *chā-*, *jā$_1$-*, *lā$_1$-*, *bilo-*, *so$_1$-*, *ho$_1$-*), if occurring in the absolutive, take the suffix *-i$_{11}$*/*-ī$_{13}$* or *-ai* (*lāi, hvai*). The reason for the loss of the final *-i* may be found in the weakening of unstressed short vowel following immediately after a stressed long one (McGregor, *LIO*, §2.9., p. 114-115). Functions are analogous to those described above in the section dealing in more detail with absolutives in *-i$_{11}$*/*-ī$_{13}$*.

3.a. *Action preceding the predicate verb*

102.1 *ṣīra ṣā̃ḍa ghrita pĩḍa savārā, prā̃ṇa gayẽ* le *bāhari jārā* "built up with milk, sugar [and] ghī, the body, when the breath of life had departed, was taken out and burnt up"

3.b. *Action accompanying the predicate verb*

256.0 *hari kā͠u nāva* le le *kāti bahuriyā* "repeating Hari's name, spin, o wifie"

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3.c. *Absolutive transposed as postposition*

325.1 *pãca tata* le *kāyā kīnhĩ, tata kahā* le *kīnhã̃* "the body was made of five elements (lit.: "five elements having been taken the body was made"), [but] the elements [themselves] had been made made of what?" (lit.: "what having been taken was made into the elements?")

3.d. *Absolutive in modified verbal expressions*

212.3 *pūji pujārau* le gayā "having worshipped, the *pujārī* carried [all offerings] away"

268.2 *āye cora turãga musi* le gaye "thieves came and whisked away the horse"

29.2 *cali baikũṭha tohi* le tārũ̃ "going to heaven, I shall take you along with me" (modified verbal expression with the meaning "to take along somebody across" formed analogically to *le calanā*. For *le calanā, non-perf.*, see NESPITAL, *HKK*, p. 1096. Cf. also similar combination of two verbs in the sentence *rãma mohi* tāri *kahã̃* lai jaihau "Rām, having got me to the other shore, where will you take me?" in verse 47.0)

G. VERBAL NOUNS

1. -ɳ$_1$- / -n$_1$- *verbal substantive*

The verbal substantive in *-a$_2$-/-ã$_1$-* + *-ɳ$_1$-/-n$_1$-* has its origin in the OIA action noun in *-ana-* (BLOCH, *IA*, p. 280 [283]; CHATTERJI, *ODBL* II, §399, p. 656-657, and §743, p. 1013). Both Chatterji and Bloch treat the variant with the final *-ā* as an extended form or enlargement of the suffix *-ana*. The same derivation has been put forward by TAGARE, *HGA*, §150, p. 321. However, already HOERNLE, *CGGL*, §321, p. 153-154, points to another possible OIA source of this form – the Skt. gerundive in *-anīya* which during the MIA period dropped its passive signification and acquired the character of a noun of agency. The derivation, according to him, would be OIA *-anīya* > MIA *-aṇia/-aṇaa* > H. *-anā*. The parallel lines of development of the OIA verbal noun and gerundive led to very similar results, so that, in Hoernle's words: "It is probable that the popular usage of the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणअ) and अनीय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives is a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency [...], it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनीय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms

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and meanings to those of the suff. तव्य." This assumption became a basis for a somewhat modified explanation put forward by Beames, *CGMALI* III, §74, p. 236-237, who believed that the "archaic and poetical ending" in *-ana* was to be derived from the OIA verbal noun in *-anam*, whereas "the modern and classical" form in *-nā* has descended from the OIA gerundive in *-anīya*. Kellogg, *GHL*, §596. p. 338, refers approvingly to Hoernle's hypothesis, but simplifies it somewhat by explaining both the long and short forms as descendants of the old gerundive: in this way, "all the peculiarities of the use of the infinitive as a noun, an adjective, or an imperative, are thus accounted for, as originally exhibited in this Sk. participle." Tessitori, *OWR*, §134, presents evidence for the nouns in *-aṇa-* and *-aṇa:ũ-* in his texts, but reports them to be very rare. Five of the six examples quoted by him appear to be obl. cases of the infinitive, so that the derivation of the suffix from OIA nominal forms in *-ana* can be presented as unproblematic. In contrast to the language of Kabīr's *pads* (and MSH too), the language analysed by Tessitori has *-iva:u*/*-eva:u* as the most characterisitc suffix for the forming of gerundives, and its neuter for infinitives; the double function and possible double origin of the suffix *-ana*/*-anā* therefore need not detain him.

In the present corpus of Kabīr's *pads* these forms are much more numerous than in Old Mārvāṛī and are found in both dir. and obl. cases. In the dir. case they express a noun of action proper (the activity of weaving in 27.0; smearing and purifying in the nomino-verbal expressions in 372.2, 387.2 and 280.2), an abstract noun (salvation in 275.4; performance or show in 185.6; birth and death in 288.2: here *jãmana* and *marãṇẽ* can be also interpreted as nouns of action proper), or a noun denoting the result of the action (*bīlovanau* as butter, the main product of churning).

In the obl. case the noun is sometimes followed by postpositions (*kahãna kī* [...] *bẽni* in 459.2; *paḍhana syũ kãũna kẽma* in 459.0; *milana kai tẽī* in 253.2; *sumirãṇa bina* in 381.0: here the nominal character stands out particularly clearly – verbs followed by *bina*/*binā* usually have the form of the loc.-instr. of the perfective participle). In several instances the verbal noun is combined with finite verbs to denote final cause: as in MSH, it is employed as obl. case of infinitive with verbs of motion (*jẽũ* [...] *chuḍẽvãna* in 139.0; *banijana āyā* in 288.1). Construction with the verb *lāg-* expresses the beginning of the action denoted by it (*kãpana lāge* in 268.3; three other occurrences are quotable from the present corpus); verbal substantive can be followed by the verb *pā-* "to be able to", "to get the chance of" (*milãna* [...] *pẽu* in 253.3), and the collocation with the verb *de-* (as in *na dei caraṇẽ* in the verse 390.2) probably adds the meaning of permission "to allow", "to let". It can be seen that uses of the action noun are more or less the same as in MSH.

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Direct case

275.4 *soci bicāri sabai jagu deṣyā, kahũ na* ubāraṇã̃ "thinking, contemplating, [I have] seen the whole world: [but] nowhere [have I seen] the salvation"

27.0 tã̃nanã̃ bunanã̃ *tajyā kabīrya* "Kabīr has given up [the job of] stretching and weaving"

268.1 *tīsa barasa kai rã̃ma na jã̃nyau, phiri* pachitānau *biratha bhayau re* "for thirty years he did not know Rām, then feeling remorse was in vain"

185.6 *naṭavara peṣi* peṣanā *peṣyā* "having looked / looking at the supreme actor, I watched the performance"

419.0 *hari kau* bīlovanau *bīloi merī māī* "o my mother, churn / prepare [the product of] churning (i.e. butter) for/of Hari" (action noun with transferred meaning; see, e.g. *HŚS*, vol. 7, p. 3510 where the noun *bilonā*[2] is explained as *vaha vastu jo bilokara nikālī jāe*, *navanīta*, *makkhana* and the present verse quoted as example)

280.2 *kyā ujū japa* mājana *kīnhã̃* "what [can be achieved] by performing the ritual washing of hands and feet, by continuous repeating of God's name, by ritual bathing?"

288.2 jāmana marāṇã̃ *e ũ doi thāke* "birth and death/dying, both these [processes] have come to a stop"

372.2 *kā jaṭā bhasama* lepāna *kīyẽ* "what [is gained] by [displaying] matted hair, by smearing one's body with ashes?"

Oblique case

+ *lāg-* : inceptives

268.3 *sīsa carāṇa kara* kãpana *lāge* "head, feet, hands began to shake"

421.4 *sata sãtoṣa le* laranai *lāgā, tore doi daravājā* "having taken truth and contentment (i.e. absence of craving) [as my weapons] I began to fight (lit.: "I stuck in fighting"); [I have] broken the two doors/gates [of sin and merit]"

+ *de-* : permissives

390.2 *supinai bĩda na dei* caraṇã̃ "not even in sleep / a dream does he allow the semen to spill" (other Rājasthānī MSS and also AG use the verb *jharanã̃* or *jharanā*, "to fall", "to trickle down", which fits better in the present context)

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+ *pā-* : acquisitives

253.3 *aba kī bera* milāna *je pā̃u, kahi kabīra bhau jali nahī āū̃* "this time, if I am able to meet [Him] – Kabīr says: I shall not fall in the snare of this world [again]" (either obl. by analogy with the MSH *milane pāū̃*, or dir. "if I shall accomplish the meeting")

+ finite verb to denote final cause

139.0 *jā̃ pāī jā̃ū āpaṇapau* chuḍā̃vāna*, te bīdhe bahu phādā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons themselves are] ensnared in many traps"

288.1 *saba ko* banijana *āyā* "everybody has come to do business"

76.2 voḍhana *hamārai eka pachevarā* "to cover ourselves/myself [there is] a single veil"

+ postposition

459.2 *rā̃ma* kahāna *kī chāḍi bā̃ni* "give up the habit of invoking (lit. "saying the word") Rām"

253.2 *kīyau sigāra* milana *kai tā̃ī* "I have adorned myself for the meeting"

381.0 *rā̃ma nā̃ma* sumirāṇa *bina būḍata hai adhikāī* "without remembering Rām's name you (will) get bogged down even deeper"

459.0 *mohi aura* paḍhana *syū̃ kāūna kā̃ma* "what is the use to me of learning other things?"

Direct or oblique

114.0 calana calana *saba loga kahata hāī̃* "all people tell about going, going" (perhaps obl., as in MSH calane [kī bāta] kahate hāī; or dir. with the force of imperative?)

2. -ṇ$_3$- *verbal adjective*

The single quotable instance where this affix, historically identical with the *-ṇ$_1$-*/*-n$_1$-* described above, occurs with the adjectival gerundival sense (behaving as the true heir to the OIA gerundives in *-anīya*), has been recorded with the substantive verb *hū̃$_2$-*/*ho$_1$-* in 129.5: *hū̃ṇā thā so hoi rahyā*. It is perhaps not accidental that in this case the final vowel is long. See also the section 5.A.2.m above dealing with forms of the substantive verb.

129.5 hū̃ṇā *thā so hoi rahyā, mānahī̃ na kījai āsa* "what was destined to be (or: "foreordained"), that happened and remained [so]; one should not entertain [false] hope(s) [in one's] mind"

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3. -b_1- *verbal substantive*

It will be obvious that the verbal substantive in -b_1- is of the same origin as the -b_2- verbal adjective; in fact, it is the same form, only used as substantive, or infinitive. The use of gerundives as nouns denoting simply an act pre-existed in classical Sanskrit: thus, e.g. the gerundive *kāryam* can mean also "duty", "affair", "occupation", etc. This function was inherited by several NIA languages and dialects, among others also by Braj and Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §133-134; Varma, *LB*, §220, p. 110; see also Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §697, p. 965-966, and Bloch, *IA*, p. 278-280 [282-284]). In our text the occurrence of this form is relatively rare: two examples have been found, an infinitive in the direct case denoting the subject of sentence, and a locative in construction with the verb *lāg-* carrying an inceptive meaning "to begin". Much more frequently one meets the verbal noun in -$ṇ_1$-/-n_1- which is used both in the direct and oblique cases (cf. e.g. the inceptive *jāgibā lāgī* in 94.2 with the analogous construction of *lāg-* with the verbal noun in -n_1-, *kãpana lāge* in 268.3, and *laranai lāgā* in 421.4, quoted in the section 5.G.1 above).

315.0 *iba mohi* nācibau *na āvai, merau mana madalā na bajāvai* lit. "now, dancing does not come to me (i.e. "I do not feel like dancing"): my mind does not play the drum [any more]"

94.2 *pãca paharavā soi gayẽ hãĩ, basta* jāgibā *lāgī* "five watchmen have fallen asleep, the thing has begun to wake up"

4. -b_2- *verbal adjective*

This type of verbal noun, which by its predominant function can be properly called gerundive, has its origin in the OIA *participium necessitatis* in (*-i-*)*tavya-*. This suffix, through the MIA (*-i-*)*avva-*, (*-i-*)*abba-*, *-ebba-* etc. came into NIA as *-i-b-* or *-a-b-*. In classical Sanskrit this adjective often takes the function of a polite imperative (e.g. *bhavatā tatra na gantavyam* "please, you should not go there"). The NIA languages preserved both the aspect of the desirability/ /necessity of the action as well as the inherent force of situating it in the future (Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §697, p. 965-966). In the western dialects of the Hindi speaking area the nominal function became predominant: as an infinitive and gerundive it is found in Braj (Varma, *LB*, §220, p. 110; McGregor, *LIO*, p. 182; Thiel-Horstmann, *Crossing*, p. 44), as well as in the Old Mārvāṛī (Tessitori, *OWR*, §133-134). In the force of a gerundive it is used as an adjective in agreement with the subject. In the east, the nominal force exists side by side with the function of a true future tense. Bengālī and Uṛiyā keep it for all three persons sg. and pl., whereas in the area of the Eastern Hindi dialects it has to share this function with the forms in -h_2- which developed from the

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OIA sigmatic future. Thus, Old Avadhī of Tulsīdās keeps for the 1st sg. and 2nd pl. both forms, the case of Jāyasī's Hindī is similar (for full repertoire of forms and their distribution in the language of these two poets, see ŚRĪVĀSTAVA, *Tulasīdāsa kī bhāṣā*, p. 146-151, and ŚUKLA, *Jāyasī kī bhāṣā*, p. 134-137).

In Kabīr's *pads* the forms in *-b-* are rare; in all quotable instances the suffix is joined to the root by the connecting vowel *-i*$_2$*-*, which is the direct descendant of the Bindevokal used with the so-called *seṭ*-verbal roots in Sanskrit. As examples can be quoted the verses 113.0 – *jau pai rasanā rāma na kahibau, tau upajata binasata bhrãmata rahibau*, 188.0 – *aba mai jẽ̃ṇibau re, kevala rāī kī kahẽ̃ṇī*, and 256.2 – *bina kātẽ nistaribau kaisẽ̃ī*. In 188.0 one would expect adjectival concord with the fem. noun *kahẽ̃ṇī*: nearly identical gerundival forms in *-iva:u* used as adjectives in agreement with the subject are attested in Old Braj (*ve kavi na mūrṣa jānive*, and *ekai bhāryā sevivī*, quoted by MCGREGOR, *LIO*, §165, p. 182), and Old Mārvāṛī (TESSITORI, *OWR*, §133, with several examples). In his translation GUPTA, *KG*, p. 244 (*aba mujhe kevala rājā* [*rāma*] *kī kahānī jānanī hai*), does not take into account the difference in gender and understands the verse as a loose construction. Or perhaps the form *jẽ̃ṇibau* should be understood as genuine future tense, an Eastern influence? It can be noted that CATURVEDĪ and MAHENDRA, *KK*, p. 63, translate the lemma *kahibau* (quoting verse 113.0) as *kahegī*, the feminine *rasanā* being understood as subject in the direct case. Deontic modality can be discerned in *rahibau* and perhaps also in *jẽ̃ṇibau*, other quoted forms may contain a volitional aspect rather than prescriptive force.

113.0 *jau pai rasanā rāma na* kahibau*, tau upajata binasata bhrãmata* rahibau "if one will not pronounce with the tongue [the name of] Rām, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again"

188.0 *aba mai* jẽ̃ṇibau *re, kevala rāi kī kahẽ̃ṇī* lit.: "now by me [it is this that] is to be understood: solely the story of the Lord" (see also the note below the text of the *pad*)

256.2 *sāsū kahai kāti bahū aisẽ̃ī, bina kātẽ* nistaribau *kaisẽ̃ī* "mother-in-law says: spin in this way, o daughter-in-law; without spinning, how is liberation to be (or: "shall be") achieved?"

H. CAUSATIVES: DERIVERS *-ẽ̃ā*$_3$*-* / *-ā*$_4$*-* / *-lā*$_2$*-* / *-a*$_3$*-*

Causatives are derived verbal forms (deverbatives) with the approximate meaning "to cause, to bring about the action denoted by the verbal root"; in Hindī the causative stem is formed by adding the morph *-ẽ̃ā*$_3$*-*/*-ā*$_4$*-* to such

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a root. The resultant stem is then either simply transitive (as, e.g. *muḍ-ā-*, "to shave", formed from the so-called "natural passive" root *muḍ-*, "to be shaven"; *ḍar-ā-*, "to frighten" from the intransitive *ḍar-*, "to fear"; *sun-ā-*, "to sing", "to recite", from the transitive *sun-*, "to listen", "to hear"), or may be understood as genuinely causative (as, e.g. *liṣ-ā-*, "to cause to write", "to have sth. written [by a third person]", from the transitive *liṣ-*, "to write"). To avoid misunderstandings, in the present study the term "causative" is used to denote a morphological feature (the presence of a causative morph affixed to a verbal root), rather than a purely semantic category which would carry the standard meaning "to cause sth. to be done by some external agent". This approach is also applicable to the causatives in OIA with whom their NIA descendants share several common features. The object of such verb is usually in the accusative, the animate and/or indirect object is often marked with the dat./acc. postposition *-kữ*.

The NIA causative morph *-ã̃$_3$-*/*-ā$_4$-* is a descendant of the OIA causative suffix *-aya-*, which was augmented by an initial *-p-* in the case of the majority of roots in final *-ā-*, of the root √*ṛ-*, and several roots in final *-i* and *-ī* – e.g. √*dā-*, *dā-paya-ti*; √*ṛ-*, *ar-paya-ti*; √*kṣi-*, *kṣa-paya-ti* (besides *kṣayayati*); √*mī-*, *mā-paya-ti*; and also √*ruh-*, *ro-paya-ti*. In Sanskrit, this extended form of the suffix is still exceptional; in the MIA period however, *-āpaya-* is much more frequent, and in the late MIA and early NIA periods it became generalized in the form of causative suffixes *-āva-* or *-āve-* (Hoernle, *CGGL*, §476, p. 319-321; Chatterji, *ODBL* II, §759, p. 1029-1030; Bloch, *IA*, p. 239-242 [241-244]). In the NIA this was further contracted either to *-āv-*/*-āu-* or *-ā-*.

In the analysed texts the most frequently occurring form of the causative suffix is *-ã̃$_3$-*/*-ā$_4$-*. The semivowel, in the present study marked as *-v$_3$-*, occurs only before vocalic personal endings (*-ai$_{13}$*, *-ai$_{12}$*, *-o$_6$*, *-o$_5$*, *-ãũ$_4$*) or before the connecting vowel (*-a$_2$-*); in all other cases this *-v-* is missing and the vocalic morphs which may follow are added either directly, or joined by the semivowel *-y$_2$-* (e.g. *caḍh-+-ā$_4$-+-0$_2$-+-ī$_4$*; *cal-+-ā$_4$-+-0$_2$-+-y$_2$-+-ā$_5$*). Consequently, the combination *-āv-*, when encountered in causative verbal forms, has not been interpreted as the causative suffix proper, but has been analysed further into its two constituent parts, the first being the deriver of causatives *-ā$_4$-*, and the second the inserted semivowel *-v$_3$-* (although from the purely historical point of view, the sound *-v-* is a part of the causative affix: for the NIA languages the segmentation *-āu-*/*-āv-* has been recommended by Masica, *IAL*, p. 318).

The nasalized form *-ã̃$_3$-* occurs mainly in two contexts: either it follows a final nasal of a verbal root (*sun-*, *taṇ-*, *bun-*), or precedes a nasal affix (the nominalizer *-n$_1$-* as in *bunã̃vana* in 206.0 and in *jīvã̃vanahārā* in 41.0, or the perfective participle *-ṇ$_2$-*/*-n$_2$-* as e.g. in *bhulã̃nā* in 406.2, *ḍarã̃ṇe* in 149.0, *girã̃ṇī*

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in 224.1). All these instances can be interpreted as phonologically conditioned contact nasalizations. Apart from these the text has yielded three cases of nasalization followed by the ending of the 1st pers. sg. pres. – *paharãu* and *daurãũ* in 29.1, and *chuḍãvau* in 459.2 – in words that themselves contain no nasal consonant. These are best explained as instances of spontaneous nasalization, a tendency frequently affecting the long vowels in medial of final position (in the NIA languages, particularly the long *ā* was susceptible to this tendency: Bloch, *IA*, p. 48-49 [45-47]); but see also the footnotes under the text of the respective pads in the first part of the present book).

Several monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel augment the causative affix with the consonant *-l-*, thus preventing the two vowels to merge. The origin of this *-l-* is obscure: Bloch, *IA*, p. 241, speculates that it might be originally a nominal suffix, but notes also the opinion of R. L. Turner, who sees the origin of this form in the OIA causative *-l-* in *pālayati* (derived from the root √*pā-*, *pāti*). Similar statement is found in Kellogg, *GHL*, §609.1.a., p. 350-351. The only example of this formation occurring in the analysed texts is adverbial participle *pilāyẽ* (see below, in the examples, 1.b.).

The root *pur*$_1$- "to be filled" forms the causative stem by affixing short *-a-* (marked here as *-a*$_3$-) instead a long one. This peculiarity has been noted already by Kellogg, *GHL*, §567.b., p. 326, in a discussion of causatives in Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa* (where *puravahu* "fill", stands for *purāvahu*, as in *puravahu* [...] *manoratha mori* "fulfil my desire"), and also in Braj – again, it is the verb "to be filled", here represented by the root *puj-*, which forms the causative *pujavai* rather than the regular *pujāvai* (*ibid.*, §492.a., p. 292). For similar shortening in Mārvāṛī (chiefly with verbal roots having long radical vowel), see Tessitori, *OWR*, §141.2. Another instance of this short causative *-a-* is found in the synthetic passive form *grabaīye* in the verse 102.0 where the shortening may be due to the following long *-ī-* (obviously, in pronunciation this vowel sequence should not be merged into a diphthong, but uttered as two separate syllables).

In our texts, the causative affixes described above combine with a number of verbal roots denoting activity which is either agentless (the so called "natural passive", where the subject is a patient, an object of the action, rather than its agent: *pak-*, *bãdh-*), has an agent but no object (*daur-*), has an agent who is himself affected by his own activity directed towards an object (*paḍh-*, *pahar-*), or is unaffected by it (*bun-*, *liṣ-*). Obviously, meanings of the derived causative stems cannot be arrived at by a mechanical process of uniform semantic derivation from the basic meanings of their roots.[5] In

[5] For an explanatory model of the system of causative verbs in Hindī, see Srivastava, A Semantic Model of Causative Paradigms. *Lingua*, vol. 59 (1983), p. 77-94; Id., The Affected Agent. *Language*, vol. 56 (1980), p. 812-826.

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order to help find their correct English translations in their specific contexts, the following list of roots identified as affixed by the causative morpheme includes also their basic English meanings:

uḍ- > *uḍā-/uḍã̄-* : to fly away > to blow away
urajh- > *urajhā-* : to be entangled > to entangle
kar$_1$- > *karā-* : to do > to arrange, to organize
kah- > *kahā-* : to say > to call, to name
gam-/gãm- > *gamā-/gamã̄-* : to go away, to be lost > to waste, to squander away
gin- > *ginā-/ginã̄-* : to count, to compute > to get computed
gir$_1$- > *girā-/girã̄-* : to fall down > to knock down
grab- > *graba-* : to be proud > to flaunt
cãmak- > *cãmakā-* : to shine > to display ostentatiously
caḍh- > *caḍhā-* : to ascend, to rise > to put on, to fix
car- > *carā-* : to graze > to graze, to pasture
cal-/cāl- > *calā-* : to walk, to go > to set in motion
cav- > *cavā-* : to drip, to ooze > to drain;
chiṭak- > *chiṭakā-* : to be thrown away > to reject, to spurn
chuḍ- > *chuḍā-/chuḍã̄-* : to be released/liberated > to get released/liberated
jī- > *jīvā-* (*jī-+-*v_3*-+-*$ā_4$*-*) : to live > to give life
ḍar- > *ḍarā-/ḍarã̄-* : to fear > to horrify, to frighten
ḍahak- > *ḍahakā-* : to be deceived > to deceive
ḍhah- > *ḍhahā-* : to fall, to be destroyed > to destroy
(*taṇ-*)> *taṇ-/taṇã̄-/tã̃n-* : (to be stretched) > to stretch
tir- > *tirā-* : to cross over > to ferry across, to transport
dīs- > *diṣā-* : to be seen, to appear > to make visible, to show
daur- > *daurã̄-* : to run > to make sb. run, to drive
nās- > *nasā-* : to perish, to be destroyed > to destroy
nhā- > *nhavā-* (*nha-+-*v_3*-+-*$ā_4$*-*) : to bath (o.s.) > to bath (s.b.), to wash
pak- > *pakā-* : to be cooked > to cook
paḍh- > *paḍhā-* : to read, to study > to teach
pati$_1$- > *patiyã̄-/patiyā-* (*pati-+-*y_2*-+-*$ã̄_3$*-/-*$ā_4$*-*) : to believe > to convince
pahar- > *paharã̄-* : to wear, to put on > to dress (s.b.)
pī- > *pilā-* (*pi-+-*$lā_2$*-*) : to drink > to cause to drink, to water
pur$_1$- > *pura-* (*pur*$_1$*-+-*a_3*-*) : to fill, to be filled > to fill, to fulfil
bã̄dh- > *bãdhā-* : to be built, to be tied > to get built; to get bound
bāj$_1$- > *bajā-* : to be played upon, to sound > to play, to sound
bas$_2$- > *basā-* : to dwell > to occupy
bujh- > *bujhã̄-* : to be extinguished, to cool down > to extinguish
bun- > *bunã̄-* : to weave > to get weaved
bhul-/bhūl- > *bhulã̄-* : to forget, to err > to lead into error

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bhrãm$_1$-/bhram$_1$-> bhramā- : to go the wrong way, to err > to lead astray
mar-> marā- : to die > to get killed
mil-> milā- : to come together > to unite, to join
muṛ-> muḍā- : to be shaven > to shave
rah-> rahā- : to remain, to stay, to persist > to allow to stay or exist; to establish
lag-/lāg-> lagā- : to be attached, to arise > to put, to apply, to set
lapaṭ-> lapaṭā- (to become entangled > to envelop
laṣ$_1$-> laṣā- : to see, to look > to explain, to demostrate
liṣ-> liṣā- : to write, to record > to cause to write, to get written/recorded
luk-/lūk-> lukā- :to be concealed, to be hidden > to conceal, to hide
ṣā-> ṣuvā- (*ṣu-+-v$_3$-+-ā$_4$-*) *:* to eat > to feed
sãt$_2$-> sãtā- : to grieve, to suffer > to oppress, to tyrannize
samajh-> samajhā- : to understand > to explain
sĩc-> sicā- : to water, to irrigate > to get watered
suṇ-/sũn-/sun-> sũnā-/sunã̃- : to listen, to hear > to sing, to recite

a. finite verbal forms of the active voice:

23.6 *āpa na ḍarũ̃ na aura* ḍarāũ "I do not fear myself, nor do I frighten others"
459.2 *begi* chuḍãvãũ *merau kahyau mãni* "I [shall] get you released immediately, [but] heed my word"
459.1 *mohi kahā* paḍhāvai *ālajāla* "why do you teach me (or: "have me learn") nonsense?"
315.0 *merau mana madalā na* bajāvai "my mind does not play the drum"
429.3 *kahi kabīra hari darasa* diṣāvo "Kabīr says: show your splendour (*darśan*), o Hari!"

b. non-finite verbal forms:

288.1 *mūriṣa mūla* gamāyā "ignorant person squandered his capital"
149.2 *tā kũ̃ deṣi kabīra* ḍarãnã̃ "having seen / seeing him, Kabīr was frightened"
224.0 *ṭāṭī sabai* uḍāṇĩ̃ "the whole bamboo-screen has been blown away"
178.2 *bhavana catrudasa bhāṭhī* puravī "the oven of fourteen *kośas* [of the body I have] filled"
280.1 *kyā jala deha* nhavāyẽ "what [is gained] by bathing the body in the water?"
251.2 *kā bisahara kũ̃ dūdha* pilāyẽ "what [is gained] by feeding milk to a poisonous snake?"
102.0 *jhūṭhe tana kũ̃ kā* grabaīye "why should/does one flaunt [this] abominable body?"

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257.1 *saṣī sahelī mãgala gāvai, duṣa suṣa māthai halada* caḍhāī "friends and companions sing an auspicious song, on my forehead [they have] applied turmeric [the symbol] of sorrow and happines" (here *caḍhāī* is treated as past participle in agreement with the fem. subject *halada*; it can be interpreted also as passive of causative, "is being applied", or as absolutive; see the explanation in the text of the present section further below)

78.4 *bhisti* chiṭakāī *dojagi hĩ mana mãnyã̃* "having spurned heaven the mind became enamoured of hell" (*chiṭakāī* as absolutive; or *chiṭakāī* as perfective participle: "the mind spurned heaven ...")

149.1 *agni* lagāi *mãdira mã̃ sovaĩhĩ* "they sleep in the house having set fire [to it]"

410.3 *dāsa kabīra kahai* samajhāi "having explained, Kabīr, the servant [of God] says"

In our *pads* the causative affix *-ã̃$_3$-/-ā$_4$-* is joined to personal endings of the present tense either with the help of the connecting semivowel *-v$_3$-*, or, as it seems, directly; in this second case the final vowels appear without exception to be identical with those of the 2nd or 3rd sg. pres. (*-i$_8$-*, resp. *-i$_9$* or *-ī$_{10}$*. Thus, we have, e.g. *ḍarāvai* in *mohi kahā ḍarāvai bāra bāra* "why do you frighten me all the time" (459.3), and *ḍarāi* in *tana na ḍarāi* "the body is not frightened" (398.0). It is important to notice that the second form differs from the first not only in its appearance, but also in meaning.

Already Hoernle, *CGGL*, §484, p. 325-326, recognized the *-ā-+-i* form as a passive derived from the causative stem, adding that although this passive is used in a potential sense, "that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb, but only attached to it conventionally." Thus, from a purely formal point of view, one can see only the causative suffix followed by passive morph *-i$_3$-* or *-ī$_3$-* and zero personal ending. The long final *-ī* can be understood either as a result of fusion of this passive affix *-i$_3$-* with the endings of 3rd pers. sg. *-i$_9$* or *-ī$_{10}$*, or as conditioned by the requirements of the rhyme (if it occurs at the end of a verse). The way of segmenting this form chosen by the present author has been to mark the vowel *-i-/-ī-* as a morph denoting the passive voice that is followed by the zero ending of the 3rd person, *-0$_{13}$*.

The first attested occurrence of this form appears in the grammatical treatise of Old Hindī (Kosalī) *Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa* composed by Paṇḍita Dāmodara in the first half of the 12th century. On p. 21, line 16 of Chatterji's edition of this work, we find sentence *kẽĩ e deulu karāvia*, translated into Sanskrit as *kenaitad devakulaṃ kāryate*? Tessitori, *OWR*, §140, has shown that these forms were current in the western Hindī dialects too, and has supplied a few illustrative examples, some of which are very similar to those extant

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in our manuscript: e.g. *chetarāi nahī parīkṣā-na:u jāṇa* "he who is skilled in the art of testing [gold], does not allow himself to be deceived [by brass]"; he has noted also their use in the future tense (not quotable from Kabīr's *pads*): *naraka-rūpīy*[*ā*] *vaiśvānara-mā̃hi pacāisi* "[thou] wilt be roasted in the fire of hell". Both Hoernle and Tessitori stress the fact that this form can have, apart from this potential meaning, also a sense of ordinary passive.

Chatterji, on the other hand, in his *ODBL* II, §671, p. 927-929, inspired by a suggestion of G. A. Grierson, derives this "*-ā-*" passive (as he calls it) from the old denominative affix *-āya-* of OIA. He quotes several examples from Bihārī dialects and points out the difference between forms of genuine causative (e.g. *dekhāol* < *dekh-āwa-la*) on the one hand, and a passive derived from the denominative (*dekhāel* < *dekh-āya-la*) on the other. However, he himself admits that the separate identity of the affixes *-āwa-* and *-āya-* "is to some extent confused, owing to the interchange of «*-w-*» and «*-y-*» as intervocal glides." He also points out that from the early MIA period "the causative affix «*-āpaya-*» has encroached into the domain of the denominative" (*ibid.*, p. 929, and again, p. 1030). The evidence presented in favour of either hypothesis is not unambiguous; in the texts analysed in the present study the passive causative is derived from forms which are clearly verbal roots and not nominal stems (*kah-*, *rah-*, *sic-*, *urajh-*, *gam-*/*gā̃m-*, and also *ḍar-*). Only *nas-* and *tir-* can be interpreted either as verbal roots or nominal stems (see the next paragraph with quotations from *HŚS*). Moreover, it would be difficult to explain how this *-ā-*, if endowed with the force of the passive, but devoid of the sense of transitivity/causativity, could be joined to roots which are by their nature intransitive or demand no object – e.g. *ḍarāi* or *tirāī* (see the examples below). The examples of the Bengālī forms that Chatterji introduces in support of his hypothesis all appear to be derived from transitive roots; he also cites a verse ascribed to Kabīr – *sabahi piyāsa pūrana hota hai, tana kī tapana bujhāy* "all thirst is fulfilled, and the burning of the body is relieved" (*ibid.*, p. 928) – where the root *bujh-* is a Subjectverb and the following *-ā-* is better explained as a causative affix (giving the sense "to extinguish", "to quench", etc.) than as marker of the passive. In this case too, Hoernle's and Tessitori's explanation given above apppears to be more fitting and satisfactory.

In our texts two verbal forms can be quoted in which the causative stem is followed by the passive suffix *-i*$_3$- and non-zero endings: *ḍahakāiyau* in 129.2, and *muḍāiyaī̃* in 138.2. The first form where the final morph has been interpreted as 2nd pers. pl. *-au*$_5$ can be translated as "[you] allow to be deceived" (with the direct address reinforced by the vocative particle *re*), the second is to be understood as instrumental sg. of the perfective participle. The conditional clause *mū̃ḍa muḍāiyaī̃ jau sidhi hoī* then can be translated

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"if the final goal is achieved by having one's head shaved" (for more examples of the passive perfective participles, see the section 5.D.1 dealing with the synthetic passive affix *-i$_3$-*/*-ī$_3$-* above).

Miltner's *OHR* includes three instances of this passive causative, but on p. 71 of the Morphemicon he marks this causative affix, probably incorrectly, as *-ā$_6$-* "spontaneous vowel", and appends it to verbal roots *caṭ-* "to lick" (Kabīr: *caṭāi*, 3rd pers. sg., in *sākhī*: *kabīra yahu jaga ãdhalā jaisī ãdhī gāi; bachā thā so mari gayā ūbhī cm̃a caṭāi*), *ḍar-* "to be afraid" (Tulsī: *ḍarānī*, dir. sg. f. of perfective participle, in: *nikaṭa mahābhaya tuma na ḍarānī*) and *bilakh-* "to be sad", "to grieve" (Tulsī: *bilakhānī*, dir. sg. f. of perfective participle, in: *bharatamātu pahm̃ ga:i bilakhānī*). It is worth noting that in all three examples the verb can be understood as passive of causative (the dead calf is licked; you have not been frightened by the coming danger; she came to Bharata's mother stricken by grief / made sad / disconcerted).

What Miltner may have in mind when using the term "spontaneous vowel" is the possible accomodation of the vowel quantity to the rhythmic requirements of the verse: in the texts of the present corpus the forms interpreted here as potential passives formed from transitive or causative stems occur frequently at the ends of verses and the specific context often allows to interpret them in two different ways – either as passives of transitive/causative stems, or as basic, intransitive forms in which the regular ending of the 3rd pers. sg. *-ai$_{13}$* is modified to *-āi* od *-āī* in order to fit better into the rhyme. A case in point is the expression *tana na ḍarāi* in the verse 398.0: it can be understood either as containing a passive of transitive/causative stem and translated "the body is not frightened", or as intransitive with the lengthened ending "the body does not fear" (so translates Gupta, *KG*, p. 350). Another interesting case of morphological ambiguity occurs in the verse *saṣī sahelī mãgala gāvai, duṣa suṣa māthai halada caḍhāī* (257.1); here the form *caḍhāī* can be interpreted either as passive of the causative stem *caḍhā-* "is being applied" (solution preferred by J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 303-305), or as perfective participle used as predicate "was / has been applied" (so understood by Gupta, *KG*, p. 280, and Śarmā, *KG*, p. 445). Two other possible interpretations include the absolutive "having applied", and verbal noun; the latter seems to have been preferred by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 415, who interpret this form (curiously, with reference to the present locus) as *lagāne kī kriyā* "the action of applying". On the other hand, the example taken from the verse 251.4 – *ãmrita le le nība sicāī* – can be hardly understood in any other way than as a passive of transitive: "[even if] the *nīm* tree is constantly watered with nectar" (so translates also Gupta, *KG*, p. 277, and J. and V. Sīha, *KV-S*, p. 341). The present author has taken the (perhaps audacious) decision to

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interpret *all* forms ending in the 3rd pers. pres. in *-āi*/*-āī* as passives of transitive/causative stems (even if such interpretation differs from translations offered by established authorities) in the conviction that in all instances such interpretation is possible and therefore should be given a try and presented as a feasible alternative. This decision applies also to two instances of the form *rahāi*/*rahāī* in the verses 92.2 and 325.2: LĀLASA's *RHSŚ*, vol. 2, p. 466, knows (in contrast to both MHK and HŚS) the transitive verb *rahānā*, whose meanings are specified as, *inter alia*, "*sthita yā sthāpita karanā*", and "*ādhārita karanā*" – equivalents that fit in the present contexts equally well as do their objectless counterparts "to remain", "to stay", "to exist".

a. causative or transitive verbal base in -ã̃$_3$- / -ā$_4$- + -i$_3$- / -ī$_3$- + zero personal ending:

473.2 *aneka jatana kari surajhihũ̃ phiri phiri* urajhāī (lit.:) "having made many attempts I shall extricate myself; again and again one gets entangled" ("entaglement happens"; tr. *urajhānā* to intr. *urajhanā*; cf. TESSITORI, *OWR*, §140, on impersonal use, like passive proper)

145.3 *beda paḍhata ara jīva badhata hãũ, yahu ko dharãma* kahāī "you read Vedas and kill animals: what [kind of] *dharma* is this called?" (or: "can this be called?"; caus. *kahānā* < tr. *kahanā*)

96.2 *hari bina jãnãma* gãmāī "without Hari the birth (i.e. life) is wasted/ /squandered away" (tr. *gãmānā* < intr. *gãvanā*)

257.1 *tīni janã̃ mili lagana* gināī*; saṣī sahelī mãgala gāvai, duṣa suṣa māthai halada* caḍhāī "three persons having met (or: "in the presence of three persons"), the auspicious moment [for wedding] gets computed; friends and companions sing an auspicious song, turmeric [the symbol] of sorrow and happines is being applied on my forehead" (caus. *ginānā* < tr. *ginanā;* tr. *caḍhānā* < intr. *caḍhanā*)

20.2 *ulaṭī gãga nīra bahi āyā; ãmrita dhāra* cavāī "water of the reversed Ganga has flown in; the stream of *amṛta* is left/made to trickle in" (tr. *cavānā* < intr. *cavanā*)

398.0 *mana na ḍigai tā tãī tana na* ḍarāi "the mind is not upset, in consequence of this the body is not frightened" (tr. *ḍarānā* < intr. *ḍaranā*)

406.3 *sanyã̃ sakala* tirāī "whole army is (or: "can be") ferried across / transported to the other shore "(tr. *tirānā* < intr. *tiranā*)

95.0 *bolata bolata tata* nasāī "by too much talking the substance / true meaning is (or: "can be") destroyed" (tr. *nasānā* < intr. *nasanā*)

92.2 *aura marata kā roiye je āpā thira na* rahāi "when others die, why should one weep – when oneself is not allowed to stay (permanently)?" (tr. *rahānā* < intr. *rahanā*)

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325.2 *dasa͠ũ disā gagana* rahāī "the space is established / has been made to exist in all ten directions" (tr. *rahānā* < intr. *rahanā*)

251.4 *ãmrita le le nība* sicāī, *kahai kabīra vā kī bā̃ni na jāī* "[even if] the *nīm* tree is constantly watered with nectar, Kabīr says: its [bitter] nature does not disappear" (tr. *sicānā* < intr. *sĩcanā*)

b. causative or transitive verbal base in -ã̃$_3$- / -ā$_4$- + passive suffix -i$_3$- + non-zero affix or ending:

129.2 *jhūṭhai jagu* ḍahakāiyau "[you] allow to be deceived by the false world"

138.2 *mũḍa* muḍāiyaī *jau sidhi hoī* "if the final goal is achieved by having one's head shaved"

In Kabīr's *pads* we find several verbs whose forms can be traced back either to verbal roots or nominal stems. The vowel *-ā-* which may be appended to a verbal root or a nominal base can be interpreted either as a deriver of causatives, i.e. *-ã̃$_3$-/-ā$_4$-* if understood as appended to a verbal root, or deriver of verbs, i.e. denominative suffix *-ã̃$_2$-/-ā$_3$-* if interpreted as a morph joined to a nominal stem). In the former case, the verb will be transitive, frequently with true causative meaning; in the latter, it will be either intransitive or without any object (Subjectverb). Standard Hindī dictionaries often introduce both alternatives as homonyms and treat them as separate lemmata. *HŚS*, for example, has:

तिराना[१] – क्रि० स० [हिं० तिरना] १. पानी के ऊपर ठहराना । २. पानी के ऊपर चलाना । तैराना । ३. पार करना । ४. उबारना । तारना । निस्तार करना । (causative)

तिराना […][२] – क्रि० स० [sic!] [हिं० तिरना] पानी के ऊपर रहना । उतराना ।

तिराना[३] – क्रि० अ० [सं० तीर से नामिक धातु] तीर पर या किनारे आ जाना ।(denominative; *HŚS*, vol. 4, p. 2087)

नसाना […][१] – क्रि० अ० [सं० नाश] १. नाश को प्राप्त होना । नष्ट हो जाना । २. बिगड़ जाना । ख़राब हो जाना । (denominative)

नसाना […][२] – क्रि० स० १. नष्ट करना । २. नाश करना । ३. बिगाड़ना । ख़राब करना । (causative; *HŚS*, vol. 5, p. 2554)

सिराना […][१] – क्रि० अ० [हिं० सीरा+ना] … ३. समाप्त होना । ख़तम होना । अंत को पहुँचाना । जैसे, काम सिराना । … (denominative)

सिराना[२] – क्रि० स० १. ठंढा करना । … २. जल में डुबाकर शीतल करना । … ३. समाप्त करना । ख़तम करना । ४. व्यतीत करना । बिताना। (causative; *HŚS*, vol. 10, p. 6032)

The question whether a particular form is causative or denominative, should be settled in each instance separately. If a verb is to be understood as denominative, a nominal stem should be identified. When the basic form appears to be identical both for the nominal stem and verbal root (as e.g.

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in the case of *ḍar-*), one should see whether it is possible to identify other finite, intransitive verbal forms derived from the same root (e.g. *ḍaranā* "to fear", "to be afraid", and forms like *ḍaryau*, *ḍarẽ*, etc.). In such cases it is probably preferable to treat forms like *ḍarāṇī*, or *ḍarāī* as derived from a verbal root and therefore having the force of the transitive or causative. Semantic analysis and attention paid to context may show such verbal roots and/or nominal stems to be true homonyms – identical in form, but different in meaning and etymology.

Apart from the derivation of causatives by means of affixes, we can find in our texts (as we do in other Hindī dialects, MSH and other NIA languages) still another way of marking the difference between causative and non-causative verbs – the modification of the root vowel. Such modified forms have the status of independent verbal roots (in Hindī not analysable further into constituent morphemes). This ablaut modification of the root vowel is traceable to the OIA period: Sanskrit causatives append the causative suffix *-aya-* to the root which is usually strengthened to its *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* form. This feature has been inherited by the Hindī verbal system, many verbal roots being direct descendants of strengthened causative forms of Sanskrit. In the analysed texts the following pairs of intransitive/non-causative versus transitive/causative roots could be identified – note also the four instances where the transitive form is followed by the *-ā$_4$-* causative derived from the non-strengthened root:

upan-	to be born	*upā-*	to give birth		
ubar-	to be saved	*ubār-*	to save		
kaṭ$_2$-	to be cut	*kāṭ-*	to cut		
chuḍ-/*chūṭ-*	to be released	*chāḍ-*	to leave	*chuḍ-ā-*	to get released
jar-	to be on fire	*jār-*	to set on fire		
juṛ-	to be joined	*jor$_2$-*	to join		
ṭūṭ-/*tūṭ-*	to snap	*toṛ-*	to pluck; to break		
diṣ-	to appear	*deṣ-*	to see	*diṣ-ā-*	to show
phir-	to walk around	*pher-*	to turn sb. away		
bar$_1$-	to be on fire	*bār$_5$-*	to set on fire		
bãdh-/*badh-*	to be fastened	*bãdh-*	to bind, to tie	*bãdh-ā-*	to get bound
binas-	to perish	*binās-*	to destroy		
mar-	to die	*mār-*	to kill; to strike	*mar-ā-*	to get killed
miṭ-	to disappear	*meṭ-*	to remove		
ṣul- (*khul-*)	to be opened	*ṣol-*	to open		

In several instances the shorter, non-stregthened form is attested only in the causative verb where it is followed by *-ã̄$_3$-*/*-ā$_4$-* whose length is responsible for the compensatory shortening of the preceding root vowel:

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nās-	to perish	*nas-+-ā$_4$-*	to destroy
nhā-	to bath, to have a bath	*nha-+-v$_3$-+-ā$_4$-*	to bath, to give a bath
bhūl-	to forget	*bhul-+-ã̃$_3$-*	to deceive
lūk-	to vanish	*luk-+-ā$_4$-*	to hide, to conceal

I. Denominatives: derivers -ã̃$_2$- / -ā$_3$-

From the OIA period onward, verbs derived from nominal stems occur in texts with meanings "to do/perform ...", "to look like ...", "to become ...", to behave like ..." the object denoted by the nominal stem. Chatterji, *ODBL*, II, §765, p. 1034, notes that the greater variety of denominative affixes in Sanskrit (*-a-*, *-ya-*, *-aya-*, *-āya-*, *-iya-*, *-īya-*, *-uya-*, *-ūya-*, *-sya-*) was reduced already in Pāli, where the prevalent affix is *-āpaya-*, identical with the causative. From that time on, the formal distinction between causatives and denominatives was gradually lost, and in the NIA period both affixes are mostly identical. Kellogg, *GHL*, §424, p. 257, understands these denominatives as "causal verbs derived from abstract nouns, which denote the causation of that which is expressed by the noun." However, his very first example calls this explanation in question: "Thus, from **रिस**, ‚anger', comes **रिसियाना**, ‚to be angry'"; one would rather expect the meaning "to make angry", "to infuriate", if the verb is to be classified as causative. This confusion of causatives and denominatives creates problems in their correct identification and subsequent interpretation. In the language of the analysed texts, however, denominatives are not transitive verbs, but Subjectverbs (cf. *baurãna* or *risānā* quoted below). On the problem of distinguishing between denominatives and passive forms of causatives, see the section 5.H.3 above.

402.3 *loga kahaĩ kabīra* baurãnã̃ "people say: Kabīr has gone mad"

459.4 *kāḍhi ṣaṛaga kopyo* risāi "having drawn [his] sword, having got angry he became infuriated"

76.1 *paṭhayẽ na jãu ravã̃ nahī ãũ, sahaji rahũ̃* hariāī *ho* "if sent away, I do not go; if called, I do not come; I remain in [the state of] *sahaja*, being fresh, hey"

J. Auxiliary and connecting vowels, inserted consonants

1. -a$_2$- / -ã$_1$- *verbal thematic vowel*

In the present corpus the connecting vowel *-a$_2$-*/*-ã$_1$-* joins verbal roots to derivers of nominal forms – to imperfective participle *-t$_3$-* and verbal substantive

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-ṇ$_1$-/*-n$_1$-*. The only finite verbal form using this connector is the sigmatic future where this vowel occasionally stands in place of the regular *-i$_2$-* (in the 2nd pers. sg. *binasasi* and 3rd pers. sg. *binasasī*). When contiguous with a nasal consonat, the vowel is sometimes represented as nasalized. Historically, it is a relic of the verbal thematic vowel *-a-* of the OIA and MIA period. This theme is still clearly preserved in Old Mārvāṛī which retains, in the present tense, a hiatus between it and the vowel of the ending. Forms of Old Mārvāṛī closely resemble those of Apabhraṃśa: 3. pers. sg. pres. *kara:i*, *pūcha:i*, *bhaṇa:i* (Tessitori, *OWR*, §116). McGregor, *LIO*, §3.99, p. 157, enumerates several stem-forming themes, one of them being this *-a-* used in forming the "active stem". However, in the language described by McGregor, as well as in that of Kabīr's *pads* analysed in the present study, the hiatus had already disappeared; the theme has merged with the vocalic ending, giving rise to a diphthong. As most endings used in finite verbal forms are vocalic, the theme vanishes from the conjugation almost without trace. However, even when absorbed into diphthong, it still holds its ground in debarring the final vowels of the root and those of the ending from merging: semivocalic glide *-v$_3$-* is regularly inserted between them, as e.g. in 3rd pers. sg. *pāvai* or *āvai* (and not *pāi* or *āi*).

As far as consonantal affixes are concerned, apart from the sigmatic future the only ones in the verbal system are those of the nominal forms enumerated above; and it is in combination with them that the old theme escaped assimilation. Moreover, before the nominal affixes it has been retained not only after consonant-final roots, but also after roots ending in a vowel, again necessitating the insertion of the semivowel glide *-v$_3$-* (as in *pīvana* and *sovana* in the verse 20.3 quoted below). In these contexts the segment *-a$_2$-* still appears to retain something of its original, thematic function. For this reason, and despite the fact that in Sanskrit (as in other classical IE languages) the expression "thematic vowel" generally denotes a vowel with a paradigmatic function of defining separate morphological classes of verbs, a feature largely lost at the NIA stage, it still seems appropriate to retain the description "verbal thematic vowel" coined by Miltner (*OHR*, p. 66 and 73).

186.3 kāṭ**a**ta *belī kū̃pala melhī;* sī̃c**a**taḍā̃ *kumilāṇī̃* "by cutting (or: "in spite of being cut"), the plant put forth shoots; by watering (or: "despite being watered"), it withered" (in *sī̃c**a**taḍā̃*, *-a$_2$-* joins the morph of the participle *-t$_3$-* both to the preceding verbal root, and to the following pleonastic particle *-ṛ-*)

172.2 *laṣa caurāsī jīva jāta mā͠ī,* bhram**ā̃**ta bhram**a**ta *nāda thākau* "wandering around through [the wombs of] eighty-four myriads of living beings, Nanda got tired"

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20.3 *prema piyālā* pīv**a**na *lāgā,* sov**a**ta *nāginī jāgī* "I began to drink from the cup of love; the snake (i.e. *kuṇḍalinī*) woke up from her sleep" (lit.: "sleeping, the snake woke up")

387.2 *mãna* mãj**a**na *kari dasavai dvāri* "having performed purification (or: "perform purification") of [your] mind at the tenth door"

372.2 *kā jaṭā bhasama* lep**ã**na *kīyẽ* "what [is gained] by [displaying] matted hair, by smearing one's body with ashes?"

185.7 kah**a**ṇī rah**a**ṇī *nija tata jãṇai* "in speaking, in practice, he knows his own true / inner essence"

92.2 *je upajyā so* binas**a**sī "what has been born that will perish"

444.1 *ṣasama marai yahu nāri na rovai; usa* raṣ**a**vālā *aurai hovai* "when [her] husband dies, this woman does not weep; somebody else becomes her protector"

2. -i$_2$-, -ya$_2$- *verbal connecting* (*auxiliary*) *vowel*

In Miltner's Old Hindī Reader we find *-i$_3$-* described as a "verbal thematic vowel" occurring before the morphs of the perfective participle (*-0$_2$-*), verbal substantive (*-b$_1$-* and *-v$_2$-*) and verbal adjective (*-k$_3$-* in *choḍika:u* in the text of *Rāula-vela* by Roḍā). The same designation, "verbal thematic vowel", is given also to the morph *-a$_3$-* (followed in his OHR by a greater number of different morphs in the texts of Vidyāpati, Gorakhnāth and Tulsī), as well as to the morph *-u$_2$-* (in Tulsī) and *-o$_2$-* (in the text of Vidyāpati). Thus, under one common designation we have a group of morphs of different origin which share similar, but not always identical functions.

The contexts in which the morph *-i$_2$-* occurs in Kabīr's *pads* from Rājasthān allows us to devise a more specific name, as in all quotable instances it appears to be a descendant of the OIA connecting vowel (Bindevokal) used in the formation of, i.a. past participles and gerundives of the so-called *seṭ*-verbal roots. The use of the term "connecting vowel" for both OIA *-i-* and NIA *-i$_2$-* does not imply that the rules of its occurrence with particular verbal roots are identical. What we should see as relevant in the present context is the origin of this NIA *-i$_2$-* that is traceable to the OIA Bindevokal *-i-* and the common function of both affixes in the formation of future tense and participles. This is perhaps enough to justify the change of designation of the morph, in the context of the language of the analysed Kabīr's *pads* from the "verbal thematic vowel" to the more pertinent "connecting vowel", a term used by Western grammarians to describe its Sanskrit predecessor.

Thiel-Horstmann, *Crossing*, p. 42, appears to see the intermediate *-i-* in the perfective participles merely as a matter of alternative spelling ("After root-final consonants *-y-* is often inserted. The writing may also be *-iy-* in such

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cases, thus, *dekhiyā*"). KELLOGG, *GHL*, p. 295, §497a. notes the insertion of *-i-* before the perfective participle termination in the dialects of Rājpūtāna, "often inserted in the 'Plays'", quoting as examples *sūraja ugīyā* "the sun has risen", *rāja tākiyā* "(I) have forsaken (my) kingdom" and *kāgada le hũ āviyo* "I have brought a paper (i.e. a letter)". TESSITORI, *OWR*, §126, gives several examples of this intermediate *-i-* with roots ending in consonants from the Old Mārvāṛī texts (*kar-i-u*, *kah-i-u*, *ūḍ-i-u*, *āp-i-u;* and a less frequent strong form *-i-a:u* in *jaṇ-i-a:u* and *pūj-i-a:u*). NAROTTAMADĀSA SVĀMĪ in his *Rājasthānī vyākaraṇa,* p. 83, introduces the *i*-forms as regular alternatives of the shorter forms in the *sāmānya bhūta*: both *phiriyo* and *phiryo* in the singular, and *phiriyā* as well as *phiryā* in the plural. *-i_2-* in perfective paricples in Kabīr's *pads* therefore appears to be due to an influence of western dialects. The same can be said about the sigmatic future joined to the root by the same connecting *-i_2-*: in addition to Rājasthānī dialects, it also appears in Old Gujarātī and Old Marāṭhī.

In verse 138.0 we have the interesting form *cīnhyasi* where the segment *-ya-*, marked in the present Morphemicon as *-ya_2-*, probably represents weakened pronunciation of the connecting vowel *-i_2-*. The habit of marking this phonetic nuance by specific graphic symbol has been noted also in case of the loc./instr. sg. endings in *-i* (in forms like *kabīrya* or *muṣya* where the loc./instr. allomorph has been marked as *-ya_1-*: see above, section 1.A.2.k), and occasionally in nominal stems and verbal roots before a nasal: thus we have variant spellings *gobĩd-* and *gobyãd-*, *pĩḍ-* and *pyãḍ-*, *pĩgulā-* and *pyãgulā-*, also *byãmb-* and *syãgh-* (without variants), and verbal root *cĩt-* and *cyãt-* (see also MCGREGOR, *LIO*, §2.9, p. 114, in passing §3.15, p. 135).

1st pers. sg. of the -h_2- future (< OIA -i-ṣya-):

257.4 *kahai kabīra mai sala raci* marihũ "says Kabīr: having built a funeral pyre I shall die"

2nd pers. sg. of -s_3- future (< OIA -i-ṣya-), or 2nd pers. sg. of infl. perf. act. (< OIA -i-ta- + √as-):

338.0 *kāyā* mãj**i**si *kãũna gunã, je ghaṭa bhītari hai malanã* "why (lit.: "for what benefit/profit") are you going to rub [your] body, when the pot is dirty inside?" (for alternative interpretation of the form *mãjisi* as present or past tense, see the sections 5.B.3 and 5.C.2 above)

138.0 *kā nāgãũ kā bắdhai cắma, jau nahĩ* cīnh**ya**si *ātamarắma* "what [is the use] of [going around] naked, what [is achieved] by binding animal skin [around your body], when you did not recognize the God in the Self?" (or as future tense: "when you will not recognize God in/as the Self?")

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-0_2- perfective participle (< OIA -i-ta-):

182.3 *sūrā hoi su parãma pada pāvai, kīṭa patãga hvai sabai* ja**ri**yā "he who is/becomes a hero (or: "the Sun"), attains the supreme state; having become worms or moths, all [others] burnt away"

188.2 *ākāse phala* phal**i**yā "in the sky the fruit has ripened"

-b_1- verbal substantive (< OIA -i-tavya-):

315.0 *iba mohi* nāc**i**bau *na āvai* lit. "now, dancing does not come to me" (i.e. "I do not feel like dancing")

-b_2- verbal adjective (< OIA -i-tavya-):

113.0 *jau pai rasanā rāma na kahibau, tau* upajata binasata bhrãmata rahibau "if one will not pronounce [the name of] Rām (lit.: "if [the name of] Rām will not be pronounced") with one's tongue, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again"

3. -y_2- *inserted consonant*

In Kabīr's *pads* analysed in the present study this sound has been segmented and identified as an empty morph that appears in four different contexts: in perfective participles in *-0_2-* before the vocalic ending (see above, in the section 5.E.7), between the passive affix *-i_3-*/*-$ī_3$-* and the vocalic ending (above, section 5.D.1), between the verbal base *pati$_1$-* "to believe" and the causative affix (*patiyã̄-* "to convince"), and finally in plurals of two nouns of foreign origin, the Arabic *kāji-* "*qāzī*", "Muslim judge", and Persian *ṣusi-* "*k̲h̤ush*", "happy", "pleased". In the passives, causatives and foreign words *-y_2-* stands for a genuine glide; in the case of perfective participles it can be interpreted as the last trace of the OIA and MIA vowel *-i-* (or its immediate phonetic environment) inserted typically before the participial affix *-t-*. Looked at in the strictly diachronic way, the preferable segmentation of the perfective participles then might be, e.g. *cal-* + *-y_2-* + *-0_2-* + *-au*, with the *-y_2-* preceding rather than following the perfective marker; but as forms in which the connecting vowel *-i_2-* is still preserved show (e.g. *phaliyā* in the verse 188.2, segmented *phal$_2$-* + *-i_2-* + *-0_2-* + *-y_2-* + *-$ā_7$*), this solution too is not indisputable. The morph *-y_2-* therefore can be described as comprising several elements of different origin and different history; from the point of view of synchronic description its function warrants its treatment as a single unit.

439.4 *kahai kabīra sabai jagu* binas**y**ā, *rahe rāma abināsī re* "Kabīr says: [if] the whole world perishes, Rām, the Imperishable, remains"

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310.4 *kā* paḍhiye *kā* gũniyẽ*, kā veda purāṇā̃* sũniyāĩ "why should one study, why should one philosophize? (lit.: "why should it be studied, philosophized?") Why should Vedas and Purāṇas be listened to?"

285.3 *darogā̃ bako baki hữhi* ṣusiyā̃*, beakali bakahi puvā̃hĩ* "liars are pleased prattling nonsence, foolish [people just] babble and boast"

4. -v$_3$- *inserted consonant* (*intervocalic glide*)

From the point of view of synchronic description, *-v$_3$-* can be defined as an empty morph, a euphonic element, inserted semi-vocalic glide that joins vowel-final verbal roots (as, e.g. *nhāvai* "bathes" in 406.1), or verbal stems (as the causative *diṣāvo* "show!" in 429.3) with their vowel-initial verbal endings, with derivers of causatives (as in *nhavāyẽ* "by bathing", lit.: "by having bathed/immersed" in 280.1), nominal endings of perfective participles (as in *mūvā* "died" in 23.5, *milāvā* "united", "merged" in 41.4), or with the thematic vowel *-a$_2$-* which always precedes the nominalizing affixes *-t$_3$-* and *-ṇ$_1$-*/*-n$_1$-* (*pīvata* "drinking" in 20.0; *chuḍāvana* "(for) liberation / getting liberated" in 139.0). In the present tense of the active voice, *-v$_3$-* is used exclusively, the other connecting glide *-y$_2$-* being in this context totally absent; on the other hand, in the perfective participles the historically grounded *-y$_2$-* clearly predominates, but with occasional *-v$_3$-* variants: at different places the analysed MS has both *pāyā* (ten occurrences) and *pāvā* (41.4 and 185.2), *ṣāyā* (139.4 and 312.2) and *ṣāvā* (12.3 and 185.2). From the historical point of view, *-v$_3$-*, (like its counterpart, the inserted *-y$_2$-*) comprises elements of different origin: in cerain contexts it carries the function of the pure intervocalic glide (as in, e.g,, *mūvā* and *hūvā*), whereas in causatives *-v-* represents a reflex of the OIA > MIA affix *-āpaya-* > *-āva-*/*-āve-* (for details, see the section 5.H above).

406.1 *jala kai majani jau gati hoī, tau mī̃nā̃ nita* nhāvai "if the supreme state is [achieved] by (ritual) immersion, then fish bathes continuously"

429.3 *kahi kabīra hari darasa* diṣāvo*, hamahi* bulāvo *ki tumha cali* āvo "Kabīr says: show your splendour/*darśan*, O Hari! Either summon me [to your presence], or come yourself [to me]"

280.1 *kyā jala deha* nhavāyẽ "what [is gained] by [ritually] bathing the body in the water?"

23.5 *aba mãna ulaṭi sanātana* hūvā*, taba hãma jā̃ṇyā̃* jīvata mūvā "now the mind having turned around became eternal; then, by obtaining the [saving] knowledge, I died [to this world] while still being alive"

139.0 *jā̃ pāĩ jā̃ũ āpaṇapau* chuḍā̃vāna*, te bīdhe bahu phādā* "to whom I go in order to get myself liberated [from worldly attachments], these [persons themselves are] ensnared in many traps"

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CHAPTER SIX

ADVERBS

In their form, most adverbs occurring in texts of the present corpus (and in the old as well as modern Hindī generally) are derived either from adjectives (they are adjectives used adverbially), or from nouns; in the latter case the nominal endings of the locative or instrumental *-i*$_{6}$ and *-ãĩ*$_{2}$ / *-ai*$_{6}$ are reinterpreted as adverbizing affixes *-i*$_{12}$ and *-ãĩ*$_{10}$ / *-ai*$_{17}$. Sometimes both interpretations are possible: *dūri* can mean, depending on the actual context, either "in the distance" (loc. sg. of the noun), or "far", "far away", if understood as an adverb. Adverbial forms derived from pronominal stems and used as pronominal adverbs and in certain cases also as conjunctions, have been treated in the chapters Pronouns and Conjunctions. Still other adverbs can be traced back to their OIA predecessors, adverbs of Sanskrit – e.g. *aja* "now", "today" < OIA *adya*, or *anãta*, nasalized variant of *anata* "elsewhere" < OIA *anyatra*, or *tatsama upari* "above". As the focus of the present work is on the morphological analysis and subsequent morphemical segmentation of words, in the present chapter only derived adverbial forms (that constitute a great majority of adverbs occuring in the analysed *pads* anyway) are noted.

1. -a$_{18}$: *adverbizer*
2. -ā$_{14}$: *adverbizer*

Adjectives, particularly those that denote a quantity or quality, take the force of adverbs: thus, e.g. *hama tau baṛe dukhī hãĩ* "I am truly very miserable" (Kellogg, *GHL*, §649, p. 385); *vaha ādhe mãde hãĩ ādhe nīk* "he is half ill and half well" (Saksena, *EA*, §369, p. 308).

312.2 *vrahma giyãnī* adhika *dhiyãnī, jama kai paṭai liṣāyā* "an expert on *brahma*, intensely meditating, [but he too] allowed [his] record to be made in Yama's register"

285.2 ṭuka *dama karārī je karai, hājirã̃ ṣusura ṣudāi* "if you practice the stability of breath a little bit, God, the Lord, [is] immediately present" (the second part of the line is not clear: *ṣusura* in ordinary contexts means "father-in-law")

186.3 *kahai kabīra te biralā jogī, sahaji* nirãtara *jãṇī* "Kabīr says: rare are those yogins [by whom this plant of Rāma *guṇa*] is experienced permanently in the state of *sahaja*"

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123.3 *tumha satagura mai nautama celā, kahai kabīra rāma ramau* akelā "you are the true Guru, I am the novice; Kabīr says: I rejoice / I am immersed solely in Rām" (better than: "I alone rejoice ..."; *akelā* here carries the same meaning as the MSH visibly adverbial form *akele*; GUPTA, *KG*, p. 214, also translates by an adverb: *mãĩ akele* (*kevala*) *tuma mẽ ramaṇa karatā hũ̃*)

127.2 *kahai kabīra hari nãũ na chāḍũ̃, girata parata caḍhũ̃* ũcā "Kabīr says: I shall not forsake the name of Rām; stumbling and falling I shall climb high" (GUPTA, *KG*, p. 219: *girate-paṛate* [*usa*] *ũ̃ce* [*sthāna*] *para caṛha hī jāũ̃*)

3. -i_{12} : *adverbizer* (< *loc. / instr. sg.* -i_6)
4. -$ãĩ_{10}$ / -ai_{17} : *adverbizer* (< *loc. / instr. sg.* -$ãĩ_2$ / -ai_6)

Already in the OIA the instrumental and locative cases of nouns often took the function and meaning of real adverbs – e.g. *sukhena* "easily", "happily", *rahasi* "secretly", *agre* "at the head", "at the front", etc. (SPEIJER, *SS*, §77, p. 57, and §150, p. 113). Nouns and adjectives ending in the dir. case in *-a* take the instr./loc. and adverbizing affix *-i*, those ending in long *-ā* take the diphthong *-ai* or *-ãĩ*.

145.1 *rãmã nāma tata sãmãjhata nãhĩ̃,* ãti *paṛai muṣya chārā* "[you] do not understand the essence of the name of Rām; in the end dust will fall in [your] mouth"

459.2 *rãma kahāna kī chāḍi bãni,* begi *chuḍãvau merau kahyau mãni* "give up the habit of invoking Rām; I shall get you released immediately, [but] heed my word"

390.0 *hai* hajūri *kyā* dūri *batāvai* "[It] is present/here, why do you say [that it is] far away?"

8.2 neṛai *taĩ* dūri dūri *taĩ* neṛai*, jini jaisā kari jãṇyã̃* "who has known how [to proceed] from what is near to what is far and from what is far to what is near" (translation tentative, meaning uncertain)

402.3 *loga kahaĩ kabīrā baurãnã̃, kabīrai kā marãma rãma* bhalāĩ *jãnã̃* "people say: »Kabīr has gone mad!«; but it is Rām who knows well Kabīr's true essence"

15.1 pahalāĩ *pūta pachaĩ bhaī māī, celā kai gura lāgai pāī* "first [came] the son, [only] later was [born his] mother; guru takes a seat at the feet of [his] pupil"

139.4 *taji* bãvāĩ dãhiṇāĩ *bikārā, hari pada diḍha kari gahiye* "having given up (or: "give up!") the aberrations on the left [as well as] on the right: the feet of Hari should be grasped firmly" (or: "let us grasp ...")

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421.3 *vrahma agni le* sahajaĩ *phūkī, ekai coṭa ḍhahāyā* "having taken the fire of *brahma* I kindled [the wick] easily (or locative: "in the state of *sahaja*"); with a single blow I destroyed [the fort]"

5. -i_{11} / -$ī_{13}$ > -i_{12}: *transposed absolutive with the force of an adverb*
6. -kari$_2$: *transposed absolutive as an adverbizer*

Apart from adverbs formed from locative and instrumental cases of nouns or adjectives, the present corpus has yielded several interesting examples of adverbial formations that can be interpreted as transposed absolutives. Absolutives in transition to adverbs have been dealt with in more detail in the chapter Verbs, section 5.F.1.c: typical examples include words like *bicāri* "having pondered" > "advisedly", or *bhūli* "having forgotten", "having erred" > "mistakenly". Expressions like *bharapūri* in the verse 65.2 (or its variant *bharipūri*) "fully", "entirely", "completely", originally a double absolutive of the verbal roots *bhar-* "to fill" and *pūr-* with approximately the same meaning, can be understood as real adverbs. In most cases the adverbizing force is carried by a transposed affix; but the examined texts show that similar function can be served also by the absolutive of the verb *kar-* "to do": in several instances *kari* is used postpositively as an adverbial formative that emphasizes the adverbial character of the preceding word (as in *tali kari* and *upari kari* in in the verse 15.3), or together with it forms an adverbial expression, as in 288.1 (for more examples, see the chapter Verbs, section 5.F.1.d.

65.2 *jihi ghaṭi rā̃ma rahyau* bharapūri*, tā kī maĩ caranana kī dhūri* "the body which has been entirely pervaded by Rām – I am dust at the feet of such [a person]" (lit.: "in which body Rām has ben fully present")

15.3 tali kari *sāṣā* upari kari *mūla, bahuta bhā̃ti jaṛa lāge phūla* "[with] branches below [and] the root above, flowers of many kinds budded at the root"

288.1 *yahu sāsāra hāṭa* kari *jā̃nāũ* "I know this world to be a marketplace"

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PARTICLES

A. Enclitic particles

1. -i_{14}, -$ī_{14}$, -$hĩ_2$, -hi_5, -$hī_2$: *exclusive emphatic particle*

The exclusive emphatic particle has a generally restrictive force, focussing attention on the word (a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, and ocasionally also a finite verbal form) it follows as an enclitic. It is expressed by two basic allomorphs, *-i* and *-hi* (with long and nasalized variants), whose origin has been traced to the OIA *eva* > *ē* > *i*, and the Sanskrit particle *hi*, respectively (Saksena, *EA*, §380, p. 321). One of regular uses of the Sanskrit enclitic *hi* was placing a restrictive emphasis on the preceding word: "just", "indeed", "only", etc.; in this role it can be accepted as a source of the NIA particle *-hi*/*-hī*. But the origin of the shorter form which occurs in the NIA pronominal forms *koī* and *soī* is probably different and should be traced to the OIA enclitic *api* used in the formation of the indefinite pronoun *ko'pi* (= *kaḥ* + *api*) "somebody", "any one", and the demonstrative *so'pi* "he indeed" (for more extensive treatment of *api* in these contexts, see the chapter Pronouns, Interrogative and indefinite, section 3.H.1.c). When affixed to the pronominal form *ko-*, the particle -i_{14} / -$ī_{14}$ would be better described as an affix used for derivation of indefinite pronoun from interrogative, rather than an emphatic particle with the same force as *-hi* / *-hī*. The solution to include it in the category of emphatics can be justified by the fact that also in Sanskrit *api* often expresses emphasis, and also by a general decision not to increase the number of morphs more than is necessary; the same approach was chosen by Miltner, *OHR*, p. 73 and 74, but without any explanation.

As scribes of medieval manuscripts did not separate words by spaces, the final *-hĩ*/*-hi* when preceded by an *a*-stem noun can be interpreted either as enclitic, or as the obl. sg. ending *-ahĩ*/*-ahi*; an instance of such ambiguity can be found in the verse 114.4 where the string *baikũṭhahi* can be interpreted either as dir. sg. followed by the enclitic, or as obl. sg. with the ending -ahi_1. In 280.5 the pronominal adverb *ihẽ* is to be understood either as containing double emphasis (*ihẽ* like MSH *yahẽ* + *hĩ*), or we have a scribal error (anticipation of a vowel occuring in the following word): other Rājasthānī MSS read *ihã*.

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The contracted emphatic forms *-ai*$_1$, *-ai*$_2$, *-ai*$_3$ and *-ai*$_5$, resulting from the fusion of the enclitic particle with the final *-a* of nominal stems, have been dealt with in the chapter Nouns and Adjectives, section Contracted emphatic forms, 1.A.4.a-d. Apart from these emphatic forms of nominal endings the present corpus includes one instance of emphatic numeral *ekai* "sole", "one and the same" (*ek-* + *-ai*$_9$ = *eka hī*, in 77.1), one instance of emphatic reflexive pronoun *āpaĩ* "(only) he himself" (*āp-* + *-aĩ*$_4$ = *āpa hī*, in 182.0), and possibly pronominal adverb *anāta* "elsewhere" emphasized by the particle *-i*$_{14}$; hence the attested form *anãtai* (in the verse 372.3, but the interpretation of the word and its form is uncertain).

-i$_{14}$ / -ī$_{14}$:

261.3 *kari bicāra bikāra parahari, tirāṇa tārāṇa* soi*; kahi kabīra raghunātha bhaja nara, dutī nãhĩ* koi "Practice contemplation and abandon [your] vices: He indeed, is the means as well as the driving force / agent of [your] liberation; Kabīr says: worship Raghunātha, o man, [for] there is no second/other [like Him]"

178.0 *hai* koī *sāta sahaji suṣa upajai, tā kũ japa tapa dehũ dalālī* "is there any such *sant* / holy man [in whose presence] arises the bliss of *sahaja*? To him I (shall) give [my] *japa* and *tapas* as brokerage"

41.1 *aba nahī marũ maraṇa mana mānyã,* soī *muvã jini rãma na jānyã* "now I shall not die, [although my] mind is reconciled with death; only he has died who has not known Rām"

372.3 *hṛdai srī hari bheṭiyau, je mana* anãtai *nahī jāi* "Śrī Hari was met/ /found in the heart when the mind does not reach the Infinite" (alternative reading of *anãtai* as a nasalized variant of *anatai* "elsewhere" would give the meaning "if the mind does not wander elsewhere", i.e. if it is not distracted)

-hĩ$_2$:

147.3 *kãma krodha dou bhaye bikārā, āpa* hĩ *āpa jarai sãsārā* "lust and anger – these two deformations arose, [and] the world burns of one's own accord"

-hi$_5$:

429.1 *hama* hi *kusevaga ki tumha* hi *ajãnã* "Is it me who is a bad servant or are you ignorant?"

114.4 *kahai kabīra yahu kahiye kāhi, sādha sãgati baikũṭha* hi *āhi* "Kabīr says: to whom should (or: "can") this be said (i.e. "to whom it makes sense to explain") – the company of saints is the true paradise" (or

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segmented as *baikũṭhahi*: "in the company of saints [one] is in the paradise")

-hĩ̃$_2$:

94.3 *karata bicāra mana* hĩ̃ *mana upajī, nā̃ kahĩ̃ gayā na āyā* "practising contemplation, [the merging of the divine power in the *brahmarandhra*] was born in the mind itself (or: „in the mind only"); [I] did not come or go anywhere"

182.0 *āpaṇāĩ̃ rūpa kũ̃ āpa* hĩ̃ *jā̃ṇāĩ̃* "only he knows his own form"

408.4 *sevaga sau jo lāgau sevā, tina* hĩ̃ *pāyau nirā̃jana devā* "he is the [true] servant who has persisted in the service; only by these/such [people] has been attained [the access to] the God *Nirañjana*"

280.5 *dila* hī *ṣoji dilaĩ̃ dila ṣojaũ̃, tau* ihĩ̃ hĩ̃ *rā̃ma rahimā̃nā̃* "searching for the heart, search for the heart of/in the heart (i.e. for the innermost of the heart), for it is only there [where] Rām Rahmān [dwells]"

288.0 *jau maĩ̃ gyā̃na bicāra na pāyā, tau maĩ̃ yũ̃* hĩ̃ *janama gamāyā* "if I have not gained the insight into true knowledge, then I have wasted [this] birth to no purpose" (lit.: "just so")

-hī$_2$:

281.2 *satari kābā ika dila* hī *bhītari je kari jā̃nai koī* "inside a single heart there are seventy Kaabas, if [only] one knows it [to be the case]"

408.0 *bhaji gobyā̃da bhūli jini jāhi, maniṣā̃ janama kau yau* hī *lāha* "worship Govinda, do not forget, this is the real gain of the birth of man" (i.e. of the birth in the form of a human being)

146.4 *kahai kabīra jo ã̃bara jā̃nai, tā* hī *syũ̃ merā mana mā̃nai* "Kabīr says: who knows [this] heaven, with him indeed my mind agrees"

2. -u$_8$, -ũ̃$_4$, -hũ̃$_3$: *inclusive emphatic particle*
-a$_{13}$ + -u$_8$ > -o$_3$: *emphatic dir.*

The origin of this enclitic particle has been traced to the OIA particle of asseveration *khalu* "indeed", "verily", "certainly" etc. used also mostly as enclitic. The development *khalu* > **khlu* > *khu* > *hu* has been explained by the stress that fell on the second syllable; hence the weakening and ultimate disappearance of the medial *a* (Saksena, *EA*, §377, p.317).

In texts of the present corpus this particle occurs only with pronouns, adverbs, and with the conjunction *to* / *tau*; the variant used with numerals (with the single exception of the numeral *ek*-) has been assigned to a separate category of aggregatives. Each of these three possible combinations

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uses a different allomorph and carries a peculiar shade of meaning. Thus, *-hữ*$_3$ follows mostly the adverb *aja* / *āja* "now", "today" and the pronominal adverb *kaba* "when"; an inseparable part of these collocations appears to be the negative particle *na* or *nahĩ* – the meaning then is "not even now/today", and "never", respectively. The only attested occurence of *-hữ*$_3$ with a pronoun is *hãma hữ* in 41.3: there is no negation and the meaning is "we too".

Other pronouns and also conjunctions use the deaspirated variant *-u*$_8$ or *-ữ*$_4$. In the verse 113.3 this particle stands in collocation with the indefinite pronoun and negative particle; the meaning of the expression *kou na* appears to be "nobody at all" – a stronger statement than *koī na* "nobody" found at several other places in the corpus. Expressions *ta u* and *tau u* are conjunctions "still", "nonetheless", "yet" introducing concessive clauses (for examples, see also the chapter Conjunctions, section 8.B.1). Two occurences show the particle *-u*$_8$ combined with the direct case *-a*$_{13}$ of the numeral *ek-* "one"; the two vowels merge into the final *-o*, marked in the present Morphemicon as emphatic dir. *-o*$_3$. As in other collocations described above, this emphatic form too occurs with negatives and the meaning "not a single one" (MSH *eka bhī nahĩ*).

-u$_8$:

381.2 *ajāmela gaja ganikā, patita krama kīnhữ; te* u *utari pāri gaye, rữma nữma līnhữ* "Ajāmela, the elephant, and the courtesan commited sinful deeds; having crossed even they reached the other shore, with the name of Rām"

113.3 *kãdha kāla suṣa ko* u *na sovai, rājā rữka dou mili rovai* "with Kāl (i.e. god of death) [sitting] on one's shoulder, nobody at all sleeps at ease/ /happily; king and pauper, both weep together"

338.1 *tữbī aṭhasaṭhi tīratha nhāī, karavāpaṇa ta* u *na jāī* "the bitter gourd may bathe at sixty eight holy bathing places, still the bitterness does not disappear"

381.3 *svữna sūkara kāga kīnhữu, tau* u *lāja na āī* "[in your previous births(?) you were] made a dog, a pig, a crow – but still no shame felt?"

-a$_{13}$ + -u$_8$ > -o$_3$:

312.0 *mana re bhajyau na raghapati rājā, tātữ saryau na* eko *kājā* "the king Raghupati (i.e. Rām) has not been worshipped, o mind; that is why not a single undertaking [of yours] has succeeded"

363.2 *phūṭe nữna hṛdai nahĩ sūjhai, mati* eko *nahĩ jữnĩ* "eyes destroyed, heart is unfeeling, not a single [good] idea came to [your] mind!"

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-ũ̃$_4$:

288.2 *jāmana marãṇã̃ e* ũ *doi thāke* "birth and death, both these [processes] have come to a stop"

-hũ̃$_3$:

41.3 *hari marihai tau hãma* hũ *marihaĩ, hari na marai hãma kāhe kũ* marihaĩ "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but] if Hari does not die (i.e. is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?"

440.4 *mana kaṭhora aja* hũ *na patīnã̃* "stubborn mind – even now it has not believed"

148.3 *kahai kabīra rã̃ma bhaji bhāī, dāsa ãdhama gati kaba* hũ *na jāī* "Kabīr says: worship Rām, o brother; the true devotee (*dāsa*) never sinks to the bottom / lowest point"

3. -paĩ$_2$

Single occurence of this emphatic particle attested in the present corpus has been found in the expression *jau paĩ* "if". *jau*, originally a relative pronoun, came to be also used as a conjunction introducing time, conditional, and concessive clauses. In the present quotation, as well as in numerous other instances in texts of Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* and Tulsī's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, the particle *paĩ* (or *pai* in Old Avadhī) appears to narrow the function of *jau* to introducing conditional clause.

129.6 *kā japa kā tapa sãjamā, kā tīratha vrata snāna; jau* paĩ *jugati na jã̃ṇiyaĩ, bhāva bhagati bhagavã̃na* "what [is the use] of *japa*, what of asceticism, of self-control? What [is gained] by [visiting] places of pilgrimage, by vows, by ritual bathing, if the right way is not known – the love and devotion to God?"

B. Negatives

1. na$_1$, nã̃$_2$, nā : *negative particle*
2. nahĩ̃ / nahī : *emphatic negative particle*
3. jini : *negative particle*

In the majority of cases, where the extended form of the negative particle does not carry the meaning of negative form of the verb *āh-* "to be", the second syllable *-hĩ̃* / *-hī* / *-hi* is probably best interpreted as one of the variants of the exclusive emphatic particle *-hĩ$_2$*, *-hi$_5$*, *-hĩ̃$_2$*, *-hī$_2$*. However, in many contexts the sense does not appear to be emphatic ("not at all", etc.), but equi-

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valent to unmodified forms *na*$_1$, *nã̃*$_2$, and *nā*, as can be clearly seen in the examples 8.1 and 147.2, quoted below. These two verses, and the next verse 172.1, also show the capacity of these particles to negate simultaneously the preceding and the following verb. Both the extended and unextended variants most often appear in negation with finite and infinite verbal forms. The verse 78.4 shows the negative used in its two possible functions: in the first instance *nahĩ̃* is a variant of the negative form of the verb "to be" ("is not", more often expressed by the word *nãhĩ̃*: see, under the verb *āh-* in the chapter Verbs, section 5.A.1.b); in the second it is used as a particle negating the verbal form *cīnhã̃*: "has not known", "did not recognize". In the verse 94.0 *nahĩ̃* introduces a negative purpose clause (equivalent to MSH pattern *kahĩ̃ na* + subjunctive); the prohibition in the preceding clause is expressed by the particle *jini* (of obscure origin; according to Kellogg, *GHL*, §645.4b., p. 383, and Varma, *LB*, §244, p. 124, an eastern form) that is also used with the imperative. Derivation of the extension *-hĩ̃* from the final segment *-hīn* of adverbs (as, e.g. *kahīn*) as suggested by Schwarzschild, *JRAS*, 1959, p. 50, is speculative: the correspondence of the final of locative adverbs with the extension of the negative particle may be purely accidental and explanations advanced by Turner, *ND*, p. 337, and Bloch who look for its origin in some form of the substantive verb (either √*as-* > *ah-*, or √*bhū-*) and its possible contamination with descendants of OIA *na* + *hi* appear to be more plausible.

8.1 *āvai* na *jāi marai* nahĩ̃ *jīvai, tāhi ṣoji bairāgī* "[He/It] does not come, does not leave, does not die, does not live: search for Him/that, you who are devoid of passions"

147.2 *bidyā* na *paḍhãũ beda* nahĩ̃ *jãṇãũ, hari gũna kathata sunata baurãṇãũ* "I do not pursue learning, I do not know the Vedas; saying and listening to the praises of the Lord, I have gone mad"

172.1 *abināsī upajai* nahī *binasai, sãta sujasa kahãĩ tākau* "the Imperishable is not born and does not perish; the virtuous ones sing His glory"

78.4 *dila* nahĩ̃ *pāka pāka* nahĩ̃ *cīnhã̃, ustā ṣoja na jãnyã̃* "when the heart is not pure, it has not recognized the Pure; it has not known its trace" (or: "it has not got a clue about it")

94.0 *mana re jāgata rahiye bhāī; gāphila hoi basta* jini *ṣovai, cora muse* nahĩ̃ *jāī* "o mind, brother, it is necessary to stay awake; let you not lose the (precious) thing, being careless – so that a thief may not snatch it away" (or: "let not a thief snatch it away")

408.0 *bhaji gobyãda bhūli* jini *jāhi* "worship Govinda, do not forget"

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONJUNCTIONS

In the texts of the present corpus, most words or expressions used as connectors of other words or clauses were originally adjectives (*aura*), adverbs (*puni*), or, in the majority of cases, adjectival or adverbial forms derived from pronominal stems. Some of these transposed pronominal forms can be treated as conjunctions in their own right (*jau*, *tau*), others are perhaps better described as pronominal adverbs or adjectives endowed by the context with the force of conjunctions (*taba*, *tahã*, *tete*). The latter often retain more of their original adverbial meaning than the former: particularly the conjunctions *jau* an *tau* carry rather generalized relative and correlative functions, a feature that occasionally makes the exact determination of the type of clause introduced by them difficult. This loss of a more definite semantic content allows these conjunctions often to denote only the general connection of a sentence, "giving it at the most a consecutive shade of meaning" – this and related observations of Bloch, *IA*, esp. p. 309-310, are pertinent to our texts too. The lack of specificity allows these words to be used on occasion as expletives or particles with varying degrees and shades of emphasis, dependent on the overall context of the sentence.

A. Coordinating conjunctions

1. *Copulative*

aru, ru, ara, aura : *and*
puni$_2$: *and again*
nahī ... puni$_2$ nāhĩ : *not* ... [*and*] *not even*

Already in Sanskrit the adjective *apara* "the latter", "following", "other", "another" etc. could be followed by the enclitic particle *ca* "and", and as *aparaṃ ca* used as a conjunction with the sense "moreover", "and further". In Pāli we meet still the form *aparaṃ*, but during the MIA period the intervocalic occlusive gradually disappeared and the NIA languages use either the form *aru* or, with metathesis, *aura*; *ara* and *ru* are variants. However, the original adjective with the meaning "other" survived in the form *ar-*; the conjunction thus can be characterized as a transposed adjective (Miltner, *OHR*, p. 70).

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puni$_2$ is a descendant of the OIA adverb *punar* "again"; in the meaning "[and] again" we see it used in the verse 34.3. It can be argued that in this context the word still retains the character of an adverb; but in its combination with the negative *nāhĩ* in the preceding verse the function of a conjunction comes to the fore. McGregor, *LIO*, §3.243, p. 203, lists *puni* and its variant *phuni* "again", "further", among coordinating conjunctions.

145.3 *beda paḍhata* ara *jīva badhata hãũ, yahu ko dharãma kahāī* "you read Vedas and kill animals: what [kind of] dharma can this be called?"

315.2 *vrahma agni mã̃ jarī ja mamitā, pāṣãḍa* aru *abhimã̃nã̃; kã̃ma colanã̃ bhayā purã̃nã̃, mo pãĩ hoi na ã̃nã̃* "when egoism, pretence, and pride have burned down in the fire of *brahma*, the costume/tunic of lust has been worn out; [and] another does not fit me"

421.4 *sādha sãgati* aru *gura kī kripā tãĩ, pakaryā gaḍha kā rājā* "with the [help of the] company of saints and by the grace of guru the king of the fort has been captured"

77.2 *māṭī kā pĩḍa sahaji utapānā, nāda* ru *bĩdu samã̃nā* "lump of earth, born in *sahaja*, dissolved in *nāda* (the eternal sound) and *bindu*"

34.2 *nahī griha dvāra kachū nahī tahuvã̃, racanahāra* puni *nāhĩ; jovanahāra atīta sadā sãgi, e gũna tahã̃ samã̃hĩ* "no house, door, nothing is there, not even the Creator; [there is] the Supreme Consciousness, trascendent [and] ever-present/immanent: there enter these *guṇas*"

34.3 *tūṭai badhai badhai* puni *tūṭai, jaba taba hoi bināsā* "[it] breaks (down), [then it] joins/grows up; [when it] joins/grows up, [it] breaks (down) again; time and again comes the destruction"

2. *Adversative*

pani ... na : *but*
pari$_3$: *but*
pãĩ$_2$ / pai$_2$: *but*
t$_2$- + -au$_8$: *after all, anyway*
bhī : *yet, still, all the same*

In the single occurence in the context of the verse 268.0 *pani*, a variant of *puni* "again", can be understood as an adversative conjunction "but" (in this sense mentioned, e.g. by Kamalasĩha, *Gorakhanātha kī bhāṣā kā adhyayana*, p. 98: *samuccaya bodhaka – virodha-sūcaka*, and also by Caturvedī and Mahendra, *KK*, p. 230, who record the retroflex variant *paṇi* as meaning *kintu*, *phira bhī*); the shift of meanings from "again" to "but" is governed by the following negative particle *na*. Tessitori, *OWR*, §§106 and 107, mentions *paṇi* as a conjunction etymologically connected with Sanskrit *punar* and

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carrying both a copulative and an adversative meaning; his examples show that the latter occurs in negative contexts (e.g. *thala dekha:i puṇa tīra pāmī na saka:i* "[He] sees the firm earth, but cannot reach the shore").

In the above-mentioned verse 268.0 one of the Rājasthānī MSS edited in the MKV gives the word *pai* "but" as a variant of *pani*. In the present corpus *pai* or its nasalized variant *pai̐* occurs only twice, on both occasions in the expression *jau pai, jau pai̐,* once followed by the negative particle *na*. In the verse 113.0 *jau pai rasanā rāma na kahibau* the expression stands at the beginning of the *ṭeka* that is repeated after each verse of the *pad*; in this context the meaning "but if/when" makes a good sense. Similarly, the broader context of the verse 486.1 makes it possible to interpret *pai̐* as carrying adversative meaning. In the verse 129.6, on the other hand, *pai̐* looks more like a particle reinforcing the conjunction *jau* "if", "when". Cf. also McGregor, *LIO*, §3.236, p. 202.

The exact function or meaning of *tau* in the verse 145.3 can be only guessed at – one possibility is to interpret it as an adversative conjunction with the approximate meaning "anyway", "after all", another is to understand it as an emphasizing particle "now", "well". *bhī* in 78.2 can be understood either as an equivalent of the MSH *phira bhī* "yet", "nevertheless", or alternatively as "then" relating to *pahalī* "at first" at the beginning of the verse.

268.0 *merī merī karatā̃ janama gayau, janama gayau* pani *hari na kahyau* "thinking (lit.: "doing") of 'mine', 'mine', the life went by; the life went by, but he did not utter/mention Hari's name"

288.3 *bhagati jāhu* pari *bhāva na ja:ihau, hari ke carāṇa nivāsā* "(outward signs of) veneration, you (may) perish, but you, love, will not perish, [having your] abode at Hari's feet"

486.1 *jau* pai̐ *bhagati bhagati hari jā̃nai, milai ta aciraja kāhā re* "but if a *bhakta* [guided] by *bhakti* knows Hari, then what surprise/confusion can overtake him?" (double *bhagati* in the MS may be a scribal error)

113.0 *jau* pai *rasanā rāma na kahibau,* tau *upajata binasata bhrāmata rahibau* "but if one will not pronounce with the tongue [the name of] Rām, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again"

145.3 *āpaṇa* tau *munijana hvai baiṭhe, kā syū̃ kahū̃ kasāī* "but now / after all, you yourself have become (a self-appointed) sage, [so] whom shall/should I call a butcher?"

78.2 *pahalī eka eka kari dhyāvai* bhī *dūjā̃ kari mārai* "at first you contemplate [all beings as] one [unity], but then making/seeing [them as something] other [than yourself], you kill [them]"

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3. *Disjunctive*

ka_1, ki_2 : *or*
bhāvai : *either / whether – or*

ki, probably from the OIA *kim* (the expression *kiṃvā* was used in Sanskrit as an extended variant of the conjunction *vā* "or") has been in the NIA period used in the disjunctive sense "or" over wide area of NIA languages from Gujarāt and Mārvāṛ (Tessitori, *OWR*, §108) to Avadh (Saksena, *EA*, §373b, p. 311). In *pads* of the present corpus *ki*, or its variant *ka*, is used either in introducing an alternative in a question (as in the *pad* 429.1), or in marking a second alternative in an "either – or" proposition (as in 429.3 below).

bhāvai is a transposed present indicative, originally with modal meaning: "as/if you like", "as/if you please"; as a conjunction (corresponding to MSH *cāhe*) it connects two alternatives "(either/whether) – or". As is the case of *ki* in the verse 429.3, *bhāvai* in 408.5 too is used only once, the first alternative remaining unmarked.

30.3 *kahai kabīra ṣarā udāsa, tīratha baḍe* ka *hari ke dāsa* "Kabīr says, strongly worried: are the places of pilgrimage great/important, or devotees of Hari?

429.1 *hamahi kusevaga* ki *tumhahi ajā̃nā̃* "Is it me who is a bad servant or are you ignorant?"

429.3 *hamahi bulāvo* ki *tumha cali āvo* "either summon me [to your presence], or come yourself [to me]"

408.5 *kahai kabīra jīti* bhāvai *hāri, bahu bidhi kahyau pukāri pukāri* "Kabīr says: you may either win or lose; I have explained [to you] in many ways, calling repeatedly/urgently/forcefully"

4. *Correlative*

t_2- + -au_8 / -a_{19} : *then*

The conjunction *tau* is of the most frequent occurence as a correlative in the apodosis of conditional and concessive clauses (see below, in the section dealing with subordinating conjunctions). Its uses in this function are shown below in the respective paragraphs dealing with these subordinate clauses.

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B. Subordinating conjunctions

1. j_1-+-au_8 /-a_{19} *with correlative conjunction* t_2-+-au_8 /-a_{19} *in the main clause*

According to Saksena, *EA*, §373d, p. 312, OIA (*yadā* –) *tadā* > MIA (*jaō* –) *taō* > NIA (*jau* –) *tau*; but better explanation of the final diphthong offers the derivation from the OIA pronominal adverb *tataḥ* "then", "in that case" > MIA *tado*, *tao* > NIA *ta u*, *tau*, *to* (Turner, *CDIAL*, it. 5639, p. 320). In a parallel development, OIA *yataḥ*, relative counterpart of *tataḥ*, can be taken as the source of the conjunction *jau* (McGregor, *LIO*, §3.249, p. 204-205). *tadā* can be understood as a starting point for the later development of the variant *ta*: *tadā* > *taā* > *taa* > *ta* (Chatterji, in *Uktivyaktiprakaraṇa,* §89, p. 67).

a. j_1-+-a_{19} / -e_{12} / -o_7 / -au_8 : *when* (*time clauses*)
The conjunction *j_1-* often occurs in clauses that cannot be described as time-clauses in the narrow sense of the word. More often it introduces a description of a particular circumstance, context or situation in which something happens. The dividing lines between this and other types of clauses are often blurred: a clause introduced by *ja*, *je*, *jo*, or *jau* can sometimes be understood as a standard time-clause (e.g. verses 363.1 and 224.2 below), sometimes the meaning is close to that of a conditional clause (verse 92.2), or *jau* may be interpreted as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause (78.2).

172.0 *lokā tuma* ja *kahata hau nãda kau nãdana, nãda kahau dhaũ kā kau* "people, when you say »Nanda's son«, then say, whose [is] Nanda?"

315.2 *vrahma agni mã̃ jarī* ja *mamitā, pāṣãḍa aru abhimãnã̃; kã̃ma colanã̃ bhayā pūrãnã̃, mo pāĩ hoi na ãnã̃* "when egoism, pretence, and pride have burned down in the fire of *brahma*, the costume/tunic of lust has been worn out; [and] another does not fit me"

92.2 *aura marata kā roiye,* je *āpā thira na rahāi* "when others die, why should one weep when oneself is not allowed to stay (permanently)?"

363.1 je *jārāĩ tau hoi bhasma tana, rahāĩ krima jala ṣāī* "if they cremate [them], then the body turns into ashes; if they remain [uncremated], worms and water eat [them]"

224.2 *ãdhĩ pīchāĩ* jo *jala barasyā, premi harījana bhīnã̃* „when rain came after the storm, the devotee was drenched with (divine) love"

78.2 *beda kateba kahau kyũ̃ jhūṭhā, jhūṭhā* jau *na bicārai* "why do you say that that the Vedas and the Book (Qurān) are false? "False is [a man] when he does not think/contemplate" (or *jau* introducing relative clause: "false is he who does not think/contemplate")

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b. (j_1- + -e_{12} / -au_8) ... t_2- + -a_{19} / -au_8 : *if ... then* (*conditional clauses*)
Conditional clauses may be introduced by the conjunctions *je* or *jau*; not seldom conjunction is omitted. The main clause, on the other hand, is regularly marked by the conjunction *ta* or *tau*. In the verses of the present corpus most conditions are presented as real; the verb is regularly in the present tense and the meaning often oscillates between the indicative and the subjunctive mood; the same is true for the forms of synthetic passive (verse 310.3), gerundive (verse 113.0), and for the future tense (the second *marihai* in the verse 41.3). A clause that expresses a hypothetical condition that is potentially true is the line 288.0: the verb form used is the perfective participle. There are no clauses with a clearly formulated counterfactual condition – the closest in meaning is the verse 280.4, but here too the verb is in the present tense.

177.4 *satagura milai* ta *pāiye, aisī akãtha kahÃ̃ṇī* "if one meets the Supreme guru, then such unspeakable story is (or: "can be") received"

29.2 *cali baikuṇṭha tohi le tārũ̃, thakai* ta *prema tājiṇai mārũ̃* "going to heaven, I shall take you along with me; if you get tired, I shall flick you with the whip of love"

338.2 je *ridai sūdha mana gyÃ̃nī,* tau *tũ̃ kahā birolai pÃ̃nī* "if [you are so] pure in [your] heart [and so] wise in [your] mind, then why do you churn the water (i.e. do the ritual bathing)?"

280.4 jau *re ṣudāi masatī basta* [corrected to: *basata*] *hai,* tau *aura mulaka kisa kerā?* "if God dwells in the mosque, then whose is the rest of the country/earth?"

41.3 *hari marihai* tau *hãma hũ̃ marihaĩ, hari na marai hãma kāhe kũ̃ marihaĩ* "if Hari will die, then we shall die too; [but if] Hari does not die (i.e. is not mortal), why/how could we (possibly) die?"

310.3 jau *darasana deṣyā cahiye,* tau *darapana mājata rahiyai* "if one wants to see the image/*darśan*, then the mirror has to be polished constantly"

113.0 jau *pai rasanā rāma na kahibau,* tau *upajata binasata bhrãmata rahibau* "if one will not pronounce with the tongue [the name of] Rām, then one will have to be born, to perish, to wander around again and again"

288.0 jau *maĩ gyÃ̃na bicāra na pāyā,* tau *maĩ yũ hĩ janama gamāyā* "if I have not gained the insight into true knowledge, then I have wasted [this] birth to no purpose"

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c. (j_1-+-au_8) ... t_2-+-a_{19} / -au_8 + -u_8 : *even if / although ... yet / still* (*concessive*)
In concessive clauses the conjunction *jau* is often omitted, but the main clause is often introduced by the conjunction *ta* or *tau* reinforced by the inclusive emphatic particle -u_8; the expression corresponds to the MSH *to bhī* and can be translated by English expressions "yet", "still", "but (still)". In the verse 121.1 the concessive clause is introduced by interrogative pronominal adjective *kete* (corresponding to MSH *kitane bhī*) used as a conjunction; main clause is marked by correlative *tete*.

275.1 jau *tumha pāḍita paḍhi guni jm̃ãũ, bidyā byākurãṇm̃; tãta mãta saba voṣada jm̃ãũ, ãti* ta u *marãṇm̃* "even if you are a *paṇḍit*, having studied and philosophised, you (may) know the sciences, grammar, tantras, mantras, you (may) know all the medicinal herbs, but still, in the end [there is] death"

275.2 *rājapāṭa sm̃̃ghāsana āsãna, bahu sũdari ravanm̃; cãdana cīra kapūra birājita, ãti* ta u *marãṇm̃* "royal power, throne(s), comfortable seat(s), many beautiful women; sandal, garment(s), camphor – [everything] magnificent: but in the end [comes] death"

338.1 *tũ̃bī aṭhasaṭhi tīratha nhāī, karavāpaṇa* ta u *na jāī* "the bitter gourd may bathe at sixty eight holy bathing places, still the bitterness does not disappear"

121.2 *kara gahi kesa karai* je *ghātā,* tau u *na heta utārai mātā* "when [the child] strikes [her] having grasped [her] hair with [his] hand, even then [his] mother does not cease to love [him]"

381.3 *svm̃na sūkara kāga kīnhaũ,* tau u *lāja na āī* "[in your previous births(?) you were] made a dog, a pig, a crow – but still no shame felt?

402.0 jau *mai baurā* tau *rm̃ma torā, loka marãma kā jm̃nai morā* "I may be mad, but still [I am] yours, o Rām; what does the world know about my heart?"

2. k_1-+-et-+-e_1 : *no matter how many* (*concessive clauses*)

121.1 *suta aparādha karai dina* kete*, jananī kai citi rahaĩ na* tete "[no matter] how many pranks [her] son makes in a day, so many / all these do not remain in the mind of the mother"

3. j_1-+-ais-+-aĩ$_{10}$ ... na_1 : *in such a way, that ... not* (*negative purpose clause*)

419.0 *hari kau bīlovanau bīloi merī māī; aisaĩ biloi* jaisaĩ *tata* na *jāī* "[the product of] churning (i.e. butter) for/of Hari churn, o my mother; churn in such a way that the essence is not lost"

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4. j_1- + -$yũ_2$: *in order to, so that* (*purpose clause*)

200.0 *bābā karahu kṛpā jana māragi lāvo,* jyũ *bhava bãdhana ṣūṭai* "Father, show mercy, put the devotee on the [right] path, so that the bond of worldly existence may end"

5. j_1- + -$yũ_2$: *as* (*adverb clause, comparison*)

178.0 *eka būda bhari deī rãma rasa,* jyũ *bhari dei kalālī* "[who] will give a drop of Rām's nectar, just as the seller of liquor gives [a taste of her drink]?"

6. t_2- + -au_8 : *in order to, so that* (*purpose clause*)

In the verse 249.0 the function of *tau* is perhaps somewhat atypical: *variae lectiones* of this locus use instead of *tau* the conjunction (originally a relative pronominal adverb) *jyũ* which can introduce, inter alia, a clause expressing a purpose or a result of an action (an example from the present corpus is the verse 200.0 has been quoted above). *tau* in 249.4 appears to fulfil exactly this function.

249.4 *bhau būḍatã kachu upāi karījai,* tau *tiri lãghau tīrā* "drowning in the [ocean of] existence, some measure should be taken, so that having crossed you jump on the [other] shore"

C. Expletives

1. ja, ju : *and*
2. dha͡ũ : *then, so*
3. vai : *but, after all*

By the term expletives are meant meaningless syllables added to a line mostly for metrical purposes. *ju* may be particularly difficult to identify, as it is homonymous with the conjunction "if", and also with the relative pronoun "who", "which". Varma, *LB*, §248, p. 126, introduces it as one of two "mots explétifs", but assigns to it the French equivalent "et". Similar role of a mere sentence filler may play *ja*: in 315.2 it may be interpreted either as a sentence filler, or as conjunction "when" in a time clause (see above).

dha͡ũ (perhaps from OIA *athavā*) can be probably best described as an emphasizing or dubitative particle "then", "actually", "after all" (Varma, *ibid.*, has "bien"). But in 172.0 *ja* and *dha͡ũ* seem to form a pair "if ..., then ...", analogically to conjuctions *jau ... tau* in conditional clauses.

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vai, single incidence in the verse 367.2, can be interpreted either as emphatic form of the far demonstrative pronoun v_1- + -ai_3 (see the sections 3.E.1.a and 1.A.4), or as emphatic particle with the approximate sense "but", "after all". Both interpretations fit in the present context.

34.0 *sãtau dhāgā tūṭā gagana binasigā, sabada* ju *kahã̃ samāī* "*sants*, the thread has snapped, the [experience of] void will disappear, where does the sound (*śabda*, *anāhata nāda*) go?"

139.1 *lãũcita mũ̃ḍita mũ̃ni jaṭādhara, e* ju *kahãĩ sidhi pāī* "[those] with their hair torn out, shaven ascetics [and those] with matted hair – [all] these say: »The final goal has been attained [by us]«"

139.2 *pāḍīta gũnī sūra kavi dātā, e* ju *kahãĩ baḍa hamahĩ̃* "pundits, experts, heroes, poets, donators – [all] these say: »the great ones are we, indeed!«"

172.0 *lokā tuma* ja *kahata hau nãda kau nãdana, nãda kahau* dhãũ *kā kau* "people, when you say "Nanda's son, then say, whose [is] Nanda?"

367.2 *kahã̃* vai *loga kahã̃ pura paṭãṇa, bahuri na deṣisi āi* "where are those people (or: "but where are the people"), where is the quarter, the city [you have lived in]? You will not see [them] again having come [back]"

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CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the phonological and morphological diversity of old Kabīrian texts from the area of medieval Rājasthān, scholars should not limit their attention to printed editions, however helpful they and their commentaries and translations may be for the correct understanding of their meaning. Usually, printed texts do not go so far as to include a facsimile or at least a detailed description of the manuscript(s) that served the editor as the source of his or her edition. Information on the provenance and date of origin of the manuscript under study should be supplemented by details about the script, scribal hands involved in preparing the original manuscript, and also about the exact layout of the text. The present manuscript, for example, brings, along with great quantity of highly interesting and valuable literary works, also direct material evidence of the process of their collection and ordering.

The original scribe (the first, or main scribal hand), identified as Rām Dās Dādūpanthī, divided the large mass of *sākhīs* and *pads* available to him into sections (*sākhīs* into thematic units, *pads* primarily into *rāgas*), each followed by an empty space, obviously with the expectation of finding in the future new, thematically related material worth of inclusion into the existing corpus. In the *sākhī* part of the collection this space takes just few lines, in the *pad* section the rest of the page after the final verse of the last *pad* of a particular *rāga* section is left empty. When the scribe felt that the free space left in the lower part of the page might not be sufficient he did not start the next section on the top but in the middle of the next page – as can be seen on fol. 233 of the present ms. Here, as in all other cases, the free space was later filled by new material, easily identifiable by different, less elegant script. In the *pad* part of the *vāṇī* we can find 36 later *pads* distributed in sixteen different *rāga* sections.

The question that immediately follows this discovery concerns the history of the text recorded by the first hand: could this calligraphic and neatly organized corpus itself be a copy of an older manuscript (or manuscripts) organized in a similar way, i.e. with originally free spaces filled with later additions that were incorporated by Rām Dās into his own copy and therefore evade detection as originally distinct blocks of texts? The latter part of the 16th and the whole of the 17th century was an era of busy collecting activity of interested individuals as well as emerging religious sects – the

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Sikhs in Punjab and Dādūpanthīs in the area of eastern Rājasthān are the two most notable examples. Of the two oldest extant collections the first includes the so called Goindvāl Pothīs, an important source for the later Sikh canon, prepared around the years 1570-1572 CE. In the context of the present discussion it may not be without interest to quote the editor's note that the hymns of the non-Sikh *sants* in these Pothīs are invariably added as the last portion of the individual *rāga* sections. Some of them are in the hand of a second scribe.[1] The second notable example is the Fatehpur manuscript dated to 1582 CE whose author was mainly interested in *pads* of Sūrdās but included into his collection also 15 *pads* attributed to Kabīr. Searching for an answer to the question put above one should pay close attention to the ordering of *pads* withinin particular *rāga* sections in different manuscripts of the relevant time and area of origin and subject the results to comparative study. Ideally, research of this kind should include the inspection of the original manuscripts – at the present time in many cases, unfortunately, still an unattainable desideratum.

As far as the present manuscript is concerned, close inspection of the ordering and content of individual *pads* within each *rāga* section reveals the existence of thematic blocks with *pads* containing a specific message grouped together. Identification of such groups is easiest in the case of *pads* of *nāthapanthī* inspiration – of considerable help is the characteristic terminology, use of words like *gagana*, *unamanī*, *ṣaṭcakra*, *pavana*, *amṛta*, *rasa*, etc. Groups of these *pads* are represented in practically all those *rāga* sections that contain more than five numbers; the total is around 67 *nāthapanthī pads*, i.e. 18,5% of the total of extant 362 *pads* included in the manuscript. Classification of other material is less easy – in many cases it is difficult to find a characteristic feature that would be sufficiently specific for assigning a particular poem to a clearly defined thematic group. Many *pads* contain general warnings, exhortations, reflections on the the ultimate futility of worldly concerns, etc. If only those *pads* with this broadly defined topic that appear in more or less distinct groups are counted, we arrive at a number of ca. seventy poems. With other individual *pads* scattered in the corpus the total may be around one hundred or slightly more. Perhaps surprisingly, *pads* with a clearly formulated topic of *viraha* constitute a group of bare 13 pads, two of them written by the second hand.

At the present stage of research it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty whether these thematic groups are the still identifiable remnants of past thematic acquisitions incorporated into an already existing corpus,

[1] G. S. MANN, *The Goindval Pothis. The Earliest Extant Source of the Sikh Canon.* Cambridge (Mass.), 1996, p. 31. ID., *The Making of Sikh Scripture.* New York, 2001, p. 113-114.

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or products of organizing activity of the collector and editor. The former scenario might result in bringing into the corpus a group of texts showing, apart from certain unity of topics, also common dialectal features. This, however, does not appear to be the case, not even with the *nāthapanthī pads* that form the most easily recognizable group. Significant accumulation of features peculiar to a particular dialect can not be detected even in the material added by the second hand.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the corpus of Kabīr's (or Kabīrian) *pads* in the form extant in the analysed manuscript (and in other Rājasthānī manuscripts as well) is a product of collecting activity of greater number of singers and scribes helps in explaining the dialectal diversity observable in the transmitted text. Scribes who were also the final editors of the poems had three options how to handle this diversity. Either they could scrupulously respect the original form and leave the text unchanged, try and be consistent in adapting it to the dialect they were most familiar with, or they could steer a middle course, altering or adjusting some forms and leaving others unchanged.

Inconsistencies typical of the *pads* analysed in the present work strongly suggest that the last option was the preferred one. The occassional use of eastern forms of the possessive pronoun *mor-* and *tor-* side by side with the western pronominal bases *mer-* and *ter-* can serve as an example. *mor-* and *tor-* often appear as a pair indicating a relationship between the poet/singer and God (*ṭekas* of *pads* 121, 402, 429). This peculiarity can be observed in other Rājasthānī manuscripts edited in the MKV, and, what is of particular interest, in the Ādigrath versions of the poems as well. The selection of eastern forms does not necessarily apply to the whole *pad* – in the *pad* no. 249, for example, we have the form *merī* in *ṭeka* and *morā* and *more* in the following verse 1.

Other eastern influences include occasional use of pronominal adjective base *-as*$_2$- instead of the western *-ais-*, and pronominal dir. sg. endings *-e* instead of *-a*, *-o*, or *-u*. Of eastern origin are the participial forms *rāṣila* and *pāvala* in pad 76 (side by side with Rājasthānī retroflex variants of absolutives *taṇi buṇi* and participle *bũṇī*).

In contrast to these two eastern pronominal forms that appear to have been particularly resistant to editing, the propensity of Rājasthānī dialects for nasalizations of long vowels and for the use of retroflex *ṇ* shows quite clearly, but even here consistency is lacking. Thus, the verb "to know" is in most cases written *jāṇ-* or *jã̄ṇ-* but forms with the dental nasal and without nasalization also occur. Inconsistencies can be observed within the scope of one and the same *pad* – thus in 249.1 we have *bã̄bhaṇa* ("a brāhman") and in the next 249.2 *bã̄bhana* with dental *n*. Still, in comparison with other Kabīr

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vāṇī manuscripts edited in the MKV the typically Rājasthānī features appear to be quite pronounced. It is difficult to see the principles operating in the minds of scribes in the process of transcribing and editing of received oral or written material; the foregoing examples seem to suggest that phonetic features (preference for retroflex nasals, nasalized long vocals) generally tended to conform to the pattern prevalent in the given area, whereas grammatical, morphological variants were more resistant to change and assimilation. Even in their unchanged form, however, most of these dialectal variants must have been easily comprehensible to the general public.

The limited dialectal diversity of the texts has an intersting parallel on the thematic plane of the textual corpus – a feature which is hardly accidental but which, as we have seen, can not be explained by mechanically assigning certain topics to occurrences of particular dialectal forms. Thus, for example, in blocks of *pads* that bear a clear stamp of *nāthapanthī* inspiration and form an important group in all *rāga* divisions of the analysed manuscript, we encounter the *-i*$_2$- connecting vowel in perfective participles more often than in other thematic groups, but still this feature can hardly be characterized as statistically significant. Side by side with these western and more archaic forms we can find in the same *pads* participles without this intermediate vowel, and, conversely, *-i*$_2$- forms in non-*nāthapanthī* contexts – e.g. *cetiyā* in 92.3, *ṭẽ̃ciyā* in 212.2 and *bharịyā* in 315.1. These single occurences can be contrasted to the use of such forms in *nāthapanthī* songs where they typically occur in rhymed pairs – *caḍhiyā* and *juṛiyā* in 182.1, *phaliyā* and *bharịyā* in 182.2, *bilābiyā* and *jarịyā* in 182.3, *bharịyā* and *nistarịyā* in 185.4, *dharịyā* and *phaliyā* in 188.2. Other songs belonging to *nāthapanthī* this group, however, lack this peculiar feature and use the more common *-ya*$_2$- connector – e.g. *caḍhyau* in 19.0, *milyau* in 19.4, and many other similar instances.

The parallel existence of internal diversity on both the phonetic/morphological and the thematic level, although easy to discern, is certainly a complex phenomenon that defies straightforward explanation; it tends to strengthen the general impression of a multivoiced message, looking at one central problem from different angles and with different accent, but still internally consistent and forceful. Seen as a whole, Kabīrian *pads* of the manuscript under study resemble, in a way, the ultimate reality they try to express – neither this, neither that: neither exclusively *nirguṇa*, nor *saguṇa*; not predominantly *nāthapathī*, not devotional Vaiṣṇava, although all these currents are present side by side. It is as if all these more or less formal distinctions grew pale in the all-pervading light of the Ultimate, an inexpressible *akatha kahānī*, but still urged the poet to give it audible form – a form that would be generally comprehensible as a carrier of inspirative and practically oriented message

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delivered by one of the greatest spiritual authorities of medieval India. The meaning corroborated by the name of the *sant* given in the final verse of each poem was more important to both the scribes and listeners than any question of linguistic purity or orthographic consistency. The mixed language of Kabīrian pads from the medieval Rājasthān was admirably suited to express, in a forceful and terse way, the urgency and immediacy of the universally valid message:

yahu terau ausara yā terī bāra // ghaṭahĩ bhītari soci bicārī //
kahai kabīra jīti bhāvai hāri // bahu bidhi kahyau pukāri pukāri //5//408//

"This is your opportunity, this is your time: think, contemplate within your heart! Kabīr says: you may either win, or lose; in many ways I have explained and entreated."

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PART THREE

THE MORPHEMICON

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INTRODUCTION

The present Morphemicon contains all morphs, lexical as well as grammatical (both endings and Old Hindī derivative affixes), that occur in Kabīr´s *pads* included in the Reader. Each morph is treated as individual lemma; lemmata are ordered according the Devanagari alphabetical order. Each lemma is followed by a short explanation, in bold face, of its lexical meaning (always related to the particular context in the analysed *pads*), or its grammatical function. With grammemes the user will find a cross-reference in brackets that refers to appropriate chapter and section in the second, grammatical part of the present work (Morphology of the Pads). There the user will find a more extensive information on the morph in question, on its historical development, its functions (as far as these can be ascertained by the analysis of *pads*); each such description is followed by (sometimes numerous) characteristic examples of use.

The next part of each lemma is an exhaustive description of immediate morphological context which co-determines the meaning or function of each morphological unit. The letter **P** introduces all bound morphs that immediately precede, the letter **F** those that immediately follow the morph in question. All morphs listed in these two groups can be found as separate lemmata at their appropriate places in the Morphemicon.

Hyphen indicates that the unit is a bound morph, i.e., another morphological unit must either precede or follow it. The absence of hyphen means that another morph can (but need not) precede or follow it; the actually preceding (**P**) and following (**F**) unit is always a bound morph and is marked by hyphen. Thus, the morph **bol**- "to speak", "to say", must be followed by another morph, and can be (but not necessarily, and most often is not) preceded by another – in this case by the privative prefix **aṇa**- (bound morph, a property marked by hyphen). Similarly, the endings of 2nd and 3rd pers. sg., -**ai**$_{12}$ and -**ai**$_{13}$ respectively, can be followed by future tense marker, the bound morph -**g**-, but can also stand as word-final morphs.

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EXAMPLE OF ANALYSIS OF KABĪR´S VERSE

1. Text: संतौ आई ग्यांन की आंधी ॥

2. Morphemicon:

sãt$_1$- **noble, virtuous F** -a$_1$-, -a$_4$, -a$_6$, -a$_8$, -a$_{10}$, -ani$_1$, -au$_2$

-au$_2$ **voc. pl. m.** [1.A.2.q] **P** sãt$_1$-

ā$_1$- **to come, to go F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ũ/-ũ$_3$, -v$_3$

-0$_2$- **perfective participle** [5.E.7, 8] **P** -a$_3$-, -ã$_3$-, ãn-, ā$_1$-, -ā$_4$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -ī$_3$-, uṭh-, [...], her- **F** -a$_4$, -ã$_5$, -ã$_7$, -ã$_4$, -ā$_5$, -ā$_6$, -ĩ$_1$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_5$, -ẽ$_1$, -ẽ$_2$, -e$_1$, -e$_3$, -áĩ$_2$, -ai$_3$, -ai$_6$, -o$_1$-, -áũ$_1$, -au$_1$, -y$_2$-, -v$_3$-, -si

-ī$_4$ **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.3.b; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, -ār-, ũdar-, -er-, -ais-, -or-, -k$_2$-, kalāl-,[...], sayãn-

gyãn- **knowledge, wisdom F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$

-a$_8$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.d] **P** ãmrit-, agãm-, [...], gyãn-, greh-, [...] het- **F** -upa-ri, -ūpari, -k$_2$-, -kũ, -kai$_1$, -paĩ, -bina/-binā, -bhītari, -māhjhā$_2$, -mã̄/-maĩ, -laga, -vina, -samãn-, -setī, -syũ

-k$_2$- **adjectivizer** [4.A.1.a, b] **P** -0$_4$, -0$_7$, -0$_8$, -a$_1$-, -a$_8$, -a$_9$, -a$_{10}$, -ana, -ani, -ahã̄, -ā$_7$, -ā$_{10}$, -āhū, -āhe$_1$, -ã$_6$, -ã$_8$, -ina, -isa, -aĩ$_6$, -sa **F** -ā$_5$, -ā$_7$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_5$, -ī$_6$, -e$_2$, -e$_1$, -e$_5$, -ai$_6$, -ai$_7$, -áũ$_1$, -au$_1$

-ī$_4$ **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.3.b; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, -ār-, ũdar-, -er-, -ais-, -or-, -k$_2$-, kalāl-, [...], sayãn-

ãdhī-/ãdhĩ- **storm F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$

-0$_4$ **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.1.a] **P** akali-, agani-, [...], ãdhī-, āsā-, [...], havāī-

3. Recapitulation:
sãtau = voc. pl. m. of sãt- (= „o, virtuous / *sants*!")
āī = dir. sg. f. of the perfective participle of the verb ā$_1$- „to come" (= „came", „has come")
gyãna = obl. sg. m. of gyãn-
-kī = adjectivizer fem. (= „of knowledge", „consisting of knowledge")
ãdhī = dir. sg. f. of ãdhī- (= „storm")

4. Translation:
„o *sants* / o virtuous, the storm of [true] knowledge has come"

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0_1- **near demonstrative** [**3**.D.1.f, g; 3.D.2.d, e, f] **F** -aba, -abai, -as$_2$-, -e$_6$, -e$_7$, -ais-, -yũ$_1$

-0_2- **perfective participle** [**5**.E.7, 8] **P** -a$_3$-, -ã$_3$-, ã̃n-, ā$_1$-, -ā$_4$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -ī$_3$-, uṭh-, utapãn-, upaj-, upan-, upā-, ubār-, ulaṭ-, uṣaṇ-, ūpaj-, kãp-, kaṭ-, kath-, kar$_1$-, kah-, kāṭ-, kāḍh-, kāt-, ki$_1$-, kī-, kīr-, kop-, ga-, gah-, gã̃-, gil-, gujār-, gũṇ$_3$-/gun$_3$-, ghāl-, caḍh-, cal-, cahoṛ-, cāl-, cāṣ-, cīnh-, cūk-, cūr-, cet-, chā-, chāk-, chāḍ-, chūṭ-, janam$_1$-, jar-, jā$_2$-, jāg-, jār-, jã̃ṇ-/jã̃n$_1$/-jān-, jīt-, ṭir-, ṭūṭ-, ṭhag$_1$-, ṭhaṭhak-, ḍār-, taj-, tūṭ-, tor-, tol-, thāk-, di-, dī-, deṣ-, dhar-, dhā-, dho-, nã̃$_1$-, nāv$_3$-, nās-, pakar-, paṭh(a)-, paḍ-/paṛ-, paḍh-/paṛh-, padhār-, payãp-, par$_1$-, parajār-, parakās-, parahar-, pahar$_2$-, pahicã̃n-, pahut-/pahũt-, pā-, pī-, pūg-, pūj-, peṣ-, paiṭh-, pragaṭ-, phal$_2$-, phir-, phuramā-, phūk-, phūṭ-, phūl$_2$-, pher-, batā-, bar-, baras$_1$-, bas$_4$-, bã̃c-, bã̃dh-, bāg-, bigar-, bigūt-, bichur-, binas-, bilãb-, bisar-, bīk-, bīdh-, bũṇ-/buṇ-, būjh$_2$-, būḍ-, bedh-, baiṭh-/bais-, bol-, bor-, bha-, bhaj-, bhar-, bhāg$_2$-, bhĩ̃n-/bhīn-, bhūl-, mã̃n$_1$-, māg-, māt-, māp-, mār-, miṭ-, mil-, mu-/mũ̃-/mū-, muc-, mũ̃d-/mūd-, melh-, -ya$_2$-, rac$_2$-, rav-, rah-, rāt-, rāl-, rāṣ-, ro-, rok-, lag-, lā$_1$-, -lā$_2$-, lāg-, li-, liṣ-, lī-, luk-, luṇ-, lūṭ-, vāh-, visār-, ṣā-, ṣul-, ṣo-, ṣoj$_1$-, sar$_1$-, sãmajh-/samajh-, sal$_2$-, savār-, sã̃dh$_1$-/sādh$_1$-, sã̃dh$_3$-, sã̃c-, siraj-, sĩ̃c-, sīṣ-, suṇ-/sun-, sumir-, so$_1$-, soṣ-, h$_1$-, hār$_2$-, hū$_1$-, her- **F** -a$_4$, -ã̃$_5$, -ã̃$_7$, -ã̃$_4$, -ā$_5$, -ā$_6$, -ĩ̃$_1$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_5$, -ẽ$_1$, -ẽ$_2$, -e$_1$, -e$_3$, -aĩ̃$_2$, -ai$_3$, -ai$_6$, -o$_1$-, -aũ$_1$, -au$_1$, -y$_2$-, -v$_3$-, -si

-0_3 **dir. sg. m.** [**1**.A.1.a] **P** akatāī-, ãparādhī-/aparādhī-, abināsī-, alaha-, alā$_1$-, avadhū-, -iyā$_3$-, -ī$_2$-, ujū-, upāi-, kachū-, karatā-, kasāī-, kã̃mī-, kājī-, kābai-, krodhī-, gaḍhapati-, galāri-, giyã̃nī-, gyã̃nī- , guḍiyā-, gunahĩ̃-, gunī-, gurū-, gusã̃ī-, gyã̃nī-, cāturī-, cĩ̃tāmaṇi-/citāmaṇi-, jatī-, jamarāi-, jalanidhi-, jogī-, -tī-, tribhuvanarāī-, dātā-, duṣī-, dehī-, dhani-, dhiyã̃nī-, naraharī-, nã̃u-/nã̃ũ-, nirati-, pasū-, pã̃ḍe-, pã̃ṇĩ̃-, pã̃nī-, pāradhī-, pũni-, -pau-, prabhū-, prã̃ṇī-, bali-, bahu-, bicārī-, bisamala-, begã̃nã̃-, bairāgī, bairī-, bhāī-/bhã̃ī-, bhārī-, bhau-, mādhau-, mĩyã̃-, murāri-/murārī-, mulanã̃-, mulã̃-, muṣṭi-, mūni-, raghapati-/raghupati-, ramadã̃nã̃-, rājā-, rojā-, lāḍū-, lāhaṇi-, ṣudāi-, sakãlaviyāpī-, sarīkī-, [sa]lãmã̃-, sāragaprã̃ṇī-/sārãgaprã̃ṇĩ̃-, sã̃ī-, sinyāsī-, svã̃mī-, haja-, hari$_1$-, halāla-, hastī-, hārī-, hīdū-/hĩ̃dū-, hitakārī-, hṛdai-

-0_4 **dir. sg. f.** [**1**.B.1.a] **P** akali-, agani-, agni-, alā$_1$-/ilā-, avadhi-/āvadhi-, astūti-, ã̃dhī-, āsā-, -āī-, āgi-, āsā-, -iyā-, ilā-, -ī$_1$-, kathā-, kaṭhiyã̃-, karārī-, kahã̃ṇī-, kahã̃nĩ̃-, kāyā-, kāsī-, kirapā-, kukaṛī-, kumati-, kṛ̥pā-, koī-, gati-, gãgã̃-, gãmi-, -gāi-/gāī-, gāgari-, gāri-, gāvatrī-, gã̃ṭhi-, gyārasi-, cīsã̃-, cetanā-, chāyā-, chã̃ni-, choti-, jaṭā-, jananī-, jugati-, jurā-, jevarī-, joti-, jyãda-, ṭhagaurī-, ḍã̃iṇĩ-, ḍã̃ini-, tapati-, tālī-, dayā-, dastagīrī-, duniyã̃-, dunī-, dubadhyā-/dubidhyā-, duṣī-, duhāī-, dharatī-, dharãni-, dharaṇi-,

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dhũni-, dhūri-, nalī-, nāginī-, nāri-/nārī$_1$-, nārī$_2$-, nidyā-, nisarāṇī-, nyãdyā-, pāli-, pigulā-/pĩgulā-/pyãgulā-, pũjī-, puriyā-, pūjā-, pratīṭi-, pramiti-, prīti-, phikari-, bajahāī-, banarāi-, balāi-, bahuriyā-, bahū-, bãjhā-, bãbaī-, bāsanm̃ā-, bm̃ni-, bm̃ṇī-/bm̃nī-, bigūcani-, bidyā-, bidhavā-, bidhi-, bipati-, bibhūti-, bilaiyā-/bilaīyā-, budhi-, beṭhi-, bedī-, bhagati-, bhāṭhī-, bhārī-, bhāvari-/bhm̃vari-, bhisti-, machalī-, mati$_1$-, manĩ-, mamitā-, masi-, mahatārī-/mahitārī-, mãṭiyā-, māi-/māī-, māṭī-, mātā-, māyā-, mālaṇi-/mālanī-, mālā-, mihari-, mīṭī-, mũkti-/mukti-, mũṭhī-/mūṭhī-, mūrati-, maherī-, mairī-, maurī-, rm̃ṇī-, rātī-, reṣā-, lāpasī-, lai$_2$-, lyau-, vārā-, vṛradhi-, velm̃ā-, ṣaṭakaramī-, ṣabari-, ṣāī-, ṣumārī-, sãgati-, sājhyā-, sādhi-, sāpati-, satī-, sanym̃ā-, samādhi-, saraṇāgati-, salm̃mati-, sahī-, sāpaṇi-, sāsati-, sāsū-, sidhi-, sĩgī-, sudhi-, sumriti-, surati-, surahī-, suṣadāī-, suṣmanm̃ā-, suhāgani-, sevā-, svm̃tī-, havāī-

-0$_5$ **dir. pl. m.** [**1**.A.1.a] **P** avaliyā-, -iyā$_3$-, kavi-, kājī-, kābā-, gũnī-, gym̃nī-, jogī-, dātā-, nm̃nm̃ā-, pāpī-, paidā-, prm̃ṇī-, bariyātī-, bahu-, bādhu-, beakali-, bairī-, bhāī-, bhūpati-, mulm̃ā-, mūni-, rājā-, loī-/loi-, ṣālī-, sāthī-, hastī-, hĩdū-

-0$_6$ **dir. pl. f.** [**1**.B.1.a] **P** ãṇī-, -ānī-, upādhi-, thũṇĩ-, devī-, nārī$_1$-, nārī$_2$-, nidhi-, bahu-, bhujā-, mudrā-, mūrati-, ravanm̃ā-, sāṣā-, sidhi-

-0$_7$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.1.a] **P** anabhai-, anarāgī-, alaha-, avināsī-, ādi-, udai-, aulautī-, kādali-, kali-, kājī-, kehari-, gupālarāi-, gurū-, gharavā-, jogī-, dharmarāi-, nm̃ī$_1$-, nm̃nm̃ā-, pāṣi-/pāṣī-, pāī-, pati$_2$-, pm̃ṇĩ-/pm̃ṇī-/pm̃nī-/pānī-, puni$_1$-, bahu-, bālū-, biṣai-, bhau-, muni-, mulanā-, rāi-, ṣudāī-, ṣyau-, sāsārī-, sati-, sm̃ī-, sādhū-, sikalī-, sũni-/suni-, sũni-, hari$_1$-/harī-, hastī-, hiradai-, hṛdai-, hridai- **F** -k$_2$-, -tāī, -bina, -maĩ, -syũ

-0$_8$ **obl. sg. f.** [**1**.B.1.a] **P** agani-, agni-, ãdhĩ-, -āī-, āsā-, -iym̃ā-, ilā-, -ī$_{14}$, ekādasī-, kalī-, km̃mani-, kāsī-, kubadhi-, kumati-, kũcī-, kripā-, koṭarī-, gãgā-, gaḍarī-, ganikā-, guphā-, ghaṛī-, choti-, jaṭā-, jananī-, jamanm̃ā-, jāti-, jibhyā-, jugati-, jurā-, joti-, jonī-, ḍhaurī-, trisnm̃ā-/trisnā-, dayā-, dasamī-, dārā-, dṛṣṭi-, deharī-, drũgādhi-, dvādasī-, dharāṇi-/dharaṇi-, dharatī-, dhuni-, nari-, nalī-, nm̃ī$_2$-, nāī-, nĩdā-, nidhi-, naumī-, pĩgulā-, piresm̃nī-, pūjā-, bādi-, bm̃ṇĩ-, bm̃nm̃rasī, bm̃bi-, bidhi-, bhagati-, bhm̃ti-, bhāṭhī-, bhisti-, bhui-, mati$_1$-, mamitā-, masatī-, masīti-, māṭī-, mātā-, māyā-, murati-, mūrati-, rasanā-, lyau-, sãgati-, sājhā-, sakti-, samādhi-, saraṇm̃ī-, sāṭi-/sāṭī-, subadhi-, sumriti-, suhāgani-, sūrati-, sevā- **F** -k$_2$-, -pīchaĩ, -bina/-binā, -mm̃, -maĩ/-mai, -rahit-, -laga, -lāgi, -saũ, -hīṇ-

-0$_9$ **obl. pl. m.** [**1**.A.1.a] **P** pm̃u-, pai$_1$-, bahu- **F** -bina

-0$_{10}$ **obl. pl. f.** [**1**.B.1.a] **P** ghm̃ā-, disā-, bahu-, bidhi-, sāṣā-, sumriti-

-0$_{11}$ **dir.** [**2**.A.a; **3**.A.1] **P** aṭhyāsī-, aḍhāī-, asī-, koṭi-, cāri-, tīni-, tīny-, dui-, dūny-, do-, doi-, dvai-, naũ-, satari-, hũ-$_1$ **F** -u$_5$, -ũ$_2$

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-0_{12} **obl.** [2.A.a] **P** aṭhasaṭhi-, aḍhāī-, koṭi-, cāri-, caurāsī-, tīni-, tīny-, da_2-, du-, doi-, nau- **F** -$ũ_2$, -bāra, -hũ, -hu_1, -$hū_2$

-0_{13} **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.c] **P** -i_3-, -$ī_3$-

-0_{14} **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** de-, le-

-0_{15} **absolutive** [5.F.3] **P** de-, le-

-$ã_1$- **verbal thematic vowel** [5.J.1.] **P** ubar-, kar_1-, kah-, tir-, $pūr_1$-, mar-, mil-, -v_3-, sumir- **F** -$ṇ_1$-, -t_3-, -n_1-

-$ã_2$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.2.b] **P** karãṇ-, dhiyẽn-/dhyẽn-, -n_2-, parasād-, -bibād-, sicẽṇ-

-$ã_3$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.e] **P** abhimẽn-, unamẽn-, rẽm- **F** -rahit-

ãkūr- **sprout** **F** -a_4

ãg- **body** **F** -$ā_7$, -i_6

ãgi lāg- **to embrace; to merge**

ãgār- **ember, burning charcoal** **F** -e_1

ãṇiyāl- **pointed, sharp** **F** -e_1

ãṇī- **point, tip, limit, edge** **F** -0_6

ãt- **end** **F** -a_4, -i_6, -i_{12}

ãdh- **blind** **F** -a_4

ãdhar- **blind** **F** -e_1

ãdhiyār- **darkness** **F** -e_2

ãnag- **Kāma, the god of love** **F** -a_4-

ãnī- **deriver of feminines** [1.C.2] **P** dulah- **F** -0_6

ãparādhī- **offender, guilty** **F** -0_3

ãbar- **sky, heaven** **F** -a_4, -i_6

ãmīras- **amṛta, nectar** **F** -a_4

ãmrit- **amṛta, nectar** **F** -a_4, -a_8

ãhakār- **pride, vanity** **F** -$ā_5$

-a_1- **nominal thematic vowel** [1.C.14] **P** āpaṇ-, kuṭ-, chuṭ-, -$ṇ_1$-, -t_3-, das_1-, -n_1-, $pahar_3$-, bāl-, bel-, raṣ-, sāt- **F** -iy-, -k_3-, -ṛ-, -jan-, -pan-, -pau-, -v_2-, -$vār_2$-, -vāl-, -$hār_3$-

-a_2- **verbal thematic vowel** [5.J.1] **P** ach-, ughar-, upaj-, kath-, kar_1-, kah-, kãp-, kāṭ-, gir-, guṇ-, ghaḍ-, car-, carac-, cal-, citar-, cet-, cyāt-/cīt-, $janam_1$-, jẽṇ$_1$-, jāg-, jām-, jov-, ṭẽc-, $ṭhag_1$-, -t_3-, tẽn-, deṣ-, paḍh-, par_1-, peṣ-, pot-, phir-, $phūl_2$-, $badh_2$-, banij-, bas_4-, $bāj_1$-, binas-, bun-, būḍ-, bol-, $bhaj_1$-, bhaṣ-, bhãũk-, bhram-/bhrãm-, mar-, marad-, mãj-, mil-, lar-, lep-, rac-, rah-, rāṣ-, -v_3-, voḍh-, sãc-, sãmajh-, sĩc-, sun-, sumir- **F** -$ṇ_1$-, -ṛ-, -t_3-, -n_1-, -s_3-

-a_3- **deriver of causatives** [5.H] **P** grab-, pur_1- **F** -0_2-, -$ī_3$-

-a_4 **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.2.a; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0_2-, ãkūr-, ãt-, ãdh-, ãnag-, ãbar-, ãmīras-,

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ãmrit-, akās-, agocar-, acal-, aciraj-, athāh-, adabud-, anahad-/anāhad-, aparādh-, amar-/ãmar-, amrit-, -al-, -as$_2$-, asãt-, ã̃n$_2$-, ākās-, ājīj-, ātamarã̃m-, ādh-, ānād-/ã̃nād-, ālajāl-, āvāgavan-, āsan-, āsãn-, imã̃n-, -il-, ucār$_1$-, udās-, udik-, udit-, upades-, ubhar-/ũbhar-, usar-/ūsar-, ekamek-, or-, aur-, ausar-, kãcan-, kãt-, kaṭhor-, kateb-, kapūr-, kabīr-/kavīr-, -kar$_2$-, karakac-, karãm$_2$-, karam-, karūp-, kalap$_2$-, kalap$_3$-, kaval-, kas-, kã̃m$_1$-, kã̃m$_2$-, kāg-, kāgad-, kāj-, kāl$_1$-, kīṭ-, kucil-, kusal-, kusevag-, kũjar-, kũbh-, kṛ̥pāl-/kripāl-, kes-, koṭ-, krodh-, khem-, gagan-, gaḍh$_2$-, garar-, gavan-, gahar-, gādah-, gāphil-, giyã̃n-, gũn-/gũṇ-, guḍ-, guṛ-, gun$_2$-/gũn$_2$-, gunaatīt-, gur-, guradev-, gopāl-, gobĩd-/gobyãd-, goraṣ-, gyã̃n-, grabh-, grih-, ghaṭ$_1$-, ghar-, cãcal-, cãd-, cãdan-, catur-, carãṇ-, cã̃b-, cã̃m-, cit-, cor-, chatr-, chār-, jãbak-/jãbuk-, jag-/jug-, jagajīvan-, jagat-, jagadev-, jaṭādhar-, janam$_2$-, jal$_1$-, jalahar-, jan-, gãvār-, jãnãm-/janãm$_2$-/janam$_2$-, janm-, jap$_2$-, jam-, jas-, jāp-, jāl$_2$-, jiy-, jīv-, jīvan-, julāh-, jog-, joban-/jobãn-, jor$_1$-, ṭhag$_2$-, ṭhākur-, ḍagamag-, ḍã̃ḍ-, ḍāl-, -ṇ$_1$-, -t$_3$-, tãn-, tat-, tan-, tap-, tam-, taravar-, taras-, tāmas-, tārãṇ-, tāl$_1$-, tirãṇ-, tilak-, tīr$_1$-, turak-, turãg-, tūr-, tribhavaṇ-/trībhuvan-, thir-, damodar-, dayāl-, darapan-, daras-, darasan-/darasãn-, dās-, diḍh-, din-, dil-, dĩn-, dīn$_1$-, dīpak-, duras-, duṣ-, dũdar-, dūdh-, (-)dev-, devādhidev-, dos-, dya͠us-, dvār-, dhan-, dharãm-, dhiyã̃n-, dhīr-, dhūp-, dhaul-, dhyã̃n-, -n$_1$-, naṭavar-, nar-, narak-, nād-, nādan-, nã̃pāk-, nã̃m-, nād-, nām-, nārad-, nārāiṇ-, nāv$_1$-/nã̃v-, nāv$_2$-, nāval-, nij-, nidhã̃n-, nirājan-, nivāj-, niṣedh-, nījhar-, nīb-, nīr-, nem-, neh-, nautam-, nyã̃v-, nrigun-, nrimal-, -nh-, pāḍit-, paṭãṇ-, -paṇ-/-pan-, patãg-, pad$_1$-, paradhã̃n-, parabat-, paramal-, parasotam-, parãm-, pal-, pavãn-/pavan-, , pasāv-, pāk-, pāp-, pār-, pāv$_1$-, pāv$_2$-, pāṣãḍ-, pāṣar-, pās$_1$-, pã̃n-, pã̃han-, pĩḍ-, pīr$_1$-, pīr$_2$-, pīv-, pur$_2$-, puravan-, puriṣ-, pūt-, peḍ-, peṭ-, pyãḍ-, prakās$_1$-, pratibĩb-, prahilād-, prem-, phal$_1$-, phūl-, bãn-, bãdan-, bãdh$_2$-, bãdhan-, bacan-, bachal-, baḍ-, ban$_2$-, bap-, bast-, bahut-, bã̃ṇ-, bã̃n$_1$-, bã̃bhaṇ-/bã̃bhan-, bājīgar-, bād-, bāp-, bār$_1$-, bālik-, bikār-, bicār$_2$-, bilās-, bisn-, bisrã̃m-, biṣ-, bĩd-, bīc-, būḍh-, bekã̃m-, bed-/ved-, ben-, baĩkũṭh-/baikũṭh-/baikuṇṭh-, bairāg-, bail-, byãb-, byākul-, byās-, bhagat-, bhagavã̃n-, bhachin-, bhatār-, bhal-, bhasam-, bhasm-, bhāg$_1$-, bhār-, bhāv$_1$-, bhāv$_2$-, bhīl-, bhed-, bhev-, bhog-, bhoyan-, bhram$_2$-/bhrãm$_2$-, mãgal-, mãgalacār-, mãḍap-, mãdir-, mãn-, magan-, magahar-, machar-, maṭh-, mad-, man-/mãn-, maram-/marãm-, marãṇ-, mal-, masakīn-, mah-/māh-, mahāpuriṣ-, mahāras-, mã̃n$_2$-, mārag-, mã̃s-, mirag-, mĩḍak-, mĩn-, mugadh-, mugdh-, mutr-, munijan-, murasid-, mulak-, muṣ-, musalamã̃n-, mũḍ-, mũṣ-, mũ̃ ḍit-, mūḍh-, mūriṣ-, mūl-, mail-, moh$_2$-, mrigh-, raghunāth-, rat-, ratan-, ras-, rasāin-/rasãĩṇ-/rasã̃in-,

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rahit-, rahimɑ̃n-, rāj-, rājas-, rɑ̃k-, rɑ̃m-/rām-, rɑ̃madev-, rājapāṭ-, rāval-, rudr-, rūp-, rog-, lagan-, lagɑ̃m-, laghamāt-, lasakar-, lāl-, lāh-, lũ cit-, lok-, lobh-, vār$_1$-, vārāṇ-, vinās-, vrahm-, vrahmāḍ-/brahmāḍ-, sragalok-, svɑ̃n-, ṣaṛag-, ṣar$_1$-, ṣasam-, ṣālik-, ṣusur-, ṣevaṭ-, ṣoj$_2$-, sākar-, sāg-, sājam-, (-)sāt$_1$-, sātāp-, sātoṣ-, sāneh-, sāmād-/samād-, sāsār-/saĩsār-, sakal-, sacal-, satagur-/sātagur-, sat$_1$-, sanātan-, sanāh-, sab-, sabad-, sabalok-, sabd-, (-)samɑ̃n-, -sar$_2$-, sarajīv-, saravar-, sarūp$_1$-, sarūp$_2$-, sal$_1$-, sasihar-, sahaj-, sāgar-, sāc-, sātig-, sāth-, sāp-, -sār$_1$-, sār$_2$-, sāṣat-, sāhib-, sigār-/sĩgār-, sir-, siv-, sĩghāsan-, sīs-, sujas-, sut-, sumirāṇ-, sulatɑ̃n-/sulitɑ̃n-, suṣ-, suhāg-, sũ dar-, sūkar-, sūt-, sūdh-, sūbhar-, sūr$_2$-, sevag-, sail-, syɑ̃gh-, syāl-, svād-, hās-, -hār$_3$-, hār$_1$-, hit-, hiraṇākas-, het-, hvāl-/havāl-

-a$_5$ **dir. sg. f.** [**1**.B.2.a] **P** akath-/akāth-, agocar-, adhɑ̃m-, anāt-, apār-, ās-, -k$_3$-, kamāṇ-, kuṭil-, kũpal-, gɑ̃g-, ghin-, ghūs-, coṭ-, jhal-, jhaṣ-, ṭek-, talab-, tāp-, deh-, dhār$_3$-, nisāk-, nīd$_2$-, nes-, nrijīv-, parɑ̃m-, piyās-, bɑ̃g-, bast-, bɑ̃jh-, bār$_3$-, bās$_2$-, bikaṭ-, biciṣin-/bicaṣin-, bũd-, bheḍ-, magan-, māl$_1$-, rasan-, reṣ-, lāj-, lāvaṇ-, vɑ̃h-, voṣad-, sakal-, sab-, sarūp$_2$-, sahaj-, sādh$_3$-, sũdar-, suṣaman-/suṣman-, sev$_2$-, saũj-, halad-, hāṭ-, hīn-

-a$_6$ **dir. pl. m.** [**1**.A.2.l] **P** acet-, aparādh-, augun-, aur-, kād-, kapāṭ-, kar$_1$-, kaval-, kāg-, koṭik-, krɑ̃m-, krim-/kiram-, gagan-, gaḍh$_2$-, gāḍ-, gun$_1$-, gun-/gũn-, grah-, cakr-, carāṇ-, cīr-, cor-, jaṭādhar-, jatan-, (-)jan-, jīv-, ṭhīk-, -t$_3$-, tāt-, tat-, tīr$_1$-, tīrath-, turak-, daraves-, davār-, dās-, din-, dev-, dvār-, nar-, nivāj-, naĩn-, patit-, patr-, pad$_3$-, pāḍit-/pāḍīt-, pīr$_2$-, puṛ-, purɑ̃ṇ$_1$-, prahār-, phal$_1$-, phūl$_1$-, baḍ-, baras$_2$-, bastar-, bahut-, bāl-, bɑ̃ṇ-, bɑ̃bhaṇ-, bikār-, bibarajit-, birājit-, bed-, baĩn-, bail-, bhavar-/bhɑ̃var-, bheṣ-, māt-, madal-, masakīn-, mās$_1$-, mīt-, mũniyar-, mũḍit-, mūl-, ras-, rūp-, lok-, log-, laũcit-/lũcit-, vag-, ved-, srab-/sarav-, sāg-, sāt$_1$-, sajan-, sanakādik-, sab-, sabad-, sākat-, sāvaj-, sāṣat-, suphal-, sur$_1$-, sur$_2$-, sūt-, sūr$_1$-, sūr$_3$-, set-, ser-, harījan-, hāth- **F** -kai$_2$

-a$_7$ **dir. pl. f.** [**1**.B.2.d] **P** aurat-, camaraṣ-, jājīr-, bāt-, voṣad-, sab-

-a$_8$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.2.d] **P** ɑ̃mrit-, agɑ̃m-, agocar-, ajāmel-, adhadhar-, anahad-/anāhad-, aparāpār-, abhāv-, aradh-, as$_1$-, ast-, ākās-, ātam-, ātmārām-, ānād-, udar-, udik-, ur-, aur-, kādh-, kaṭhor-, kateb-, kanak-, kapaṭ-, kabīr-, kar$_3$-, karām$_1$-, karĩm-, kɑ̃m$_1$-, kɑ̃m$_2$-, kāg-, kāgad-, kāṭh-, kāl$_1$-, kulaph-, kũjar-, kũḍ-, koṭ-, kautig-, krām-, krodh-, gagan-/gāgan-, gaj$_1$-, gaḍh$_2$-, gir$_2$-, gũn$_1$-/gun$_1$-, gũn$_2$-, gur-, gobĩd-, gyɑ̃n-, greh-, ghaṭ$_1$-, ghar-, ghrit-, cakr-, cādan-, cit-, cīlh-, cauk-, jān-, jag-, jagat-, jan-, janam$_2$-, jap$_2$-, jam-/jām-, jal$_1$-, jɑ̃maṇ-, jiy-, jīn-, jīy-, jīv-, -jīvajāt-, jīvan-, jug$_1$-, jug$_2$-, jog-, jaujan-/jojan-, ṭhag$_2$-, -ṇ$_1$-, tat-, tan-/tān-, tap-, tam-, taravar-, tirāṇ-, tīrath-, trigũn-, tribhavan-, tribhuvan-, trīkuṭ-, thal-, dam-, darasan-, dɑ̃n-, dās-, dīn-, din-, dil-, dīn$_1$-, dīn$_2$-, dīpak-,

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dulah-, duṣ-, dev-, des-, dyaw̃us-, dhanak-, dhān-, dhīr-, dhyẽ̃n-, -n_1-, nād-, nād-, narak-, narasyãgh-, naṣ-, nām-/nẽ̃m-, nivās-, neh-, naĩ̃ṇ-, nrimal-, pacchim-, paḍhaṇasāl-, patāl-, patr-, pad_1-, pad_2-, par_2-, par_3-, parãm-, pal-, pavãn-/pavan-, pahup-, $pāt_2$-, pāṭh-, pātāl-, pāthar-, pāp-, pār-, pĩḍ-, pīv-, purẽ̃n-, puriṣ-/puris-, pūrab-, peḍ-, prasād-, prẽ̃ṇ-/prẽ̃n-, prem-, phal-, ban_2-, bājīgar-, bāp-, $bās_1$-, bĩd-, bivog-, bisahar-, bīj-, bījh-, bed-, bohith-, baikũṭh-, bairāg-, bhagat-, bhagavāt-/bhagavẽ̃n-, bhajan-, bharãm-, bhav-, bhasam-, (-)$bhāv_1$-, $bhāv_2$-, bhẽ̃ṇ-, $bhrām_2$-, $madan_1$-, man-, marãṇ-, marahaṭh-/maṛahaṭ-, maraṇ-/marãṇ-/maran-, mahāvat-, mãḍal-, mādir-, mān-, māniṣ-, mūriṣ-, mũ̃ḍ-, moh_2-, raj-, ratan-, ras-, -rahit-, rẽ̃m-/rām-, rẽ̃madev-, rūp-, lobh-, $vār_1$-, voch-, vrat-, vrahm-/brahm-, srap-, ṣãbh-, ṣalak-, ṣasam-, ṣiṇ-, ṣīr-, sāt-, sāsār-, sakal-, sat_2-, satagur-, saneh-, sab-, sarīr-, sarovar-, sarb-, sasihar-, sahaj-, sāṣat-/sāṣit-, sukrit-, sut-, supin-, sur_1-, suṣ-, suṣadev-, suṣaman-, sūkar-, $sūr_2$-, snān-, syãgh-, svẽ̃n-, har_2-, harijan-, hit-, het- **F** -upari, -ūpari, -k_2-, -kũ̃, -kai_1, -pāĩ̃, -bina/-binā, -bhītari, -$mãhjhā_2$, -mẽ̃/-maĩ̃, -laga, -vina, -samẽ̃n-, -setī, -syũ̃

-a_9 **obl. sg. f.** [1.B.2.b] **P** aurat-, gãg-, coṭ-, jājīr-, jaṛ-, tarãg-, nis-, parãm-, poṭ-, bast-, bahut-, bẽ̃jh-, $bās_2$-, bũ̃d-, bhīr-, ṣẽ̃ḍ$_2$-, sahaj-, had- **F** -k_2-, -taĩ̃, -bina, -saw̃u

-a_{10} **obl. pl. m.** [1.A.2.o] **P** $kalap_3$-, gaj_2-, cakr-, carãṇ-, tīrath-, bhavan-, $mās_1$-, $sāt_1$-, $sādh_2$- **F** -k_2-, -setī

-a_{11} **obl. abs. of participles** [1.A.2.p; 5.E.8.b] **P** -t_3-

-a_{12} **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.a] **P** s_1-

-a_{13} **dir.** [2.A.a; 3.A.6, 8; 3.C.1, 2] **P** aṭh-, anek-, aṣṭ-, āp-, āpan-, ek-, gyārah-, tum-/tumh-, das_1-, nav-, pãc-, pẽ̃c-, bãhatar-, bār-, bārah-, lāṣ-, ṣaṭ-, sāt-, ham-/hãm-, hek- **F** -$ũ_2$,-$hĩ_2$, -hi_2

-a_{14} **obl.** [2.A.a; 3.A.7, 9] **P** anek-, $āpaṇ_1$-, ik-, ek-, catrudas-, tīs-, tumh-, das_1-, dah-, pãc-, bīs-, laṣ-, ṣaṭ-, solah-, ham-/hãm- **F** -$ũ_2$, -kũ̃, -bāra, -majhai, -samẽ̃n-, -syũ̃, -s_2-, -$hĩ_2$, -hi_2

-a_{15} **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.c] **P** $ucār_2$-, chūṭ-, -v_3- **F** (-$ī_{14}$)

-a_{16} **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** tor-

-a_{17} **absolutive** [5.F.2] **P** ulaṭ-, kīr-, ṣẽ̃ḍ$_1$-, sumir-

-a_{18} **adverbizer** [6.1] **P** adhik-, -as_2-, ṭuk-, nirãtar- **F** -$hĩ_2$

-a_{19} **conjunction** [8.A.4; 8.B1] **P** j_1-, t_2- **F** -u_8

-aī = **-ai$_{13}$ + -ī$_{14}$, or -a$_{15}$ + -ī$_{14}$** [5.B.1.c] **P** chūṭ-

akatāī- **single, sole, unique** **F** -0_3

akath-/akãth- **ineffable** **F** -a_5

akali- **understanding, comprehension, intelligence** **F** -0_4

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akās- **sky** **F** -a_4, -ahi$_1$
akel- **alone, lonely** **F** -$ā_5$, -$ā_{14}$, -au$_1$
agãm- **inaccessible, beyond reach** **F** -a_8
agani- **fire** **F** -0_4, -0_8
agocar- **imperceptible, invisible** **F** -a_5, -a_8
agni- **fire** **F** -0_4, -0_8
aghā- **to be satiated, to be satisfied** **F** -$ī_{11}$
acãbh-/ãcabh- **wonder, strange thing** **F** -$ā_5$
acal- **unchanging, immovable** **F** -a_4
aciraj- **surprise; wonder, strange thing** **F** -a_4
acet- **ignorant** **F** -a_6
ach- **to be, to exist, to be alive** [5.A.1.a] **F** -a_2-
-achu/-achū **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.e] **P** k_1-
aja **now, today** **F** -$hũ_3$
ajãn- **ignorant, nescient** **F** -$ã_4$
ajāmel- **name of a sinful brāhmaṇa** **F** -a_8
aṭh- **eight** **F** -a_{13}
aṭhasaṭhi- **sixty eight, *fig*. many** **F** -0_{12}
aṭhyāsī- **eighty eight** **F** -0_{11}
aḍhāī- **two and half** **F** -0_{11}, -0_{12}
aṇa- **privative prefix** [1.C.1] **F** -bol-
-ata **adverb of cause** [3.H.2.f] **P** k_1-
ati **very**
atīt- **beyond, transcendental; *see* guna atīt-** **F** -a_4
athāh- **fathomless** **F** -a_4
adabud- **wonder, strange thing** **F** -a_4
-ade **adverb of time** [3.H.2.c] **P** k_1-
adhãm- **lowest, worst** **F** -a_5
adhadhar- **midstream** **F** -a_8
adhār- **base, foundation, support** **F** -$ā_5$
adhik- **very; plentiful, abundant** **F** -a_{18}, -āī-
anek- **many, several** **F** -a_{13}, -a_{14}
anāt- **infinite; the Infinite, Viṣṇu** **F** -a_5, -ai$_6$
anãta **elsewhere** **F** -i_{14} (> anãtai)
-ana **obl. pl. m. and f.** [1.A.2.m] **P** aur-, caran-, jan-, sab- **F** -k_2-, -na_2
anabhai- **experience** **F** -0_7
anarāgī- **attracted toward, striving for sthg** **F** -0_7
anahad-/anāhad- **unsounded, unstruck; limitless, boundless** **F** -a_4, -a_8
-ani$_1$ **obl. (loc./instr.) pl. m.** [1.A.2.m] **P** caran-, baṭapār-, log-, sab-, sãt- **F** -k_2-, -m$\tilde{a}$ī

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-ani$_2$ **obl. (loc./instr.) pl. f.** [1.B.2.f] **P** bāt- **F** -hĩ$_2$
apāṇ-/apaṇ- **own** [3.C.3] **F** -ã̃$_6$, -ã̃$_8$, -ai$_4$
aparãpār- **boundless, endless** **F** -a$_8$
aparādh- **crime, offence; prank** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$
aparādhī- **offender, guilty** **F** -0$_3$
apār- **innumerable, countless, boundless** **F** -a$_5$, -ā$_6$
-aba **adverb of time** [3.D.2.e; 3.F.2.c; 3.G.2.c; 3.H.2.c] **P** 0$_1$-, k$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$- **F** -k$_2$-, -laga, -hĩ$_2$, -hũ$_3$
abināsī- **imperishable, eternal** **F** -0$_3$
-abai **emphatic adverb of time** [3.F.2.c; 3.G.2.c] **P** j$_1$-, t$_2$-
abhāg- **wretchedness, ill-luck, misfortune** **F** -ī$_2$-
abhāv- **non-existence** **F** -a$_8$
abhiãtar- **interior, inside** **F** -i$_6$
abhimãñ- **pride, vanity** **F** -ã$_3$, -ã̃$_4$
amar-/ãmar- **immortal** **F** -a$_4$
amrit- **amṛta, nectar** **F** -a$_4$
ayãñ- **ignorant** **F** -ã̃$_4$
ara **and** (transposed adjective) [8.A.1]
aradh- **half** **F** -a$_8$, -āī-
aru **and** [8.A.1]
-al- **perfective participle** [5.E.4] **P** nimaṣ-, -v$_3$- **F** -a$_4$, -e$_3$
alaha- **Allāh, God** **F** -0$_3$, -0$_7$
alā$_1$- **Allāh, God** **F** -0$_3$
alā$_1$- **iḍā, the left nāḍī** **F** -0$_4$
-avãna$_1$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k$_1$-
avadhi-/āvadhi- **time, time limit** **F** -0$_4$
avadhū- **avadhūta, yogī** [**who has shaken off worldly concerns**] **F** -0$_3$
-avana$_1$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k$_1$-
-avana$_2$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k$_1$-
avali **firstly, in the first place**
avaliyā- **Muslim ascetic** **F** -0$_5$
avināsī- **imperishable, eternal** **F** -0$_7$
avirathā **in vain**
aṣṭ- **eight** **F** -a$_{13}$
as$_1$- **horse** **F** -a$_8$
-as$_2$- **pronominal adjective of quality** [3.D.2.d; 3.F.2.a; 3.G.2.a] **P** 0$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$- **F** -a$_4$, -a$_{18}$, -u$_4$
asãt- **bad, wicked, worthless** **F** -a$_4$
-asa **obl. (gen.) sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.d] **P** t$_2$-
asarāla/asāla **uninterruptedly**

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asavār- [**person**] **riding (on a horse), rider** **F** -$ā_5$, -$ī_1$-
asī- **eighty** **F** -0_{11}
ast- **disappearance** **F** -a_8
astūti- **praise, eulogy** **F** -0_4
ahãkār- **pride, vanity** **F** -$ā_5$
-aha$_1$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.2.g] **P** tul-, bãn-
-aha$_2$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.D.1.a] **P** y_1-
ahanisi **day and night, constantly**
-ahã̄ **adverb of place** [**3**.F.2.d; **3**.G.2.d; [**3**.H.2.d] **P** k_1-, j_1-, t_2-
-ahā **dir. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.H.1.d] **P** k_1-
-ahĩ$_1$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.2.h] **P** mãn-
-ahĩ$_2$ **loc./instr.** [**2**.A.b] **P** ek-
-ahĩ$_3$ **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.b] **P** jap_1-
-ahĩ$_4$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.f] **P** kar_1-
-ahi$_1$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.2.h] **P** akās-, gur-, jal_1-, nād-, pad_1-, pad_2-, piv-, pratibĩb-, bĩd-, man-, rām-, rã̄m-, sãmudr-, sab-, sāradūr-, sīv- **F** -na_2, -bina
-ahi$_2$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.H.1.g] **P** k_1-
-ahi$_3$ **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.b] **P** soc-
-ahi$_4$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.f] **P** $nīd_1$-, bak_1-
-ahĩ̄$_1$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.2.h] **P** gun_2-, ghar-, man-
-ahĩ̄$_2$ **adverb of place** [**3**.H.2.d] **P** k_1-
-ahũ **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [**5**.B.2.c] ram-, sũn-/sun-
-ahu$_1$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.D.1.a] **P** y_1-
-ahu$_2$ **2nd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.e] **P** ubar-, bakas- **F** -g-
-ahu$_3$ **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [**5**.B.2.c] **P** kar_1-, jap_1-, deṣ-, bhaj-, -v_3-, sun-
-ahuvã̄ **adverb of place** [**3**.F.2.d] **P** t_2-
-ahũ̄ **adverb of place** [**3**.H.2.d] **P** k_1-
aher- **hunt, hunting** **F** -e_2
ahere ṣel- **to hunt, to go hunting**
aho **vocative particle**
ã̄$_1$- **to come, to go** **F** -ũ
-ã̄$_2$- **deriver of verbs** [**5**.I.] **P** baur- **F** -$ṇ_2$-, -n_2-
-ã̄$_3$- **deriver of causatives** [**5**.H.] **P** uḍ-, chuḍ-, gam-, gir-, ḍar-, taṇ-, daur-, pahar-, bujh-, bun-, bhul-, -y_2-, -v_3-, sun- **F** -0_2-, -ũ, -$ṇ_2$-, -n_2-, -v_3-

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-ã̃$_4$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.3.b] **P** -0$_2$-, ajã̃n-, abhimã̃n-, ayã̃n-, ã̃n$_2$-, -iy-, kurã̃n-, colaṇ-, jāgaraṇ-, divã̃n-, dīnadayākaran-, -ṇ$_1$-, -n$_1$-, -n$_2$-, nārã̃in-, -nh-, payã̃n-, paravã̃n-, purã̃n$_2$-, byākuraṇ-, bhãjan-, marãṇ-, malan-, mĩn-/mīn-, mukã̃m-, -y$_2$-, rahimã̃n-, līn-, ṣilũn-, ṣīṇ-, sũnah-/sunah-, hājir-, -hīṇ-

-ã̃$_5$ **dir. pl. m.** [1.A.3.p] **P** -0$_2$-, kateb-, kã̃n-, kã̃m$_2$-, jan-, darog-, -n$_2$-, -nh-, pīr$_2$-, purã̃ṇ$_1$-, marad-, mīr-, murīd-, -y$_2$-, -v$_3$-, sayã̃n-

-ã̃$_6$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.j; 3.C.3] **P** apãṇ-, gun-, -pan-, -ṇ$_1$-, -n$_1$-, bhagavã̃n-, maniṣ-, sũnah-/sunah- **F** -kũ

-ã̃$_7$ **instr. sg. m. of nouns and participles / obl. abs. of participles** [1.A.3.m; 5.E.8.a, b] **P** -0$_2$-, kar$_3$-, -ṇ$_1$-, -ṛ-, -t$_3$-, -n$_1$-, -n$_2$-, -nh-, pã̃ṣ-, murag$_2$-, muṣ-, -y$_2$-, -v$_3$-, sabad- **F** -bina

-ã̃$_8$ **obl. pl. m.** [1.A.2.n] **P** apãṇ-, jan-, dev-, naiṇ-, puris-

-ã̃$_9$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.e; 3.G.1.c] **P** j$_1$-, t$_2$- **F** -pãĩ

ã̃cal- **border, rim, end** **F** -i$_6$

ã̃dhī-/ã̃dhĩ- **storm** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$

ã̃n$_1$-/ã̃ṇ- **to bring** **F** -0$_2$-, -ãĩ$_8$, -ai$_{13}$

ã̃n$_2$- **other, another** **F** -a$_4$, -ã̃$_4$

ã̃nãd- **joy, happiness, bliss** **F** -a$_4$

ā$_1$- **to come, to go** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ũ, -ũ$_3$, -v$_3$-

-ā$_2$- **nominal thematic vowel** [1.C.13] **P** karav-, bāl- **F** -paṇ-

-ā$_3$- **deriver of verbs** [5.I.] **P** pachit-, baur-, ris-, hari$_2$- **F** -i$_{11}$, -ī$_{13}$, -n$_1$-, -n$_2$-, -v$_3$-

-ā$_4$- **deriver of causatives** [5.H.] **P** uḍ-, urajh-, kar$_1$-, kah-, gam-/gãm-, gin-, cãmak-, caḍh-, car-, cal-, cav-, chiṭak-, chuḍ-, ḍar-, ḍahak-, ḍhah-, tir-, diṣ-, nas-, pak-, paḍh-, baj-, bas$_1$-, bãdh$_1$-, bhram$_1$-, mar-, mil-, muḍ-, -y$_2$-, rah-, lag-, lapaṭ-, laṣ$_1$-, liṣ-, luk-,-v$_3$-, samajh-, sãt-, sic-, sun- **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{11}$, -il-, -ī$_{13}$, -ī$_3$-, -ũ, -n$_2$-, -v$_3$-

-ā$_5$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.3.a; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, ãcabh-/acãbh-, akel-, adhār-, asavār-, ahãkār-/ãhakār-, ādh-, -ār-, -iy-, ũdh-, ujāl-, udās-, upades-, ūjiyāl-, -er-, -ais-, -or-, aur-, -k$_2$-, kãs-, kabīr-/kavīr-, kāj-, -ker-, kesav-, kauv-, gãbhīr-, galaur-/gilaur-, gāt-, gūd-, gobyãd-, gol-, ghaṛ-, carav-, cel-, colan-, cov-, chār-, -j$_2$-, -jais-, jīyar-, julāh-, jhagar-/jhãgar-, jhūṭh-, ṭhāḍh-, -ṇ$_1$-, -ṇ$_3$-, -t$_3$-, -t$_4$-, -t$_5$-, tara:uv-, dās-, dev-, dehur-, dhāg-,-n$_1$-, -n$_2$-, naber$_2$-, nar-, nirakār-, nivās-, nihor-, nīk-, nyār-, nrimolik-, -nh-, pachevar-, patiyār-, palīt-, pās$_2$-, pĩjar-, piyāl-, pũgar-, purīṣ-, (-)pūr-, phunig-/phũnig-, -b$_2$-, bãk-, bakul-, bachar-, baḍ-, balīḍ-/balĩḍ-, balīt-, baser-, bāj$_2$-, bāb-, bār$_2$-, bās$_1$-, bikār-, bicār$_2$-, binās$_2$-, biral-, bihũṇ-, bṛṣ-, baur-, bhagat-, bhavar-, bhãḍ-, bhār-, bhuvar-, bher-, bhor-, bhais-/bhaĩs-, mād-, mativāl-, madal-, man-, mahūv-, mīn-, mukād-, musalamã̃n-, muhur-, mūs-,

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mail-, moṭ-, -y_2-, rahāṭ-, rahaṭav-, rā̃m-, rudr-, larik-, lāh-, leṣ-, loh-, -v_3-, -vāl-, vrahm-/brahm-, ṣar$_2$-, ṣīn-, ṣed$_2$-, sādaur-/sīdaur-, sās-, sāsār-, sabal-, sabhāg-, sarīr-, savāy-, sā̃ṭh-, sā̃s-, sās-, surtt-, suvan-, sūd-, sūdh-, sūr$_1$-, sūr$_2$-, -hār$_3$-, hīr-

-ā$_6$ **dir. pl. m.** [1.A.3.o] **P** -0$_2$-, apār-, -ār-, -it-, -et-, -or-, kād-, gād-, gavār-, ghāt-, cakav-, jhūṭh-, tār$_2$-, daravāj-, dev-, -n$_2$-, -nh-, pah-, paharav-, -b$_2$-, bikār-, biral-, bhagat-, bhā̃ḍ-, bhor-, mī̃t-, -y$_2$-, lok-, log-, viral-, saṣ-, sūc-

-ā$_7$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.i] **P** āg-, ākās-, uganī̃s-, kās-, ka:uv-, kav-, kāj-, gobī̃d-, cī̃t-, cel-, tāl$_2$-, tīr$_2$-, -th$_2$-, nāī̃ṇ-, pār-, phalis-, phād$_2$-, -b$_1$-, bāch-, bās$_1$-, biṣay-, biṣiy-, man-, maniṣ- -y$_2$-, rid-, visavās-, sarīr-, sājam-, sāsār-, sā̃ḍ-, -hār$_3$- **F** -k$_2$-, -kū̃, -kai$_1$, -tāī, -majhāri, -lagī

-ā$_8$ **obl. pl. m.** [1.A.3.t] **P** phād-

-ā$_9$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.D.1.a; 3.H.1.d] **P** k$_1$-, y$_1$-, -y$_2$-

-ā$_{10}$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.D.1.b; 3.E.1.a; 3.F.1.e; 3.G.1.c; 3.H.1.f] **P** k$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$-, y$_1$-, v$_1$- **F** -ūpari, -k$_2$-, -kar$_2$-, -kū̃, -kai$_1$, -tāī/-tai/-thāī, -para, -mahi, -māī/-mai, -sāgi, -syū̃, -hi$_2$, -hī$_2$

-ā$_{11}$ **sg. m.** [5.C.1] **P** -g-, th$_1$-

-ā$_{12}$ **dir.** [3.C.1] **P** āp-

-ā$_{13}$ **3rd pers. sg.** (in synthetic passive) [5.D.1] **P** -y$_2$-

-ā$_{14}$ **adverbizer** [6.2] **P** akel-, ũc-

-āī- **deriver of abstract nouns** [1.C.4] **P** adhik-, aradh-, cilak-, bilag-, bhal- **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$

ākās- **sky** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -ā$_7$, -e$_2$

āgi- **fire** **F** -0$_4$

āja **today** **F** -hū̃$_3$

ājīj- **beloved, friend; relative** **F** -a$_4$

ātam- **soul, self** **F** -a$_8$

ātamarā̃m-/ātmārām- **God as one's own soul** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$

ādi- **beginning, origin, first cause** **F** -0$_7$

ādh- **half; half-empty** **F** -a$_4$, -ā$_5$

ānād- **joy, happiness** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$

āp- **-self; he** (honorific) [3.C.1] **F** -a$_{13}$, -ā$_{12}$, -āī$_4$

āpaṇ$_1$-/āpan$_1$- **-self** [3.C.2] **F** -a$_1$-, -a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$

āpaṇ$_2$-/āpan$_2$- **own** [3.C.3] **F** -āī$_1$, (-au$_1$)

-ār- **deriver of possessives** [3.B.3, 4] **P** tumh-, th$_3$-, ham-/hām- **F** -ā$_5$, -ā$_6$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_6$, -e$_2$, -e$_1$, -ai$_6$, -ai$_{17}$, -au$_1$

ālajāl- **irrelevant thing, nonsense** **F** -a$_4$

āvāgavan- **transmigration, rebirth** **F** -a$_4$

ās- **trust, reliance** **F** -a$_5$

āsān- **seat** **F** -a$_4$

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-āsa **obl. (gen.) sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.d] **P** t_2-
āsan- **(the yogic posture of) sitting** **F** -a_4
āsā- **hope, longing** **F** -0_4, -0_8
āh- **to be** [5.A.1.b] **F** -i_9
-āha **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.g] **P** gaj_2-
-āhā **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.d] **P** k_1-
-āhū **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.i] **P** k_1- **F** -k_2-
-āhe$_1$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.h] **P** k_1- **F** -k_2-
-āhe$_2$ **adverb of cause** [3.H.1.h] **P** k_1- **F** -kữ
i_1- **near demonstrative** [3.D.1.c, d, e; 3.D.2.a, b, c] **F** -ta, -na_2, -ba, -sa, -hã̄, -hi_1
-i_2- **connecting vowel** [5.J.2.] **P** utar-, kar_1-, kah-, caḍh-, cīnh-, cet-, ja_1-, jar-, $jã̄ṇ_1$-, $jā_1$-, jāg-, juṛ-, ṭã̄c-, deṣ-, dhar-, nāc-, nistar-, $pahar_1$-, $phal_2$-, bak_1-, bilãb-, bhaj-, $bhar_1$-, mãj-, mar-, rah-, surajh- **F** -0_2-, -b_1-, -b_2-, -y_2-, -s_3-, -h_2-
-i_3- **passive** [5.D.1] **P** -$ā_4$-, kah-, gah-, gā-, $gữn_3$-, cah-, ja_1-, $jã̄ṇ_1$-, $jā_1$-, jīt-, ḍar-, paḍh-, patiyā-, pa-, pā-, bã̄ch-, bhar-, bheṭ-, mil-, rah-, rāṣ-, ro-, lah-, $lā_1$-, ṣa-, sữn-, se-, hariṣ- **F** -0_2-, -0_{13}, -t_3-, -y_2-
-i_4 **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.3.a] **P** parã̄iṇ-, bāṛ-, bel-
-i_5 **dir. pl. f.** [1.B.3.a] **P** sữdar-
-i_6 **loc./instr./erg. sg. m.** [1.A.2.k] **P** ãg-, ãt-, ãbar-, abhiãtar-, ã̄cal-, udar-, unaman-/unamãn-, kalatar-, $kã̄m_2$-, kārãṇ-/kã̄raṇ-, kữbh-, kul-, gal-, gur-, goraṣanāth-, $ghaṭ_1$-, ghar-, cit-, jag-, $janam_2$-, jal_1-, jal_2-, $jã̄n_2$-, joban-, jhūṭh-, $ṭhag_2$-, taṭ-, tat-, taravar-, darapan-, darasãn-, dojag-, dvār-, dhaṇāk-, nagar-, nar-, pãth-, -paṇ-, pār-, prasād-, prem-, banaṣāḍ-, bas_1-, bicār-, biraṣ-, byāpār-, $bhrãm_2$-, magahar-, majan-, mad-, man-, mastak-, mārag-, muṣ-, $rãg_2$-, ras-, lobh-, ṣet-, sākuṭ-/sākaṭ-, sãg-, sãgrã̄m-, satagur-, sam-, sar_3-, saravar-, sahaj-, sāsur-, sir-, hāth- **F** -$hĩ_2$
-i_7 **loc./instr. sg. f.** [1.B.2.c] **P** jhãjhaṭ-, das_2-, suṣaman-
-i_8 **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.b; 5.C.2] **P** $jā_1$-, -s_3- **F** -g-
-i_9 **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.c] **P** āh-, kah-, $jā_1$-, da_1-, de-, deṣ-, binas-, biyā-, ṣā-, ho_1- **F** -g-
-i_{10} **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** kar_1-, kah-, kāt-, kīr-, gah-, cal-, cet-, chāḍ-, $jā_1$-, $jã̄n_1$-, jār-, jīt-, ḍār-, taj-, tã̄r-/tār-, deṣ-, niraṣ-/nriṣ-, par_1-, parahar-, pichã̄n-, batā-, bār-, $bicār_1$-, bilo-/bīlo-, $bhaj_1$-, $mã̄n_1$-, meṭ-, rāṣ-, ro-, liṣ-, le-, $ṣoj_1$-, samo-, sun-, sumir-, soc-, $hār_2$-
-i_{11} **absolutive** [5.F.1] **P** $ā_1$-, -$ā_3$-, -$ā_4$-, uchak-, uṭh-, utar-, urajh-/ūrajh-, ulaṭ-, kar_1-, kalap-, kah-, kāṭ-, kāḍh-, kop-, gah-, gā-, gữṇ-/$gữn_3$-/gun_3-, cal-, caḍh-, cīnh-, cet-/cait-, chā-, chāṛ-/chāḍ-, chūṭ-, janam-, jap_1-, $jã̄ṇ_1$-/$jã̄n_1$-/$jān_1$-, $jā_1$-, jāg-, jār-, $jāl_1$-, joṛ-, jor_2-, $ṭhag_1$-, ḍhur-, taj-, taṇ-, $tār_1$-, tir-,

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deṣ-, dhar-, pakaṛ-/pakar-, pac-, paḍh-/paṛh-, parahar-, pasār$_1$-, pahar-, pichẽ̃n-, pukār-, pūj-, pūr-, peṣ-, pais-, phār-, phir-, pher-, bak$_1$-, ban$_1$-, baraj-, bah-, bə̃̃dh-, bicār$_1$-, bitaṛ-, bidār-, binas-, bilag-, bilo-, bisar-, buṇ-/bũṇ-, būḍ-, bais-/baiṭh-, byāh-, bhar-, bhaj$_1$-, bhāj-, bhūl-, bhrə̃̃m$_1$-, mār-, miṭ-, mil-, muc-, mus-, mũ̃d-, moh$_1$-, rac$_1$-, ram-, rah-, rāṣ-, rok-, lapaṭ-, lā$_1$-, lāg-, liṣ-/likh-, lūṭ-, ṣaṇ-, ṣoj$_1$-, sə̃c-, samā-, sə̃̃dh$_2$-, so-, soc-, sodh-, haṭh-, har$_1$-, haraṣ-, hāk-, ho$_1$- **F** -ka$_2$, -kari$_3$

-i$_{12}$ **adverbizer** [6.3, 5] **P** ãt-, tal-, dūr-, beg-, bharpūr-, sahaj-, hajūr-

-i$_{13}$ **adverb of cause** [3.H.2.f] **P** k$_1$- **F** na$_1$

-i$_{14}$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [3.H.1.c; 7.A.1] **P** anãta, -o$_2$

ik- **one, single** **F** -a$_{14}$

-it- **pronominal adjective of quantity** [3.H.2.b] **P** k$_1$- **F** -ā$_6$

-ina **obl. pl. of pronouns** [3.F.1.h] **P** t$_2$- **F** -k$_2$-, -kũ, -taĩ, -maĩ, -hĩ$_2$, -hũ$_3$

-ini **erg. sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.g; 3.G.1.d; 3.H.1.k] **P** j$_1$-, k$_1$-, t$_2$-

-inha **obl. pl. of pronouns** [3.F.1.h] **P** t$_2$- **F** -hī$_2$

imə̃̃n- **honesty, moral integrity** **F** -a$_4$

-iy- **deriver of nouns of profession, occupation, or relation** [1.C.7] **P** -a$_1$-, paḍh-, bāval-, madal-, rog-, lagan- **F** -ə̃̃$_4$, -ā$_5$, -au$_1$

-iyā- **deriver of diminutives** [1.C.13] **P** -ṛ-, puvar-, -r- **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$, -~

-il- **perfective participle** [5.E.5] **P** -ā$_4$-, gā-, rāṣ-, sodh- **F** -a$_4$, -e$_3$, -ai$_6$

ilā- **iḍā, the left of the three nāḍīs** **F** -0$_8$

-isa **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.d; [3.H.1.j] **P** k$_1$-, t$_2$-

-ihi **obl. (loc.) sg. of pronouns** [3.F.1.f; 3.G.1.c] **P** j$_1$-, t$_2$-

-ĩ$_1$ **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.3.b] **P** -0$_2$-, -ṇ$_2$-, -nh-

-ĩ$_2$ **dir. pl. f.** [1.B.3.b] **P** -ṇ$_2$-

-ī$_1$- **deriver of abstract nouns** [1.C.5] **P** asavār-, daravə̃̃n-, dalāl-, -vār$_2$-, sāsār- **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$

-ī$_2$- **deriver of possessives and nouns of relation or occupation** [1.C.8] **P** abhāg-, tap-, bamek-, maivās-, rabāb-, saneh- **F** -0$_3$

-ī$_3$- **passive** [5.D.1] **P** -a$_3$-, -ā$_4$-, -ij-, pa-, pā-, se- **F** -0$_2$-, -0$_{13}$, -y$_2$-

-ī$_4$ **dir. sg. f.** [1.B.3.b; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, -ār-, ũdar-, -er-, -ais-, -or-, -k$_2$-, kalāl-, kivār-, -ker-, gujar-, chachihār-, choch-, jhūṭh-, ṭāṭ-, ṭhāḍh-, ḍālh-, -ṇ$_1$-, -ṇ$_2$-, -ṛ-, tũ̃b-, thor-, deh-, -n$_2$-, nij-, -nh-, pās$_1$-, piyār-, pramə̃̃ṇ-, phīk-, bakar-, baḍ-, bapur-, balihār-, bāch-, bāṛ-, bicār-, bel-, baur-, bhol-, maṭak-, māṣ-, mūl-, maĩmāt-, -v$_3$-, sag-, sayə̃̃n-

-ī$_5$ **dir. pl. f.** [1.B.3.b; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, -et-, -k$_2$-, chachihār-, ṭhāḍh-, -t$_3$-, pāt-, saṣ-, sahel-, sail-

-ī$_6$ **obl. sg. f.** [1.B.3.b; 4.A.1.a] **P** -ār-, -er-, -k$_2$-, kalāl-, cīṭ-, chāt-, -ṇ$_1$-, deh-, nad-, pahal-, pāṭ$_1$-, pāt-, pās$_1$-, bāṛ-, bel-, makar-, maṭak-, minak-, -hār$_3$- **F** -upari$_2$, -bera, -mājhi

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-ī$_7$ **obl. pl. f.** [1.B.3.b] **P** kauṛ-, ṭhā̃-, ṣũṭ-, saṣ- **F** -barai
-ī$_8$ **sg. f.** [5.C.1] **P** -g-
-ī$_9$ **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.b] **P** ṣā-
-ī$_{10}$ **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.c; 5.C.2] **P** -ā$_4$-, jā$_1$-, de-, nhā-, pā-, vyā-/byā-, ṣā-, -s$_3$-, samā-/samā̃-, suhā-, ho$_1$-
-ī$_{11}$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.f] **P** aghā-, ṣā-
-ī$_{12}$ **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** kamā-
-ī$_{13}$ **absolutive** [5.F.1] **P** -ā$_3$-, -ā$_4$-, jā$_1$-, kāṭ-, chūṭ-, jā$_1$-, bicār$_1$-, bhāg$_2$-, mār-, melh-, samā-
-ī$_{14}$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [3.H.1.c; 7.A.1] **P** -a$_{15}$/-ai$_{13}$, -o$_2$
-ij- **passive** [5.D.2] **P** kar$_1$-, ki$_1$-, di-, pati$_1$-, li- **F** -ai$_{15}$, -y$_2$-
-ũ **1st pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.a] **P** ā̃$_1$-, -ā̃$_3$-, ā$_1$-, -ā$_4$-, jā̃-, jī$_1$-, pā-, samā-, -h$_2$-
ũkār- **sacred syllable om F** -e$_2$
ũc- **high F** -ā$_{14}$
ũdar- **mouse F** -ī$_4$
ũdh- **overturned, upside down F** -ā$_5$, -ai$_6$
u$_1$- **far demonstrative** [3.E.1.b; 3.E.2] **F** -ta, -sa
-u$_2$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.2.c] **P** jag-, sac-
-u$_3$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.2.f] **P** jag-
-u$_4$ **dir. sg./pl. of pronouns** [3.F.1.a; 3.G.1.a] **P** -as$_2$-, j$_1$-, s$_1$-
-u$_5$ **aggregative** [2.B] **P** -0$_{11}$
-u$_6$ **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** rah-
-u$_7$ **conjunction P** j$_1$-
-u$_8$ **inclusive emphatic particle** [3.H.1.c; 7.A.2; 8.B.1] **P** -a$_{19}$, -e$_7$, -o$_2$, -au$_8$,
uganī̃s- **nineteen F** -ā$_7$
ughar- **to open, to be opened F** -a$_2$-
ucar- **to pronounce, to utter F** -ai$_{13}$
ucār$_1$- **utterance, recitation F** -a$_4$
ucār$_2$- **to pronounce, to utter F** -a$_{15}$
-ucha **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.e] **P** k$_1$-
uchak- **to sober up F** -i$_{11}$
ujāl- **light F** -ā$_5$
ujū- **washing of hands and feet before prayer F** -0$_3$
uṭh- **to rise, to emerge F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
uṭhi cāl- **to die**
uḍ- **to fly away F** -ā̃$_3$-
utapān- **to originate, to arise F** -0$_2$-
utar- **to cross, to get across F** -i$_2$-, -i$_{11}$

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utār- **to remove, to wash away; to drip** **F** -ai$_{13}$
udar- **belly, abdomen** **F** -a$_{8}$, -i$_{6}$
udās- **worried, anxious**; **indifferent, free from affection** **F** -a$_{4}$, -ā$_{5}$
udik- **water** **F** -a$_{4}$, -a$_{8}$
udit- **arisen, emerged** **F** -a$_{4}$
udai- **rise, emergence** **F** -0$_{7}$
unamãn-/unaman- ***unmanī*, absorption of the mind in the absolute** **F** -i$_{6}$
unamm̃ãn- ***unmanī*, absorption of the mind in the absolute** **F** -ã$_{3}$
upaj- **to be born, to arise** **F** -0$_{2}$-, -a$_{2}$-, -ai$_{13}$, -ãĩ$_{7}$
upades- **advice** **F** -a$_{4}$, -ā$_{5}$
upan- **to be born** **F** -0$_{2}$-
upari$_{1}$ **above** **F** -kari$_{2}$
-upari$_{2}$ **on, upon; over** (transposed adverb) [**4**.B.4] **P** -0$_{8}$, -a$_{8}$, -u$_{3}$
upavād- **reviling, blaming** **F** -ãĩ$_{2}$
upā- **to give birth** **F** -0$_{2}$-
upāi- **measure, device** **F** -0$_{3}$
upādhi- **trouble, disturbance, nuisance** **F** -0$_{6}$
ubar- **to be saved, to attain salvation** **F** -ã$_{1}$-, -ahu$_{2}$
ubār- **to save, to liberate** **F** -0$_{2}$-
ubhar-/ũbhar- **empty** **F** -a$_{4}$
ubheṣ- **confusion, perplexity** **F** -ai$_{4}$
ur- **heart, bosom** **F** -a$_{8}$
urajh- **to be entangled** **F** -ā$_{4}$-, -i$_{11}$
ulaṭ- **to turn; to be reversed** **F** -0$_{2}$-, -a$_{17}$, -i$_{11}$
uṣaṇ- **to lift a load; to dig out** **F** -0$_{2}$-
usar-/ūsar- **barren** **F** -a$_{4}$
-ũ̃$_{1}$ **dir.** [**3**.A.4] **P** t$_{1}$-
-ũ̃$_{2}$ **aggregative** [**2**.B] **P** -0$_{11}$, -0$_{12}$
-ũ̃$_{3}$ **1st pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.a] **P** ā$_{1}$-, kar$_{1}$-, kah-, jī$_{1}$-, tār-, tir-, caḍh-, chm̃ḍ-/chāḍ-, ḍar-, deṣ-, pm̃-, mar-, mār-, rah-, h$_{1}$-, -h$_{2}$-
-ũ̃$_{4}$ **inclusive emphatic particle** [7.A.2] **P** -e$_{7}$
-ũ̃ṇa/-ũ̃na **dir. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.H.1.a] **P** k$_{1}$-
ūjiyāl- **bright, shining, glorious** **F** -ā$_{5}$
ūpaj- **to be born, to arise** **F** -0$_{2}$-
-ūpari **above, on, upon** (transposed adverb) [**4**.B.4] **P** -a$_{8}$, -ā$_{10}$
ūrajh- **to be entangled** **F** -i$_{11}$
-ẽ$_{1}$ **dir. pl. m.** [**1**.A.3.r] **P** pahũn-, -y$_{2}$-
-ẽ$_{2}$ **loc./instr. sg. m. of perfective participles/obl. abs. of participles** [**1**.A.3.l; **5**.E.8.a] **P** -0$_{2}$-, -y$_{2}$-

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-ẽ$_3$ **3rd pers.** (in synthetic passive) [**5**.D.1] **P** -0$_2$-, -y$_2$-
-e$_1$ **dir. pl. m.** [**1**.A.3.q; **4**.A.1.a] **P** -0$_2$-, ãgār-, āṇiyāl-, ãdhar-, -ār-, -et-, -er-, -ais-, -or-, -k$_2$-, -ṇ$_2$-, -t$_3$-, nār-, nyār-, pyār-, baḍ-, baṛ-, biral-, -y$_2$-, ṣār-, -s$_2$-
-e$_2$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.3.j; **4**.A.1.a] **P** ãdhiyār-, aher-, ākās-, -ār-, ũkār-, -er-, -or-, -k$_2$-, gu̇̃g-, jhūṭh-, -th$_2$-, pātr-, bād-, bikār-, ṣā̃ḍ$_1$- **F** -pari$_2$
-e$_3$ **loc./instr. sg. m. of participles/obl. abs. of participles** [**1**.A.3.k; **4**.A.1.b; **5**.E.8.a, b] **P** -0$_2$-, -al-, -il-, -ṇ$_2$-, -t$_3$-, -y$_2$-, **F** -thaĩ
-e$_4$ **voc. sg. m.** [**1**.A.3.n] **P** -er-, gobĩd-, baur-
-e$_5$ **obl. pl. m.** [**1**.A.3.s; **4**.A.1.a] **P** -ais-, -k$_2$-, jan-
-e$_6$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [**3**.D.1.f; **3**.F.1.b, c; **3**.G.1.a] **P** 0$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$-
-e$_7$ **dir. pl. of pronouns** [**3**.D.1.g; **3**.F.1.b, c; **3**.G.1.b] **P** 0$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$-, v$_1$- **F** -u$_8$, -ũ$_4$
-e$_8$ **pl. m.** [**5**.C.1] **P** -g-
-e$_9$ **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.b] **P** ḍūb-, deṣ-
-e$_{10}$ **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.c] **P** cal-, mus-, rah-, l-
-e$_{11}$ **3rd pers.** (in synthetic passive) [**5**.D.1] **P** -y$_2$-
-e$_{12}$ **conjunction** [**8**.B.1] **P** j$_1$-
ek- **one, single; sole** **F** -a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$, -ahĩ$_2$, -ai$_9$, -ai$_{10}$, -o$_3$
eka ādh- **rare**
ekamek- **one and only, sole** **F** -a$_4$
ekādasī- ***ekādaśī*, eleventh day of bright or dark half of lunar month** **F** -0$_8$
-et- **pronominal adjective of quantity** [**3**.F.2.b; **3**.G.2.b; **3**.H.2.b; **8**.B.2] **P** k$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$- **F** -ā$_6$, -ī$_5$, -e$_1$
-er- **deriver of possessives** [**3**.B.1,2] **P** t$_1$-, m- **F** -ā$_5$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_6$, -e$_1$, -e$_2$, -e$_4$, -ai$_6$, -au$_1$
-ãĩ$_1$ **obl. sg. m.** [**1**.A.3.g; **3**.C.3] **P** āpaṇ$_2$-
-ãĩ$_2$ **loc./instr. sg. m. and f.** [**1**.A.3.i; **5**.E.8.a] **P** -0$_2$-, upavād-, kalam-, dil-, nāg-, -y$_2$-, srãg-, sahaj-
-ãĩ$_3$ **dir.** [**3**.A.2] **P** m-
-ãĩ$_4$ **emphatic dir.** [**3**.C.1] **P** āp-
-ãĩ$_5$ **erg.** [**3**.A.2, 4] **P** m-, t$_1$-
-ãĩ$_6$ **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.c] **P** cīnh-, jã̃ṇ$_1$-/jã̃n$_1$-, nīd$_1$-, mã̃n$_1$-, ram-
-ãĩ$_7$ **1st pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.d] **P** upaj-, binas-, mar-, rah-, -h$_2$-
-ãĩ$_8$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [**5**.B.1.f] **P** ã̃ṇ-, kah-, gujār-, cīnh-, jap$_1$-, jār-, jã̃n$_1$-, dīs-, nigal-, phir-, baṣã̃ṇ-, bāj$_1$-, binās$_1$-, būḍ-, bol-, mar-, mil-, rah-, lūṭ-, loc-, -v$_3$-, ṣoj$_1$-, h$_1$-, -h$_2$- **F** -g-
-ãĩ$_9$ **3rd pers.** (in synthetic passive) [**5**.D.1] **P** -y$_2$-

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-aĩ$_{10}$ **adverbizer** [6.4; 8.B.3] **P** -ais-, dãhiṇ-, pahal-, bãv-, bhal-, sahaj-
-aĩhĩ **3rd pers. pl.** [5.B.1.f] **P** -v$_3$-
-aĩhi **3rd pers. pl. pres.** [5.A.2.e] **P** hv-
-ai$_1$ **emphatic dir. sg. m.** [1.A.4.a] **P** aur-, sab-
-ai$_2$ **emphatic dir. sg. f.** [1.A.4.b] **P** sab-
-ai$_3$ **emphatic dir. pl. (m.)** [1.A.4.c] **P** -0$_2$-, ṣalās-, v$_1$-, sab-
-ai$_4$ **obl. sg. m.** [1.A.3.f; 3.C.3] **P** apaṇ-, ubheṣ-, kabīr-, -vāl-, supin-
-ai$_5$ **emphatic obl. sg. m.** [1.A.4.d] **P** sab-
-ai$_6$ **loc./instr./erg. sg. m.** [1.A.3.h; 4.A.1.b; 5.E.8.a] **P** -0$_2$-, anãt-, -ār-, -il-, ũdh-, -er-, -k$_2$-, kāc-, cej-, caur-, jal-, julāh-, jhūṭh-, tājiṇ-, -n$_1$-, -n$_3$-/-ṇ$_4$-, nīr-, paṭ-, pāiṛ-, piyāl-, baḍ-, balĩḍ-, bāb-, biral-, bauhar-, bhẽḍ-, māth-, murag$_1$-, mūs-, rãg$_1$-, rid-, -v$_2$-, ṣoṭ-, ṣosar-, supin-, sūk-, -hār$_3$- **F** -tẽī, -hi$_5$
-ai$_7$ **loc./instr. sg. f.** [1.A.3.h; 4.A.1.b] **P** -k$_2$-, coṭ-, vol-
-ai$_8$ **dir.** [3.A.2] **P** m-
-ai$_9$ **emphatic obl.** [2.A.b] **P** ek-
-ai$_{10}$ **loc./instr.** [2.A.b] **P** ek-
-ai$_{11}$ **erg.** [3.A.2] **P** m-, t$_1$-
-ai$_{12}$ **2nd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.b] **P** kar$_1$-, giṇ-, chūṭ-, tūṭ-, toṛ-, thak-, pāṛ-, birol-, būjh$_2$-, bol-, mār-, -v$_3$-, ṣel-, sumir-, h$_1$- **F** -g-
-ai$_{13}$ **3rd pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.c] **P** ẽṇ-, ucar-, utār-, upaj-, katar-, kath-, kar$_1$-, kah-, kāch-, grās-, ghaṭ$_2$-, caḍh-, cāl-, citav-, cūṣ-, cet-, chāḍ-, chīj-, chūṭ-, jar-, jẽṇ-/jẽn$_1$-/jān-, jāg-, jẽm-/jām-, jār-, jūjh-, jhakol-, jhar-, jhol-, taj-, tir-, tūṭ-/ṭūṭ-, ḍar-, ḍarap-, ḍār-, ḍig-, ḍol-, taj-, tār$_1$-, tẽn-, tir-, tor-, tol-, dīs-, dūjh$_1$-, dūjh$_2$-, deṣ-, daur-, dhar-, nāc-, nikas-, nihār-, paṛ-, par-, parajar-, peṣ-, prakās-, phir-, phūl$_2$-, baḍh-, bãdh$_1$-/badh$_1$-, badh$_3$-, baras$_1$-, baṣẽṇ-, bas$_4$-, bah-, bigas-/vigas-, bigir-, bicār$_1$-, binas-, būjh$_1$-, būḍ-, bol-, byāp-/vyāp-, bhaj-, bhāṣ-, bhir-, bhīj-, bhūl-, mar-, marad$_1$-, mẽn$_1$-, mār-, mil-, melh-, rãj-, rãm-, rah-, rāṣ-, lar-, lah-, lāg-, lūk-, -v$_3$-, ṣūṭ-, ṣed$_1$-, ṣel-, ṣol-, sak-, sar$_1$-, savār-, sāc-/sẽc-, sẽdh$_3$-, surajh-, sūjh-, soṣ-, soh-, h$_1$-, -h$_2$-, hār$_2$-, hulas-, hv- **F** (-ī$_{14}$), -g-
-ai$_{14}$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.A.2.d] **P** hv-
-ai$_{15}$ **3rd pers.** (in synthetic passive) [5.D.1, 2] **P** -īj-, -y$_2$-
-ai$_{16}$ **absolutive** [5.F.1] **P** l-. lūṭ-, hv-
-ai$_{17}$ **adverbizer** [6.4] **P** neṛ-, sahaj-
-ais- **pronominal adjective of quality** [3.D.2.d; 3.F.2.a; 3.G.2.a; 3.H.2.a; 8.B.3] **P** 0$_1$-, k$_1$-, j$_1$-, t$_2$- **F** -ā$_5$, -ī$_4$, -e$_1$, -e$_5$, -aĩ$_{10}$, -au$_1$
-aihi **3rd pers. sg. pres.** [5.B.1.c] **P** l-, -v$_3$-
-o$_1$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.3.e] **P** bak$_2$-, -y$_2$-, -v$_3$-

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-o_2 **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.E.1.a; 3.F.1.a; 3.G.1.a; 3.H.1.b, c] **P** k_1-, j_1-, v_1-, s_1- **F** -i_{14}, -$ī_{14}$, -u_8
-o_3 **emphatic dir.** [7.A.2] **P** ek-
-o_4- **obl.** [3.A.3, 5] **P** t_1-, m- **F** -kṹ, -pâĩ$_1$, -hi_2
-o_5 **2nd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.e] **P** -v_3-
-o_6 **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [5.B.2.c] **P** -v_3-
-o_7 **conjunction** [8.B.1] **P** j_1- **F** -ra
-or- **deriver of possessives** [3.B.1, 2] **P** t_1-, m- **F** -a_4, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -$ī_4$, -e_2, -e_1
-ãũ$_1$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.3.d; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0_2-, -k_2-, -$ṇ_2$-, -n_2-, -nh-
-ãũ$_2$ **aggregative dir.** [2.B] **P** cauvīs-, tetīs-
-ãũ$_3$ **aggregative obl.** [2.B] **P** das_1-
-ãũ$_4$ **1st pers. sg.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.a] **P** kar_1-, chāḍ-, jap_1-, jã̃n_1-, ḍhũ̃ḍh-, taj-, tir-, paḍh-, barãṇ-, bin-/binav-, $bhar_1$-, ram-, rah-, -v_3-
-ãũ$_5$ **2nd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.e] **P** jã̃n_1-, h_1-
-ãũ$_6$ **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [5.B.2.c] **P** ṣoj-, suṇ-
-ãũṇi **loc/instr. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k_1-
-ãũna$_1$/-ãũṇa$_1$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k_1-
-ãũna$_2$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k_1-
-au$_1$ **dir. sg. m.** [1.A.3.c; 3.C.3; 4.A.1.a] **P** -0_2-, akel-, āpan$_2$-, -ār-, -iy-, -er-, -ais-, -k_2-, kūkaṛ-, gõbĩd-, julāh-, ṭeḍh-/ṭeṛh-, -t_3-, -n_1-, parac-, pasār$_2$-, pūjār-, pūr$_2$-, -b_1-, -b_2-, beḍh-, bhal-, madal-, mīṭh-, -y_2-, rahãṭ-, -s_2-, sag-, sūr-, -hār$_3$-, hīr-
-au$_2$ **voc. pl. m.** [1.A.2.q] **P** sãt-
-au$_3$ **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.D.1.a; 3.G.1.a] **P** j_1-, y_1-
-au$_4$ **sg. m.** [5.C.1] **P** -g-, th_1-
-au$_5$ **2nd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.e] **P** kah-, cet-, deṣ-, -y_2-, lãgh-, -v_3-, h_1-, -h_2-
-au$_6$ **3rd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.b; 5.D.2] **P** cet-, -y_2-
-au$_7$ **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [5.B.2.c] **P** kar_1-, kah-, cīnh-, chāḍ-, jāg-, ḍār-, naber-, nāc-, pūch-, pūj-, bã̃dh-, $būjh_1$-, bol-, rāṣ-, ly-, sumir-, sev_1-
-au$_8$ **conjunction** [8.A.2, 4; 8.B.1, 6] **P** j_1-, t_2- **F** -pâĩ$_2$, -pai_2, -ra
augun- **offence, mischief** **F** -a_6
-auna **dir. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.a] **P** k_1-
aur- **other** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_8, -ana, -$ā_5$, -ai_1
aura **and** (transposed adjective) [8.A.1]
aurat- **woman** **F** -a_7, -a_9
aulautī- **eaves of a thatching** **F** -0_7
ausar- **time, opportunity** **F** -a_4

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-~ **obl. (instr., loc.) sg. f.** [1.B.1.b] **P** -iyā-, sāṣā-
k_1- **indefinitive/interrogative** [3.H.1.a – k; 3.H.2.a – h; 8.B.2] **F** -achu/-achū, -ata, -ade, -aba, -avãna$_1$/-avana$_1$, -avana$_2$, -ahā, -ahã̄, -ahi$_6$, -ahĩ$_2$, -ahũ̄, -ā$_9$, -ā$_{10}$, -āhā, -āhū, -āhe$_1$, -āhe$_2$, -i$_{13}$, -it-, -ini, -isa, -ucha, -ụ̃na/-ũ̄na, -et-, -ais-, -o$_2$, -a͡una$_1$/-auna, -a͡uṇi, -a͡una$_2$, -y$_2$-, -yanã, -yũ̄$_1$
-k_2- **adjectivizer** [4.A.1.a, b] **P** -0$_4$, -0$_7$, -0$_8$, -a$_1$-, -a$_8$, -a$_9$, -a$_{10}$, -ana, -ani, -aba, -ahã̄, -ā$_7$, -ā$_{10}$, -āhū, -āhe$_1$, -ã̄$_6$, -ã̄$_8$, -ina, -isa, -ai$_6$, -a͡una$_2$, -sa **F** -ā$_5$, -ā$_7$, -ī$_4$, -ī$_5$, -ī$_6$, -e$_2$, -e$_1$, -e$_5$, -ai$_6$, -ai$_7$, -a͡ū$_1$, -au$_1$
-k_3- **deriver of diminutives** [1.C.12] **P** -a$_1$- **F** -a$_5$
kãcan- **gold** **F** -a$_4$
kãt- **husband; Lord** **F** -a$_4$
kãd- **rhizome** **F** -a$_6$, -ā$_6$
kãdali- **the plantain or banana tree, *Musa sapientum; fig.* sensual enjoyments** **F** -0$_7$
kãdh- **shoulder** **F** -a$_8$
kãp- **to shake, to tremble** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -ai$_{13}$
kãs- **bell of bronze** **F** -ā$_5$, -ā$_7$
ka:uv- **crow** **F** -ā$_7$
ka$_1$ **or** [8.A.3]
-ka$_2$ **absolutive emphatic particle** [5.F.1.e] **P** -i$_{11}$
kachū- **tortoise** **F** -0$_3$
kaṭ- **to be cut** **F** -0$_2$-
kaṭhiyã̄- **hemp, *Cannabis sativa*** **F** -0$_4$
kaṭhor- **hard, cruel** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
katar- **to cut** **F** -ai$_{13}$
kateb- **book; the Book, Koran** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -ã̄$_5$
kath- **to tell, to explain** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -ai$_{13}$
kathā- **story** **F** -0$_4$
kanak- **gold** **F** -a$_8$
kapaṭ- **deceit, fraud** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
kapāṭ- **leaf of door** **F** -a$_6$
kapūr- **camphor** **F** -a$_4$
kabīr-/kavīr- **Kabīr** **F** -a$_4$, -ā$_5$, -a$_8$, -ai$_6$, -ya$_1$
kamā- **to earn, to gain** **F** -ī$_{12}$
kamāṇ- **bow** **F** -a$_5$
  kamāṇa caḍh- + ā$_5$- **to raise a bow; *fig.* to knit one´s brows**
kar$_1$- **to do** **F** -0$_2$-, -ã$_1$-, -a$_2$-, -ahĩ$_4$, -ahu$_3$, -ā$_4$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$, -īj-, -ũ̄$_3$, -ai$_{12}$, -ai$_{13}$, -a͡ū$_4$, -au$_7$
-kar$_2$- **adjectivizer** [4.A.1.a] **P** -0$_7$, -a$_8$, -ā$_{10}$ **F** -a$_4$
kar$_3$- **hand** **F** -a$_6$, -a$_8$, -ã̄$_7$

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karãṇ- **means, device; astrological division of the day** F -$\tilde{a}_2$
karãm$_1$-/karam- **activity, action; deed, karman** F -a_4, -a_8
karãm$_2$- **mercy, pity, compassion** F -a_4
karakac- **piece, part, fragment** F -a_4
karatā- **Creator** F -0_3
karav- **bitter** F -$ā_2$-
karārī- **motionlessness, stopping, arrest** F -0_4
kari *see also under* **kar$_1$-**
kari$_1$ **as, as if** (transposed absolutive) [**5.F.**1.d]
-kari$_2$ **adverbizer** (transposed absolutive) [**4.B.**21; **5.F.**1.d; **6.**6] **P** upari, tali, diḍha, muṣṭi, -sãgi
-kari$_3$ **absolutive emphatic particle** (transposed absolutive) [**5.F.**1.e] **P** -i_{11}
karĩm- [**God the**] **Merciful** F -a_8
karūp- **ugly** F -a_4
kalatar- **coin** F -i_6
kalap$_1$- **to lament, to bewail** F -i_{11}
kalap$_2$- **restlessness, perturbation** F -a_4
kalap$_3$- **kalpa, aeon, one day in the life of Brahmā** F -a_4, -a_{10}
kalam- **Kalima, Muslim declaration of faith** F -$\widetilde{ai}_2$
kalāl- **(member of) caste of liquor sellers** F -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
kali- **kaliyuga** F -0_7
kalī- **bud** F -0_8
kav- **crow** F -$ā_5$
kaval- **lotus;** ***fig.*** **cakra, sahasrāra cakra; lotus in the heart** F -a_4, -a_6
kavi- **poet** F -0_5
kas- **astringent seasoning or admixture** F -a_4
kasāī- **butcher** F -0_3
kah- **to say, to tell, to report** F -0_2-, -$\tilde{a}_1$-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_2-, -i_3-, -i_9, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -$\tilde{u}_3$, -$\widetilde{ai}_8$, -ai_{13}, -au_5, -au_7
kah- + -$ā_4$- **to call, to name, to designate** F -$ī_{10}$
kahãṇī-/kahãnĩ- **story** F -0_4
kã̃n- **one-eyed** F -$\tilde{a}_5$
kã̃m$_1$- **lust, passion** F -a_4, -a_8
kã̃m$_2$- **dealings, concern; work** F -a_4, -a_8, -$\tilde{a}_5$, -i_6
kã̃mi nahī ā$_1$- **to be of no use, to lay idle**
kã̃mani- **woman** F -0_8
kã̃mī- **lustful, lecherous** F -0_3
kāg- **crow** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
kāgad- **paper** F -a_4, -a_8

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kāc- **unbaked** F -ai$_6$
kāch- **to skim, to scum** F -ai$_{13}$
kāj- **work** F -a$_4$, -ā$_5$, -ā$_7$
kāji- **qāzī, Muslim judge** F -y$_2$-
kājī- **qāzī, Muslim judge** F -0$_3$, -0$_5$, -0$_7$
kāṭ- **to cut, to cut away; to prune** F -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ī$_{13}$
kāṭh- **wood, firewood** F -a$_8$
kāḍh- **to draw, to unsheathe; to pay off, to repay** F -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
kāt- **to spin (on spinning wheel)** F -0$_2$-, -i$_{10}$
kābā- **Ka'ba in Mecca** F -0$_5$
kābai- **Ka'ba in Mecca** F -0$_3$
kāyā- **body** F -0$_4$
kārāṇ-/kā̃raṇ- **cause** F -i$_6$
kāl- **time; death; god of death, Yama** F -a$_4$, -a$_8$
  kāla cakr- **wheel of time** F -a$_8$
  kāla puris- **death personified; servant of the god of death** F -a$_8$
kāsī- **Kāśī, Vārāṇasī** F -0$_4$, -0$_8$
ki$_1$- **to do** F -0$_2$-, -īj- (> kīj-)
ki$_2$ **or** [8.A.3]
kirapā- **grace, favour** F -0$_4$
kivār- **wing of door** F -ī$_4$
kī- **to do** F -0$_2$-, -t$_4$-, -n$_2$-, -nh-
kīṭ- **worm, insect** F -a$_4$
kīr- **to pay off, to honour (?)** F -0$_2$-, -a$_{17}$, -i$_{10}$
kũjar- **elephant** F -a$_4$, -a$_8$
kũḍ- **pit** F -a$_8$
kũbh- **pitcher, water-pot** F -a$_4$, -i$_6$
kukaṛī- **fowl** F -0$_4$
kucil- **dirty, filthy, foul** F -a$_4$
kuṭ- **fort** F -a$_1$-
  kuṭ-+-a$_1$-+-vār$_2$- **kotvāl, chief police officer of a town** F -ī$_1$-
kuṭil- **crooked, complicated, intricate** F -a$_5$
kubadhi- **wickedness** F -0$_8$
kumati- **stupidity, foolishness** F -0$_4$, -0$_8$
kumilā̃- **to wither, to fade away** F -ṇ$_2$-, -n$_2$-
kurā̃n- **Koran** F -ā̃$_4$
kul- **family** F -i$_6$
kulaph- **lock** F -a$_8$
kusal- **well-being, happiness; wholesome, beneficient** F -a$_4$
kusevag- **bad servant** F -a$_4$

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-kṹ **dat./acc.** [4.B.1] **P** -0_7, -0_8, -a_8, -a_{10}, -a_{14}, -ana, -$\tilde{a}_6$, -$ā_7$, -$ā_{10}$, -$āhe_1$, -ina, -$ī_6$, -e_2, -o_4-
kṹcī- **key** **F** -0_8
kṹpal- **sprout, offshoot** **F** -a_5
kūkaṛ- **cock, fowl** **F** -au_1
kr̥pā- **favour, mercy, pity** **F** -0_4
kr̥pāl- **kind, gentle, compassionate** **F** -a_4
-ker- **adjectivizer** [4.A.1.a] **P** -isa **F** -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$
kevala **only, solely**
kes- **hair** **F** -a_4
kesav- **Keśava, Kr̥ṣṇa, Viṣṇu** **F** -$ā_5$
kehari- **lion** **F** -0_7
-kai_1 **loc. sg.** [4.B.2] **P** -a_8, -a_{10}, -$ā_7$, -$ā_{10}$
-kai_2 **adverbizer** (transposed absolutive) [4.B.21; 5.F.1.d; 6.6] **P** -a_6
koī- **rust** **F** -0_4
koṭ- **fort; ramparts of fort** **F** -a_4, -a_8
koṭarī- **cell, cabin** **F** -0_8
koṭi- **myriad, ten million** **F** -0_{11}, -0_{12}
koṭik- **myriad, ten million** **F** -a_6
kop- **to be infuriated** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}
kauṛ- **cowrie** **F** -$ī_7$
kautig- **show, spectacle, wonder** **F** -a_8
kauv- **crow** **F** -$ā_5$
krãm- **deed, karman** **F** -a_6, -a_8
kripā- **favour, mercy, pity** **F** -0_8
kripāl- **kind, gentle, compassionate** **F** -a_4
krim- **worm** **F** -a_6
krodh- **anger** **F** -a_4, -a_8
krodhī- **angry, furious** **F** -0_3
-g- **future** [5.C.1] **P** -ahu_2-, -i_9-, -i_8, -ai_{12}-, -ai_{13}- **F** -$ā_{11}$, -$ī_8$, -e_8, -au_4
gãg- **river Gaṅgā;** ***fig.*** **kuṇḍalinī śakti** **F** -a_5, -a_9
gãgā-/gãgã̄- **Gaṅga,** ***fig.*** **iḍā, the left nāḍī** **F** -0_4, -0_8
gãḍ- **knot** **F** -a_6
gãd- **dirty** **F** -$ā_6$
gãbhīr- **deep** **F** -$ā_5$
gãm- **to go away, to be lost** **F** -$ā_4$-
gãmi- **access, reach** **F** -0_4
gãvār- **villager, rustic, bumpkin** **F** -a_4
ga- **to go, to pass, to disappear; verbal operator: perfectization** [5.F.1.g] **F** -0_2-

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gagan-/gãgan- **sky, space; void** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
gagana mãḍal- **brahmarandhra**
gaj$_1$- **elephant** **F** -a_8
gaj$_2$- **gaz, measure equal to approx. 90 cm** **F** -a_{10}, -āha
gaḍarī- **sheep; grass** **F** -0_8
gaḍh- **fort, stronghold** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
gaḍhapati- **commander of fort** **F** -0_3
gati- **stage, condition, plight; salvation, deliverance** **F** -0_4
ganikā- **courtesan, prostitute** **F** -0_8
gam- **to go away, to be lost** **F** -$\tilde{a}_3$-, -$ā_4$-
garar- **bird Garuḍa** **F** -a_4
gal- **neck** **F** -i_6
galāri- **Viṣṇu** **F** -0_3
galaur-/gilaur- **seasoned and folded betel-leaf** **F** -$ā_5$
gavan- [**the act of**] **going** **F** -a_4
gavār- **villager, rustic, bumpkin** **F** -$ā_6$
gah- **to grasp** **F** -0_2-, -i_3-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}
gahar- **dark** **F** -a_4
gã̃- **to sing** **F** -0_2
gã̃ṭhi- **knot** **F** -0_4
gā- **to sing** **F** -i_3-, -i_{11}, -il-, -v_3-
gāi-/gāī- **cow** **F** -0_4
gāgari- **jug, pot** **F** -0_4
gāt- **body** **F** -$ā_5$
gādah- **donkey** **F** -a_4
gāphil- **careless, negligent** **F** -a_4
gāri- **insult** **F** -0_4
gāvatrī- **Gāyatrī** **F** -0_4
giṇ- **to count, to regard** **F** -ai_{12}
gin- **to count, to compute** **F** -$ā_4$-
giyã̃n- **knowledge, wisdom** **F** -a_4
giyã̃nī- **learned** **F** -0_3
gir$_1$- **to fall down** **F** -a_2-, -$\tilde{a}_3$-
gir$_2$- **mountain** **F** -a_8
gil- **to swallow up, to devour** **F** -0_2-
gũnī- **skilful, expert** **F** -0_5
-gũhunãĩ **together with** (transposed substantive) [**4**.B.13] **P** -a_8
gujar- **Gūjara** **F** -$ī_4$
gujār- **to pass time** **F** -0_2-, -$\tilde{aī}_8$
guḍ-/guṛ- **jaggery** **F** -a_4

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guḍiyā- **howdah, seat placed on the back of elephant (?)** F -0_3
gun$_1$-/gũn$_1$- **guṇa, quality** [**sattva, rajas, tamas**]; **benefit, profit** F -a_1-, -a_6, -a_8, -$\tilde{a}_6$
gun$_2$-/gũn$_2$-/gũṇ$_2$- **praise** [**of Lord**] F -a_4, -a_8, -ah$\tilde{i}_1$
gun$_3$-/gũn$_3$-/guṇ$_3$- **to meditate, to philosophize** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_3-, -i_{11}
guna atīt- **transcending the** [**three**] **guṇas** F -a_4
gunahĩ- **sinner** F -0_3
gunī- **skilful, adept** F -0_3
gupālarāi- **Gupāl Rāi, Rām** F -0_8
guphā- **cave** F -0_8
gur- **teacher, spiritual guide** F -a_4, -a_8, -ahi$_1$, -i_6
guradev- **divine guru** F -a_4
gurū- **teacher, spiritual guide** F -0_3, -0_7
gusãī- **Lord, God** F -0_3, -0_8
gũg- **dumb, mute** F -e_2
gūd- **flesh** F -$ā_5$
gõbĩd-/gobĩd-/gobyãd- **Govinda, Kṛṣṇa, God** F -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$, -au$_1$, -e_4
gopāl- **Gopāla, Kṛṣṇa, God** P srī- F -a_4
goraṣ- **Gorakhnāth** F -a_4
goraṣanāth- **Gorakhnāth** F -i_6
gol- **cannonball** F -$ā_5$
gyẽn- **knowledge, wisdom** F -a_4, -a_8
gyẽnī- **learned, wise** F -0_3, -0_5
gyārasi- **ekādaśī, eleventh day of either half of a lunar month** F -0_4
gyārah- **eleven** F -a_{13}
grab- **to be proud** F -a_3-
grabh- **foetus** F -a_4
  grabha muc- **to miscarry**
grah- **heavenly body: 5 planets, sun, moon, Rāhu and Ketu)** F -a_6
grās- **to seize, to swallow** F -ai$_{13}$
grih- **house** F -a_4
greh- **house** F -a_8
ghat$_1$- **jug, pitcher,** ***fig.*** **body, mind, heart** F -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
ghat$_2$- **to be missing, to be less** F -ai$_{13}$
ghaḍ- **to chisel, to carve** F -a_2-
ghaṛ- **jug, pitcher** F -$ā_5$
ghaṛī- **period of 24 minutes** F -0_8
ghar- **house, home;** ***fig.*** **heart** F -a_4, -a_8, -ah$\tilde{i}_1$, -i_6
gharavā- **house** F -0_7
ghã- **direction, side** F -0_{10}

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ghāt- **blow** **F** -$ā_6$
ghāl- **to toss, to throw** **F** -0_2-
ghini- **hatred, abhorrence, loathing** **F** -0_3
ghūs- **rat** **F** -a_5
ghrit- **clarified butter, ghī** **F** -a_8
cãcal- **fickle, unsteady, wavering** **F** -a_4
cãd- **moon** **F** -a_4
cãdan- **sandal, *Sirium myrtifolium*** **F** -a_4, -a_8
cãmak- **to shine** **F** -$ā_4$-
cakav- **ruddy shelduck, the chakravāk bird, *Tadorna ferruginea*** **F** -$ā_6$
cakr- **wheel; cakra, energy centre in the body** **F** -a_6, -a_8, -a_{10}
caḍh- **to ascend, to rise, to climb; to be offered (in act of worship)** **F** -0_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_2-, -i_{11}, -$\tilde{u}_3$, -ai_{13}
catur- **clever** **F** -a_4
catrudas- **fourteen** **F** -a_{14}
camaraṣ- **small pieces of leather or reed which hold the rotating spindle in correct position** **F** -a_7
car- **to graze; to go [?]** **F** -a_2-, -$ā_4$-
carac- **to anoint, to coat** **F** -a_2-
caran-/carãṇ- **foot, leg** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_{10}, -ana, -ani_1
carav- **metallic water pot** **F** -$ā_5$
cal- **to walk, to go; to pass away** **F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -e_{10}
cav- **to drip, to ooze** **F** -$ā_4$-
cah- **to desire, to want** **F** -i_3-
cahoṛ- **to look after, to take care of** **F** -0_2-
cã̃b- **skin** **F** -a_4
cã̃m- **skin, hide** **F** -a_4
cāturī- **craftiness, cunning** **F** -0_3
cāri- **four** **F** -0_{11}, -0_{12}
cāl- **to go, to walk** **F** -0_2-, -ai_{13}
cāṣ- **to taste** **F** -0_2-
cĩtāmaṇi-/citāmaṇi- **gem which fulfils all desires, God** **F** -0_3
cit- **(ego-)consciousness; mind** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
citar- **to paint** **F** -a_2-
citav- **to meditate, to reflect, to remember** **F** -ai_{13}
cilak- **shine, radiance, lustre** **F** -āī-
cĩ̃t- **mind, heart** **F** -$ā_7$
cīṭ- **ant** **F** -$ī_6$
cīnh- **to recognize, to know** **F** -0_2-, -ya_2-, -i_{11}, -$ã̃ī_6$, -$ã̃ī_8$, -au_7
cīr- **clothes, apparel** **F** -a_6

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cīlh- **kite** (bird) **F** -a_8
cīsã̄- **scream, shriek** **F** -0_4
cīsã̄ mār- **to scream**
cu- **to trickle, to drip** **F** -v_3-
cūk- **to neglect, to fail** **F** -0_2-
cūr- **to be destroyed** **F** -0_2-
cūṣ- **to suck** **F** -ai_{13}
cej- **hole, dump (?)** **F** -ai_6
cet- **to be conscious, to be aware; to be on alert to be vigilant; to understand** **F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_2-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}, -au_5, -au_7
cetanā- **consciousness, comprehension, wits** **F** -0_4
cel- **pupil, disciple** **F** -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$
coṭ- **wound, injury; blow; loss** **F** -a_5, -a_9, -ai_7
cor- **thief** **F** -a_4, -a_6
colaṇ-/colan- **dress, costume** **F** -$ã̄_4$
cov- **kind of perfume** **F** -$ā_5$
cau- **four** **F** -th_2-
cau-+-th_2-+-$ā_7$/-e_2 pad- **fourth, impersonal state of soul**
cauk- **square platform built on auspicious occasions** **F** -a_8
caur- **grain storage pit** **F** -ai_6
caurāsī- **eighty four** **F** -0_{12}
cauvīs- **twenty four** **F** -$a\tilde{u}_2$
cyãt-/cĩt- **to think** **F** -a_2-
chachihār- [**woman**] **bringing or churning the butter-milk; Ahīr servant woman** **F** -$ī_4$, -$ī_5$
chatr- **umbrella** **F** -a_4
chã̃ni- **thatch, thatched roof** **F** -0_4
chā- **to cover, to spread, to pitch** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}
chāk- **to be satiated, to be intoxicated** **F** -0_2-
chāḍ-/chāṛ-/chã̄ḍ- **to leave, to abandon, to get rid of** **F** -0_2-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -$\tilde{u}_3$, -ai_{13}, -$a\tilde{u}_4$, -au_7
chāt- **chest, breast** **F** -$ī_6$
chāyā- **shadow** **F** -0_4
chār- **dust; ash** **F** -a_4, -$ā_5$
chiṭak- **to be thrown away** **F** -$ā_4$-
chīj- **to become feeble, to weaken** **F** -ai_{13}
chuṭ- **little, small** **F** -a_1-
chuḍ- **to be released, to be liberated** **F** -$ã̄_3$-, -$ā_4$-
chūṭ- **to disappear, to free oneself, to be released, to be liberated** **F** -0_2-, -aī (= -a_{15}/-ai_{13} + -$ī_{14}$), -i_{11}, -$ī_{13}$, -ai_{12}, -ai_{13}

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choch- **empty** **F** -$ī_4$
choti- **polluting touch, defilement** **P** -0_4, -0_8
j_1- **relative** [**3**.G.1.a – e; **3**.G.2.a – e; **8**.B.1, 3 – 5] **F** -a_{19}, -aba, -as_2-, -ahã̃, -$ã̃_9$, -$ā_9$, -$ā_{10}$, -ini, -ihi, -u_4, -u_7, -e_6, -e_7, -e_{12}, -et-, -ais-, -o_2, -o_7, -au_3, -au_8, -yãha, -$yũ_1$, -$yũ_2$, -yau
-j_2- **deriver of ordinals** [**2**.E.1] **P** dū- **F** -$ā_5$
jãjīr- **chain** **F** -a_7, -a_9
jān- **devotee, bhakta** **F** -a_8
jānām- **(re)birth, life** **F** -a_4
jābak-/jābuk- **jackal** **F** -a_4
ja_1- **to go, to disappear; verbal operator: perfectization** [**5**.F.1.g] **F** -i_2-, -i_3-
ja_2 **expletive** [**8**.C]
jag- **world** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6, -u_2, -u_3
jagajīvan- **life-force of the world, God** **F** -a_4
jagat- **world** **F** -a_4, -a_8
jagadev- **Lord of the world, God** **F** -a_4
jaṭā- **matted hair of ascetics** **F** -0_4, -0_8
jaṭādhar- **wearing matted or twisted locks of hair** **F** -a_4, -a_6
jaṛ- **root** **F** -a_9
jatan- **effort** **F** -a_6
jatī- **yati, ascetic** **F** -0_3
(-)jan- **devotee, bhakta; people; pl.** (transposed substantive) [**1**.A.2.l] **P** -a_1-, -$ã̃_5$, -$ã̃_6$, muni- **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_8, -ana, -e_5
jananī- **mother** **F** -0_4, -0_8
$janam_1$- **to be born** **F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_{11}
$janam_2$-/janām- **(re)birth, life** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
janm- **(re)birth** **F** -a_4
jap_1- **to repeat reverentially a name of deity** **F** -ahu_3, -ahĩ$_3$, -i_{11}, -$aĩ_8$, -$aũ_4$
jap_2- **repetition of a name of a deity** **F** -a_4, -a_8
jam-/jām- **god Yama, death** **F** -a_4, -a_8
jamanã̃- **river Yamunā;** ***fig.*** **piṅgalā, the right nāḍī** **F** -0_8
jamarāi- **king Yama, god of death** **F** -0_3
jar- **to burn, to be on fire** **F** -0_2-, -i_2-, -ai_{13}
jal_1- **water** **F** -a_4 , -a_8, -ahi_1, -i_6, -ai_6
jal_2- **net, snare** **F** -i_6
jalanidhi- **ocean** **F** -0_3
jalahar- **water-pool** **F** -a_4
jas- **praise, eulogy** **F** -a_4
jasa bol- **to sing praises**
jã̃- **to go** **F** -ũ, -$ŋ_1$-, -hĩ$_1$

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jã̃ṇ-/jã̃n$_1$-/jān- **to know, to understand** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$, -ũ$_3$, -ãĩ$_8$, -ãĩ$_6$, -ai$_{13}$, -ãũ$_4$, -ãũ$_5$
jã̃n$_2$- **knowledge** **F** -i$_6$
jã̃maṇ- **birth** **F** -a$_8$
jā$_1$- **to go, to leave; to disappear, to perish; verbal operator: passive** [5.D.3], **perfectization** [5.F.1.g], **continuation of action** **F** -i$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_9$, -i$_{11}$, -i$_8$, -ī$_{10}$, -ī$_{13}$, -t$_3$-, -hi$_4$, -hu$_2$
jā$_2$- **to be born** **F** -0$_2$-
jāg- **to wake up, to be awake** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ai$_{13}$, -au$_7$
jāgaraṇ- **jāgaraṇa, devotional singing all through the night** **F** -ã̃$_4$
jāti- **caste** **F** -0$_8$
jān- ***see*** **jã̃n$_1$-**
jāp- **repetition of name of a deity** **F** -a$_4$
jām-/jã̃m- **to be born** **F** -a$_2$-, -ai$_{13}$
jār- **to burn, to set on fire; to cremate** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$, -ai$_{13}$, -ãĩ$_8$
jāl$_1$- **to light, to kindle** **F** -i$_{11}$
jāl$_2$- **deceit, deception** **F** -a$_4$
jini [7.B.3] **negative particle**
jibhyā- **tongue** **F** -0$_8$
jiy- **mind** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
jī- **to live** **F** -ũ, -ũ̃$_3$, -v$_3$-
jīt- **to gain a victory, to conquer , to win** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{10}$
jīn- **saddle** **F** -a$_8$
jīy- **mind** **F** -a$_8$
jīyar- **living being; soul** **F** -ā$_5$
jīv- **life; living being; soul** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$, -a$_8$
jīvajãt- **creatures, living beings** **F** -a$_8$
jīvan- **life** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
ju **expletive** [8.C]
jug$_1$- **world period, aeon** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
jug$_2$- **couple, pair** **F** -a$_8$
jugati- **effort, perseverance; path shown by sadguru** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$
juṛ- **to join** **F** -i$_2$-
jurā- **old age** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$
julāh- **weaver** **F** -a$_4$, -ā$_5$, -ai$_6$, -au$_1$
jūjh- **to fight** **F** -ai$_{13}$
jevarī- **rope** **F** -0$_4$
jai- ***see*** **jā$_1$-** + **-i$_2$-**
-jais- **like, similar, resembling** (transposed pronominal adjective) [4.A.3] **P** -a$_8$ **F** -ā$_5$

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jog- **yoga; union [with God]** F -a_4, -a_8
jogī- **yogin, ascetic** F -0_3, -0_5, -0_7
joṛ- **to connect, to join** F -i_{11}
joti- **light** F -0_4, -0_8
jonī- **womb** F -0_8
joban-/jobãn- **youth, youthfulness** F -a_4, -i_6
jor$_1$- **might, power; oppression, tyranny** F -a_4
jor$_2$- **to join; to collect** F -i_{11}
jov- **to see, to watch** F -a_2-
jaujan-/jojan- **yojana, measure of distance** F -a_8
jyãda- **life** F -0_4
jhãjhaṭ- **imbroglio, squabbling** F -i_7
jhakol- **to blow in gusts** F -ai_{13}
jhagar-/jhãgar- **quarrel** F -$ā_5$
jhar- **to drip, to trickle** F -ai_{13}
jhal- **flame, fire** F -a_5
jhaṣ- **waste of time, useless activity** F -a_5
  jhaṣa mār- **to do sthg useless, to waste time** F -0_2-
jhūṭh- **falsehood, lie, untruth; false, corrupt** F -i_6; -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$, -e_2, -ai_6
jhol- **to burn, to torment, to harass** F -ai_{13}
ṭẽc- **to carve, to chisel** F -a_2-, -i_2-
ṭāṭ- **bamboo screen** F -$ī_4$, -$ī_5$
ṭir- **to recede, to retreat** F -0_2-
ṭuk- **little** F -a_{18}
ṭūṭ-/tūṭ- **to break** F -0_2-
ṭek- **refrain** F -a_5
ṭeḍh- **pompous, conceited** F -au_1
ṭhag$_1$- **to deceive, to cheat** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_{11}
ṭhag$_2$- **cheat, impostor, deceiver, trickster** F -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
ṭhagaurī- **charm, magic spell** F -0_4
ṭhaṭhak- **to waver, to pause, to be taken aback** F -0_2-
ṭhã- **place** F -$ī_7$
ṭhākur- **lord, chief, honoured person** F -a_4
ṭhāḍh- **arisen, present; standing, standing in front** F -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$, -$ī_5$
ṭhīk- **good, right, correct** F -a_6
-ṛ- **pleonastic and/or diminutive** [1.C.11] P -a_1- F -$ã̃_7$, -iyā-, -$ī_4$
ḍãḍ- **club, maul, bludgeon** F -a_4
ḍagamag- **staggering, wavering, indecision** F -a_4
ḍar- **to fear, to be afraid** F -$ā_4$-, -$ã̃_3$-, -i_3-, -$ũ̃_3$, -ai_{13}
ḍarap- **to fear** F -ai_{13}

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ḍahak- **to be deceived, to be tricked, to be baited** F -$ā_4$-
ḍãiṇĩ- **ḍākinī, witch** F -0_4
ḍār- **to throw; verbal operator: violent action** F -0_2-, -i_{10}, -ai_{13}, -au_7
ḍāl- **branch** F -a_4
ḍālh- **branch** F -$ī_4$
ḍig- **to be agitated, to be upset** F -ai_{13}
ḍūb- **to sink, to be drowned** F -e_9
ḍol- **to swing, to waver, to vacillate; to wander, to walk about** F -ai_{13}
ḍhah- **to fall, to be destroyed** F -$ā_4$-
ḍhur-/ḍhūr- **to spill, to pour into** F -i_{11}
ḍhũḍh- **to search** F -$a\tilde{u}_4$
ḍhaurī- **attachment, affection** F -0_8
-ṇ$_1$- **verbal substantive** [5.G.1] P -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, jã- F -a_1-, -a_4, -a_8, -$ã_4$, -$ã_6$, -$ã_7$, -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
-ṇ$_2$- **perfective participle** [5.E.2] P -$ã_2$-, -$ã_3$-, kumilã- F -$ī_4$, -$ĩ_1$, -$ĩ_2$, -e_3, -$a\tilde{u}_1$
-ṇ$_3$- **verbal adjective** [5.G.2] P h$ũ_2$- F -$ā_5$
t$_1$- **pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg.** [3.A.4, 5; 3.B.2] F -$ũ_1$, -er-, -o_4-, -or-, -$aĩ_5$, -ai_{11}
t$_2$- **far demonstrative/correlative** [3.F.1.b – h; 3.F.2.a – e; 8.A.2, 4; 8.B.1,6] F -a_{19}, -aba, -abai, -as$_2$-, -asa, -ahã, -ahuvã, -$ã_9$, -$ā_{10}$, -āsa, -ina, -inha, -ini, -isa, -ihi, -e_6, -e_7, -et-, -ais-, -au_8, -y$ũ_1$
-t$_3$- **imperfective participle** [5.E.1] P -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, -i_3-, j$ā_1$-, bas$_4$-, ho_1- F -a_1-, -a_4, -a_6, -a_{11}, -$ā_5$, -$ã_7$, -$ī_5$, -e_1, -e_3, -au_1
-t$_4$- **perfective participle** [5.E.6] P k$ī_1$- F -$ā_5$
-t$_5$- **adjectivizer** [3.E.1.b] P -s[a] F -$ā_5$
tãt- **tantra** F -a_6
tãn- **body** F -a_4, -a_8
-ta **adverb of place** [3.D.2.a; 3.E.2] P i$_1$-, u$_1$-
taj- **to abandon, to quit, to give up** F -0_2-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}, -$a\tilde{u}_4$
taṭ- **bank, shore** F -i_6
taṇ- **to stretch; to be stretched (of the warp)** F -$ã_3$-, -i_{11}
tat- **truth, essence; substance, element** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8, -i_6
tan- **body** F -a_4, -a_8
tap- **asceticism** F -a_4, -a_8, -$ī_2$-
tapati- **heat, fever** F -0_4
tam- **darkness; tamas, one of the three guṇas** F -a_4, -a_8
tarãg- **wave** F -a_9
tara **then**
tara:uv- **footman** F -$ā_5$
taravar- **big tree** F -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
taras- **mercy, compassion; fear** F -a_4

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-tari **under** **P** -ā$_7$
tal- **lower part, bottom** **F** -i$_{12}$
talab- **call, summons** **F** -a$_5$
-tā̃ī/-tāī **for (the sake of), in order to** [4.B.18] **P** -0$_7$, -ai$_6$
tā̃n- **to stretch, to spread; [of an arrow] to aim** **F** -a$_2$-, -ai$_{13}$
tājiṇ- **whip** **F** -ai$_6$
tāp- **heat; pain, agony; sorrow, anguish, affliction** **F** -a$_5$
tāmas- **tāmasa, relating to the quality of tamas, dark, ignorant** **F** -a$_4$
tār$_1$-/tā̃r- **to help cross over, to get sb. to the other shore** **F** -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$, -ũ̃ $_3$, -ai$_{13}$
tār$_2$- **star** **F** -ā$_6$
tārā̃ṇ- **deliverer, liberator** **F** -a$_4$
tāl$_1$- **rhytm** **F** -a$_4$
tāl$_2$- **lock** **F** -ā$_7$
tālī- **concentration, samādhi** **F** -0$_4$
tir- **to cross over; to attain liberation** **F** -ã$_1$-, -ā$_4$-, -i$_{11}$, -ũ̃$_3$, -ai$_{13}$, -ā̃ũ$_4$
tir-+-ã$_1$-+-ṇ$_1$- **(means of) final deliverance, liberation from saṃsāra** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
tilak- **ornamental mark on the forehead** **F** -a$_4$
-tī- **deriver of ordinals** [2.E.1] **P** du- **F** -0$_3$
tīni- **three** **F** -0$_{11}$, -0$_{12}$
tīni hātha aika aradhāī **human being**
tīny- **three** **F** -0$_{11}$, -0$_{12}$
tīny-+-0$_{11}$/-0$_{12}$ +-ũ̃$_2$ sājhā- **three times a day**
tīr$_1$- **arrow** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$
tīr$_2$- **shore** **F** -ā$_7$
tīrath- **place of pilgrimage** **F** -a$_6$, -a$_8$, -a$_{10}$
tīs- **thirty** **F** -a$_{14}$
tumh- **pronoun of the 2nd pers. pl.** [3.A.8, 9; 3.B.4] **F** -a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$, -ār-
turā̃g- **horse** **F** -a$_4$
turak- **Turk, Muslim** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$
tul- **scale, balance** **F** -aha$_1$
tũ̃b- **bitter bottle gourd *Lagenaria siceraria*** **F** -ī$_4$
tūṭ-/ṭūṭ- **to snap, to break** **F** -0$_2$-, -ai$_{12}$, -ai$_{13}$
tūr- **drum; clarion, trumpet** **F** -a$_4$
te- **three** **F** -vara
tetīs- **thirty three** **F** -ā̃ũ$_2$
-tā̃ī/-tai **of, because of, from; by, with** [4.B.14] **P** -0$_8$, -a$_8$, -a$_9$, -ahā̃, -ā$_7$, -ā$_{10}$-, -ā̃$_7$, -i$_{12}$, -ina, -ai$_{17}$, -na$_2$
toṛ- **to pluck** **F** -ai$_{12}$
tor- **to set (an animal) on sb.; to break open** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_{16}$, -ai$_{13}$

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tol- **to balance, to poise, to weigh** **F** -0_2-, -ai_{13}
trigũn- **three guṇas, triplet of guṇas** **F** -a_8
tribhavaṇ-/tribhavan-/tribhuvan- **the three worlds** **F** -a_4, -a_8
tribhuvanarāī- **Lord of three worlds** **F** -0_3
trisnā-/trisnã̄- **thirst, desire** **F** -0_8
trīkuṭ- **place between eyebrows where iḍā, piṅgala and suṣumṇa meet** **F** -a_8
trībhuvan- **the three worlds** **F** -a_4
th_1- **preterite of** h_1- [5.A.1.c] **F** -$ā_{11}$, -au_4
-th_2- **deriver of ordinals** [2.E.1] **P** cau- **F** -$ā_7$, -e_2
th_3- **pronoun of the 2nd pers. pl.** [3.B.4] **F** -ār-
thak- **to get tired, to grow feeble** **F** -ai_{12}
thal- **dry land** **F** -a_8
thāk- **to get tired, to come to stop; to falter, to flag; to be at one's wits' end** **F** -0_2-
thir- **permanent** **F** -a_4
-thī **from** [4.B.14] **P** -ahã̄
thũ̄ṇ̃ī- **post, pole** **F** -0_6
-the **from** [4.B.14] **P** -ahã̄
-thaĩ **of, because of, from** [4.B.14] **P** -a_8, -ahã̄, -$ā_{10}$, -e_{10}, -$hū_2$
thor- **scanty, little, few** **F** -$ī_4$
da_1- **to give** **F** -i_9
da_2- **two** **F** -0_{12}
dam- **breath** **F** -a_8
damodar- **Kṛṣṇa** **F** -a_4
dayā- **mercy, compassion** **F** -0_4
dayāl- **compassionate** **F** -a_4
darapan- **mirror** **F** -a_4, -i_6
daravã̄n- **door-keeper** **F** -$ī_1$-
daravāj- **gate, door** **F** -$ā_6$
daraves- **dervish** **F** -a_6
daras- **sight, splendour** **F** -a_4
darasan-/darasãn- **sight, vision, revelation; reflection, image; darśana, school of Hindu philosophy** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
darog- **lying, false, dishonest** **F** -$ã̄_5$
dalāl- **broker** **F** -$ī_1$-
davār- **gate, door** **F** -a_6
das_1- **ten** **F** -a_1-, -a_{13}, -a_{14}, -$aũ_3$
dasa dvār- **the nine openings of the body plus brahmarandhra**
das_2- **direction** **F** -i_7

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dasamī- **daśamī, tenth day of bright or dark half of lunar month** F -0_8
dastagīrī- **help, refuge, shelter** F -0_4
dah- **ten** F -a_{14}
dẽn- **donation, charity, alms** F -a_8
dẽhiṇ- **right** F -$\tilde{aI}_{10}$
dātā- **giver, donator, benefactor** F -0_3, -0_5
dārā- **wife** F -0_8
dās- **devotee, bhakta** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8, -$ā_5$
dĩn- **day** F -a_8
di- **to give** F -0_2-, -īj- (> dīj-)
diḍh- **firm, strong, steady** F -a_4
din- **day** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
dil- **heart** F -a_4, -a_8, -$\tilde{aI}_2$
divẽn- **mad, foolish** F -$\tilde{a}_4$
diṣ- **to be seen, to appear** F -$ā_4$-
disā- **direction** F -0_{10}
dĩn- **faith, religion** F -a_4
dī- **to give, to put; verbal operator: the action tends to the object** [5.F.1.g]
F -0_2-, -nh-
$dīn_1$- **faith, religion** F -a_4, -a_8
$dīn_2$- **humble, destitute, poor** F -a_8
dīnadayākaran- **showing mercy to the poor** F -$\tilde{a}_4$
dīpak- **lamp** F -a_4, -a_8
dīs- **to be seen, to appear** F -ai_{13}, -$\tilde{aI}_8$
du- **two** F -0_{12}-, -tī-
dui- **two** F -0_{11}
duniyẽ- **world** F -0_4
dunī- **world** F -0_4
dubadhyā-/dubidhyā- **doubt, uncertainty, indecision** F -0_4
duras- **right, correct** F -a_4
dulah- **bride; bridegroom** F -a_8, -ănī-
duṣ- **suffering, distress, grief, sorrow** F -a_4, -a_8
duṣī- **distressed, grief-stricken** F -0_3, -0_4
duhāī- **humble appeal, invocation** F -0_4
dũdar- **quarreller, ruffian** F -a_4
dū- **two** F -j_2-, -sar_2-
$dūjh_1$- **to give milk** F -ai_{13}
$dūjh_2$- **to be in a fix, to be on the horns of a dilemma** F -ai_{13}
dūdh- **milk** F -a_4
dūny- **two** F -0_{11}

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dūr- **far, remote, different** **F** -i_{12}
dr̥ṣṭi- **look, view** **F** -0_{8}
de- **to give; to allow; verbal operator: the action tends to the object** [**5.F.1.g**] **F** -0_{14}, -0_{15}, -i_{9}, -$ī_{10}$, -h_{2}-, -$hī_{1}$, -hu_{2}, -hu_{3}
dev- **god** **F** -a_{4}, -a_{6}, -a_{8}, -$ã_{8}$, -$ā_{5}$, -$ā_{6}$
devādhidev- **highest God** **F** -a_{8}
devī- **goddess** **F** -0_{6}
deṣ- **to see, to look** **F** -0_{2}-, -a_{2}-, -ahu_{3}, -i_{9}, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -is_{2}-, -$ũ_{3}$, -e_{9}, -ai_{13}, -au_{5}
des- **country** **F** -a_{8}
deh- **body** **F** -a_{5}, -$ī_{4}$, -$ī_{6}$
deharī- **door-step** **F** -0_{8}
dehī- **ātman, soul** **F** -0_{3}
dehur- **temple** **F** -$ā_{5}$
dai- (< de- + -i_{2}-) **to give;** ***see*** **de-** **F** -h_{2}-
do- **two** **F** -0_{11}, -vara
doi- **two; other, different** **F** -0_{11}, -0_{12}
dojag- **hell** **F** -i_{6}
dos- **fault** **F** -a_{4}
daur- **to run** **F** -$ã_{3}$-, -ai_{13}
dyaũs- **day** **F** -a_{4}, -a_{8}
dyaus-+-a_{8} ra sājhā- **day and night, continuously** **F** -0_{8}
drũgādhi- **foul smell, stench** **F** -0_{8}
dvādasī- **dvādaśī, twelfth day of bright or dark half of lunar month** **F** -0_{8}
dvār- **door** **F** -a_{4}, -a_{6}, -i_{6}
dvai- **two** **F** -0_{11}
dhān- **wealth** **F** -a_{8}
dhaṇāk- **bow** **F** -i_{6}
dhan- **wealth** **F** -a_{4}
dhanak- **bow** **F** -a_{8}
dhani- **praiseworthy, fortunate, auspicious** **F** -0_{3}
dhar- **to hold, to keep** **F** -0_{2}-, -i_{2}-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}
dharāṇi-/dharāni-/dharaṇi- **earth;** ***fig.*** **kuṇḍalinī śakti** **F** -0_{4}, -0_{8}
dharām- **dharma, moral conduct** **F** -a_{4}
dharatī- **earth;** ***fig.*** **kuṇḍalinī śakti** **F** -0_{4}, -0_{8}
dharmarāi- **king Yama, god of death** **F** -0_{7}
dhā- **to run** **F** -0_{2}-
dhāg- **thread** **F** -$ā_{5}$
dhār- **flow, trickle** **F** -a_{5}
dhiyā̃n- **attention, contemplation** **F** -$ã_{2}$, -a_{4}
dhiyā̃n-+-a_{4} dhar- **to be attentive, to contemplate**

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dhiyã̃nī- **meditating, contemplating** **F** -0_3
dhīr- **firm, steadfast** **F** -a_4, -a_8
dhũni-/dhuni- **sound** **F** -0_4, -0_8
dhūp- **burning of incense, thurification** **F** -a_4
dhūri- **dust** **F** -0_4
dho- **to wash away** **F** -0_2-
dhãũ **then, so** [8.C]
dhaul- **sturdy bullock; white pigeon** **F** -a_4
dhyã̃n- **attention, contemplation, meditation** **F** -$ã_2$, -a_4, -a_8
dhyā- **to contemplate** **F** -v_3-
-n_1- **verbal substantive** [5.G.1] **P** -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, -$ā_3$- **F** -a_1-, -a_4, -a_8, -$ã̃_4$, -$ã̃_6$, -$ã̃_7$, -$ā_5$, -ai_6, -au_1
-n_2- **perfective participle** [5.E.2] **P** -$ā_4$-, -$ã̃_3$-, -$ã̃_9$, $kī_1$-, kumilã̃-, patiyā-/ /patiyã̃-, patī-, bigarã̃-, bilã̃-, baurā-/baurã̃-, samā-/samã̃- **F** -$ã_2$, -$ã̃_4$, -$ã̃_5$, -$ã̃_7$, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -$ī_4$, -$ãũ_1$
nãd- **Krṣṇa's foster father** **F** -a_4, -a_8
nãdan- **son** **F** -a_4
naũ- **nine** **F** -0_{11}
na_1 **negative particle** [7.B.1; 8.B.3]
-na_2 **obl. pl. of pronouns** [3.D.1.e] **P** -ana, -ahi_1, i_1- **F** -maĩ
nagar- **town** **F** -i_6
naṭavar- **professional actor; Supreme dancer, Krishna** **F** -a_4
nad- **river** **F** -$ī_6$
$naber_1$- **to settle, to finish** **F** -au_7
$naber_2$- **solution, unravelling** **F** -$ā_5$
nar- **man** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -$ā_5$, -i_6
narak- **hell** **F** -a_4, -a_8
narasyãgh- **Narasiṃha, incarnation of Viṣṇu** **F** -a_8
naraharī- **Narahari, Narasiṃha, fourth avatār of Viṣṇu** **P** srī- **F** -0_3
nari- **shuttle** **F** -0_8
nalī- **shuttle** **F** -0_4, -0_8
nav- **nine** **F** -a_{13}
naṣ- **nail, claw** **F** -a_8
nas- **to perish, to be destroyed** **F** -$ā_4$-
nahĩ̃/nahī [5.A.1.b; 7.B.2] **emphatic negative particle**; **negative of** āh- + -i_9/-$ī_{10}$/-$ī_{11}$
nahĩ̃ tara **otherwise**
nã̃$_1$- **to bend, to bow** **F** -0_2-
nã̃$_2$ [7.B.1] **negative particle**
nã̃ kahĩ̃ **nowhere**

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nãĩ$_1$- **name** F -0$_7$
nãĩ$_2$- **similarity, equality** F -0$_8$
nãu-/nãũ- **name** F -0$_3$
nãnã- **various** F -0$_5$, -0$_7$
nãpāk- **unclean** F -a$_4$
nãm- **name** F -a$_4$, -a$_8$
nãv-/nāv$_1$- **name** F -a$_4$
nãhina [5.A.1.b] **emphatic negative particle**
nãhĩ/nãhī/nãhi [5.A.1.b; 7.B.2] **negative of** āh- + -i$_9$/-ī$_{10}$/-ī$_{11}$**; emphatic negative particle**
nā [7.B.1] **negative particle**
nāī- **similarity, equality** F -0$_8$
-kī nāī- **as, like** [4.B.19]
nāg- **naked** F -aĩ$_2$
nāginī- **cobra,** ***fig.*** **kuṇḍalinī śakti** F -0$_4$
nāc- **to dance** F -i$_2$-,-ai$_{13}$, -au$_7$
nād- **nāda, eternal sound, ultimate form of all things; female drop, Śakti** F -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -ahi$_1$
nām- **name** F -a$_4$, -a$_8$
nārad- **sage Nārada, partial avatāra of Viṣṇu, herald of bhakti** F -a$_4$
nārãin-/nārāiṇ- **Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu** F -a$_4$, -ã̃$_4$
nāri-/nārī$_1$- **woman; wife** F -0$_4$, -0$_6$
nārī$_2$- **nāḍī, mystical channel running along the spinal cord** F -0$_4$, -0$_6$
nāv$_1$- **name** F -a$_4$
nāv$_2$- **boat** F -a$_4$
nāval- **mongoose** F -a$_4$
nās- **to be annihilated, to perish** F -0$_2$-
nāhĩ/nāhī [5.A.1.b; 7.B.2] **negative of** āh- + -ī$_{10}$/-ī$_{11}$**; emphatic negative particle**
nĩdā- **backbiting, slander** F -0$_8$
nikas- **to emerge, to ooze out** F -ai$_{13}$
nigal- **to swallow, to gulp** F -aĩ$_8$
nij- **one's own** F -a$_4$, -ī$_4$
nita **continuously**
nidyā- **slander** F -0$_4$
nidhãn- **shelter, refuge** F -a$_4$
nidhi- **treasure** F -0$_6$, -0$_8$
ninār- **separate, separated, away** F -e$_1$
nimaṣ- **to fade out** F -al-
nirãjan- **Nirañjana, „The Untainted", Supreme Being** F -a$_4$

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nirãtar- **continuous, incessant** **F** -a_{18}
nirakār- **„The Formless“, Supreme Being** **F** -$ā_5$
nirati- **dance** **F** -0_3
nivāj- **prayer, namāz** **F** -a_4, -a_6
nivāj-+-a_4 gujār- **to pray, to perform namāz**
nivās- **abode, dwelling** **F** -a_8, -$ā_5$
niṣedh- **prohibition, taboo** **F** -a_4
nis- **night** **F** -a_9
nisãk- **fearless** **F** -a_5
nisarãṇī- **staircase** **F** -0_4
nistar- **to become liberated, to be free** **F** -i_2-
nihār- **to see, to watch** **F** -ai_{13}
nihor- **support, favour, grace; entreaty, request** **F** -$ā_5$
nīk- **good, nice** **F** -$ā_5$
nījhar- **spring, stream** **F** -a_4
nīd$_1$- **to backbite, to slander** **F** -ahi$_4$, -$\widetilde{aī}_6$
nīd$_2$- **sleep** **F** -a_5
nīb- **neem tree,** ***Melia azadirachta*** **F** -a_4
nīr- **water** **F** -a_4, -ai_6
neṛ- **near** **F** -ai_{17}
nem- **niyama, prescribed deed** **F** -a_4
nes- **ruined, destroyed** **F** -a_5
neh- **affection, love; attachment** **F** -a_4, -a_8
naiṇ-/nãĩṇ-/nãĩn- **eye** **F** -a_6, -a_8, -$\tilde{ã}_8$
nau- **nine** **F** -0_{12}
nau mana sūta **nine threads of the mind**
nautam- **new; novice** **F** -a_4
naumī- **navamī, ninth day of bright or dark half of lunar month** **F** -0_8
nyãdyā- **backbiting, slander** **F** -0_4
nyãv- **justice** **F** -a_4
nyār- **aloof, apart** **F** -$ā_5$, -e_1
nrigun- **without attributes, devoid of qualities** **F** -a_4
nrijīv- **lifeless, inanimate** **F** -a_5
nrimal- **pure** **F** -a_4, -a_8
nrimolik- **priceless, precious** **F** -$ā_5$
nriṣ-/niraṣ- **to see, to behold** **F** -i_{10}
-nh- **perfective participle** [5.E.3] **P** kī-, dī-, lī- **F** -a_4, -$\tilde{ã}_4$, -$\tilde{ã}_5$, -$\tilde{ã}_7$, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -$\tilde{ī}_1$, -$ī_4$, -$\widetilde{aū}_1$
nha- **to bathe** **F** -v_3-
nhā- **to bathe** **F** -$ī_{10}$, -v_3-

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pãc- **five** F -a_{13}, -a_{14}
  pãca jan- **the five senses**
pãḍit-/pãḍīt- **scholar, pundit** F -a_4, -a_6
pãth- **(right) path** F -i_6
pãṣi-/pãṣī- **bird** F -0_7
pa- **to get, to obtain** F -i_3-, -$ī_3$-
  obl. sg. + na_1 + pa- **to be not allowed**
pak- **to be cooked** F -$ā_4$-
pakaṛ-/pakar- **to seize, to catch, to capture** F -0_2-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}
pac- **to exert oneself in vain, to become exhausted** F -i_{11}
  pac-+-i_{11} + $hār_2$- **to try hard and fail, to try in vain**
pacchim- **western** F -a_8
pachit- **remorse, regret** F -$ā_3$-
pachevar- **cover, veil** F -$ā_5$
pachaĩ **after, afterwards**
paṭ- **register, roll** F -ai_6
paṭãṇ- **city** F -a_4
paṭh(a)- **to send** F -0_2-
paṛ-/paḍ- **to fall;** *with adjective:* **to become** F -0_2-, -ai_{13}
paḍh- **to read, to recite; to learn, to study** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_3-, -i_{11}, -iy-, -$ãũ_4$
paḍhaṇasāl- **school** F -a_8
-paṇ-/-pan- **deriver of abstract nouns** [1.C.6] P -a_1-, -$ā_2$- F -a_4, -$ã_6$, -i_6
patãg- **moth, insect** F -a_4
patāl- **netherworld** F -a_8
pati$_1$- **to believe, to be assured, to be confident** F -īj- (> patīj-), -y_2-
pati$_2$- **husband** F -0_7
patit- **sinful** F -a_6
patiyār- **trust, confidence, assurance** F -$ā_5$
  patiyār-+-$ā_5$ le- **to test, to subject to an ordeal**
patī- **to believe, to trust, to rely on** F -n_2-
patr- **leaf** F -a_6, -a_8
pad$_1$- **state, status, grade, level, place, location** F -a_4, -a_8, -ahi_1
pad$_2$- **poem, song** F -a_8, -ahi_1
pad$_3$- **foot** F -a_6
padhār- **to come, to walk, to go** F -0_2-
-pan- ***see*** **-paṇ-**
pani **but** [8.A.1.2]
payãp- **to please, to delight, to gratify** F -0_2-
payã̃n- **departure, death** F -$ã̃_4$
par$_1$- **to fall** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_{10}, -ai_{13}

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par$_2$- **paramātman, brahma** **F** -a$_8$
par$_3$- **other** **F** -a$_8$
parãm- **highest, ultimate, supreme** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_5$, -a$_8$, -a$_9$
-para **on, upon** [4.B.4] **P** -ā$_{10}$
parakās- **to shine** **F** -0$_2$-
parac- **acquaintance, familiarity** **F** -au$_1$
parajar- **to burn, to be ablaze** **F** -ai$_{13}$
parajār- **to kindle, to ignite** **F** -0$_2$-
paradhãn- **headman** **F** -a$_4$
parabat- **mountain** **F** -a$_4$
paramal- **scent, fragrance** **F** -a$_4$
paravãn- **firm belief, conviction; proof** **F** -ã̃$_4$
parasād- **grace** **F** -ã$_2$
parasotam- **Supreme Being** **F** -a$_4$
parahar- **to abandon, to leave** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$
parãiṇ- **devoted to, adhering to** **F** -i$_4$
parā- **somebody else's** **F** -y$_2$-
pari$_1$ **above**
-pari$_2$ **on, upon** (transposed adverb) [4.B.4] **P** -e$_2$
pari$_3$ **but, however** [8.A.2]
pal- **moment, instant** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
palīt- **igniter, wick** **F** -ā$_5$
pavãn-/pavan- **air, wind; vital breath, prāṇa** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
pasār$_1$- **to spread out, to display** **F** -i$_{11}$
pasār$_2$- **occupation, business** **F** -au$_1$
pasāv- **favour, grace** **F** -a$_4$
pasu- **animal** **F** -v$_3$-
pasū- **animal** **F** -0$_3$
pah- **way** **F** -ā$_6$
pahajana **approximately, about**
pahar$_1$-/pahir- **to wear, to put on** **F** -ã̃$_3$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
pahar$_2$- **to guard, to watch over** **F** -0$_2$-
pahar$_3$- **guard, patrol** **F** -a$_1$-
paharav- **guard, watchman** **F** -ā$_6$
pahal- **beginning, first** **F** -ī$_6$, -ãĩ$_{10}$
pahicãn- **to recognize** **F** -0$_2$-
pahũn- **bridegroom, guest** **F** -ẽ$_1$
pahut-/pahũt- **to reach, to arrive** **F** -0$_2$-
pahup- **flower** **F** -a$_8$
pãu- **foot, leg** **F** -0$_9$

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pɑ̃c- **five** F -a_{13}
pɑ̃ḍe- **scholar, pundit** F -0_3
pɑ̃ṇĩ-/pɑ̃ṇī-/pɑ̃nī- **water** F -0_3, -0_7
pɑ̃nī-+-0_3 birol- **to engage in useless activity**
pɑ̃n- **betel-leaf** F -a_4
pɑ̃ṣ- **wing** F -$ɑ̃_7$
pɑ̃han- **stone** F -a_4
pā-/pɑ̃- **to get, to obtain, to attain** F -0_2-, -i_3-, -$ī_3$-, -$ī_{10}$, -ũ, -$ṹ_3$, -v_3-
pāiṛ- **stirrup** F -ai_6
pāī- **foot** F -0_7
pāk- **pure, clean** F -a_4
(-)pāchī **behind, after** [4.B.9]
pāchī par$_1$- **to pursue, to tease, to harass**
pāṭ$_1$- **writing slate, tablet** F -$ī_6$
pāṭ$_2$- **cloth, textile fabric** F -a_8
pāṭh- **recitation** F -a_4
pāṛ- **to rip, to tear** F -ai_{12}
pāt- **leaf** F -$ī_5$, -$ī_6$
pātāl- **netherworld** F -a_8
pātr- **leaf** F -e_2
pāthar- **stone** F -a_8
pāp- **sin** F -a_4, -a_8
pāpī- **sinner** F -0_5
pār- **opposite shore, other end** F -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_7$, -i_6
pāradhī- **hunter** F -0_3
pāli- **dam** F -0_4
pāv$_1$- **foot** F -a_4
pāv$_2$- **quarter, one fourth (of *ser*)** F -a_4
pāṣɑ̃ḍ- **pretence, sham; heretical teaching, heresy** F -a_4
pāṣar- **armour, protective overcover for horse** F -a_4
pās$_1$- **noose** F -a_4, -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
pās$_2$- **die, dice** F -$ā_5$
-pāsa **at, in** [4.B.3] P -0_8
pĩjar- **cage** F -$ā_5$
pĩḍ- **lump, clod; *fig.* body** F -a_4, -a_8
pĩḍ-+-a_4 par- **to die**
pĩḍ-+-a_8 par- **to chase, to go after**
pi- **to drink** F -$lā_2$-
pigulā-/pĩgulā-/pyɑ̃gulā- **piṅgalā, the right of the three nāḍīs** F -0_4, -0_8
pichɑ̃n- **to recognize, to find out** F -i_{10}, -i_{11}

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piyār- **dear, beloved** **F** -$ī_4$
piyāl- **cup** **F** -$ā_5$, -ai_6
piyās- **thirst** **F** -a_5
piresãnī- **distress, worry** **F** -0_8
piv- **dear, beloved one** **F** -ahi_1
pī- **to drink** **F** -0_2-, -v_3-
pīchāĩ **behind**
-pīchāĩ **after** (transposed adverb) [4.B.9] **P** -0_8
pīchāĩ lāg- **to chase, to follow closely**
$pīr_1$- **pain, anguish** **F** -a_4
$pīr_2$- **pīr, Muslim spiritual guide, Muslim saint** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -$ã_5$
pīv- **husband; dear, beloved one** **F** -a_4, -a_8
pũgar- **boy** **F** -$ā_5$
pũjī- **capital** (to invest) **F** -0_4
pũni- **merit** **F** -0_5
pukār- **to shout, to cry** **F** -i_{11}
puṛ- **cavity** **F** -a_6
$puni_1$- **merit** **F** -0_7
$puni_2$ [8.A.1] **again**
pur_1- **to fill, to be filled; to be fulfilled** **F** -a_3-
pur_2- **town** **F** -a_4
puravan- **fulfiller, completer** **F** -a_4
purãṇ-/purãn- **Purāṇa** **F** -a_6, -a_8, -$ã_5$
puriyā- **frame on which the warp is stretched before weaving** **F** -0_4
puriṣ-/purīṣ-/puris- **man; husband** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ã_8$
puvar- **spindle (of spinning wheel)** **F** -iyā-
puvã- **to brag, to boast** **F** -$hĩ_1$
pūg- **to be fulfilled** **F** -0_2-
pūch- **to ask** **F** -au_7
pūj- **to worship** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}, -au_7
pūjā- **worship** **F** -0_4, -0_8
pūjār- **pujārī, worshipping priest; worshipper** **F** -au_1
pūt- **son** **F** -a_4
$pūr_1$- **to fill; to fulfill, to accomplish** **F** -$ã_1$-, -i_{11}
$pūr_2$- **full, whole; fullness** **F** -$ā_5$, -au_1
pūrab- **previous; eastern** **F** -a_8
pūrãn- **worn out, ragged** **F** -$ã_4$
peṭ- **stomach, belly** **F** -a_4
peḍ- **stem, trunk** **F** -a_4, -a_8
peṣ- **to see, to notice, to sight** **F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}

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-pa͡ĩ$_1$ **at, on, upon, in front of** [4.B.3] **P** -a$_8$, -ā$_{10}$, -o$_4$-
-pa͡ĩ$_2$ **emphatic particle; but** [7.A.3; 8.A.1.2] **P** -au$_8$
pai$_1$- **foot, leg** **F** -0$_9$
-pai$_2$ **emphatic particle** [7.A.3; 8.A.1.2] **P** -au$_8$
paiṭh- **to enter** **F** -0$_2$-
paidā- **born, created** **F** -0$_5$
pais- **to enter, to penetrate** **F** -i$_{11}$
poṭ- **bundle** **F** -a$_9$
pot- **to moisten, to cool; to cleanse, to purify** **F** -a$_2$-
-pau- **deriver of abstract nouns** [1.C.6] **P** -a$_1$- **F** -0$_3$
pyãḍ- **body** **F** -a$_4$
pyār- **dear, beloved** **F** -e$_1$
prakās$_1$- **glare, glow, radiance** **F** -a$_4$
prakās$_2$- **to shine** **F** -ai$_{13}$
pragaṭ- **to rise, to emerge, to appear** **F** -0$_2$-
pratibĩb- **reflection, image, shadow** **F** -a$_4$, -ahi$_1$
pratīti- **trust, confidence** **F** -0$_4$
prabhū- **lord** **F** -0$_3$
pramãṇ- **testimony, proof** **F** -ī$_4$
pramiti- **measure, length** **F** -0$_4$
prasād- **grace, blessing** **F** -a$_8$, -i$_6$
prahār- **hill, mountain (?)** **F** -a$_6$
prahilād- **Prahlāda** **F** -a$_4$
prãṇ-/prãn- **breath of life, life** **F** -a$_4$
prãṇī- **man** **F** -0$_3$, -0$_5$
prīti- **love** **F** -0$_4$
prem- **love, devotion** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -i$_6$
phãd- **snare, noose, trap** **F** -ā$_8$
phal$_1$- **fruit, product, result** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$, -a$_8$
phal$_2$- **to bear fruit** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_2$-
phalis- **(outer) door; border of village** **F** -ā$_7$
phār- **to tear, to rend** **F** -i$_{11}$
phikari- **anxiety, worry** **F** -0$_4$
phir- **to walk around; to turn, to return** **F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ai$_{13}$, -a͡ĩ$_8$
phiri **then; again** (derived from absolutive)
phīk- **insipid, uninteresting** **F** -ī$_4$
phuni **again**
phunig-/phũnig- **snake** **F** -ā$_5$
phuramā- **to order, to enjoin** **F** -0$_2$-
phūk- **to light up, to kindle** **F** -0$_2$-

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phūṭ- **to crack, to burst, to be destroyed** F -0_2-
phūl$_1$- **flower, blossom** F -a_4, -a_6
phūl$_2$- **to flower, to blossom;** ***fig.*** **to put on airs, to strut about** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -ai_{13}-
pher- **to turn away, to ward off; to walk sb. around, to circulate** F -0_2-, -i_{11}
-b$_1$- **verbal substantive** [5.G.3] P -i_2- F -$ā_7$, -au_1
-b$_2$- **verbal adjective** [5.G.4] P -i_2- F -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -au_1
bãk- **strong, formidable; difficult of approach** F -$ā_5$
bãg- **prayer call** F -a_5
bãjhā- **barren (of a female)** F -0_4
bãd- **servant, slave** F -e_2, -e_1
bãdan- **respectful greeting, salutation** F -a_4
bãdi- **jail** F -0_8
bãdh$_1$- **kinsman, relative** F -a_4
bãdh$_2$- **to be tied, to be bound; to be built** F -$ā_4$-
bãdhan- **bond, bondage** F -a_4
bãdhu- **kinsman, relative** F -0_5
bãn- **forest** F -a_4, -aha_1
bãbaī- **ant-hill** F -0_4
bãhatar- **seventy two** F -a_{13}
-ba **adverb of time** [3.D.2.c] P i_1-
bak$_1$- **to babble, to prattle; to talk angrily** F -ahi_4, -i_2-, -i_{11}
bak$_2$- **babble, prattle** F -o_1
bakar- **goat** F -$ī_4$
bakas- **to forgive** F -ahu_2
bakul- **husk, peel, bark** F -$ā_5$
bacan- **word, talk** F -a_4
bachar- **calf,** ***fig.*** **sense organs** F -$ā_5$
bachal- **showing love, affectionate towards** F -a_4
baj- **to be played upon, to sound** F -$ā_4$-
bajahāī- **noisy dispute** F -0_4
baṭapār- **robber, highwayman** F -ani_1
baḍ- **great, big** F -a_4, -a_6, -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$, -e_1, -ai_6
baṛ- **cake made from crushed pulses of urad (*Dolichos pilosus*)** F -e_1
baḍh- **to grow, to increase** F -ai_{13}
batā- **to tell** F -0_2-, -i_{10}, -v_3-
badh$_1$- **to be jointed, to be fastened** F -ai_{13}
badh$_2$- **to kill, to slaughter** F -a_2-
badh$_3$- **to grow, to increase** F -ai_{13}
ban$_1$- **to be made. to be formed, to become** F -i_{11}

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ban-+-i_{11} + $ā_1$- **to come - of proper time or right occasion (for:** -0_2-+-$\tilde{e}_2$)
ban-+-i_{11} + nah$\tilde{ĩ}$ + $ā_1$- **to be of no use, to be pointless (to do sthg:** -0_2-+-y_2-+-$\tilde{ã}_7$)
ban_2- **forest,** ***fig.*** **antaḥkaraṇa, the inner self, soul F** -a_4, -a_8
banarāi- **big tree F** -0_4
banaṣãḍ- **forest F** -i_6
banij- **to do business, to trade F** -a_2-
bap- **body F** -a_4
bapur- **poor, helpless F** -$ī_4$
bamek- **intelligence, wisdom F** -$ī_2$-
bar- **to burn, to be on fire F** -0_2-
barãṇ- **to describe F** -$a\tilde{u}_4$
baraj- **to turn away F** -i_{11}
$baras_1$- **to rain F** -0_2-, -ai_{13}
$baras_2$- **year F** -a_6
bariyātī- **member of a marriage party F** -0_5
-barai **for, in exchange of** [4.B.17] **P** -$ī_7$
balāi- **hardship, calamity F** -0_4
bali- **strong F** -0_3
balihār- **sacrifice, self-sacrifice F** -$ī_4$
balīḍ-/balĩḍ- **beam, rafter F** -$ā_5$, -ai_6
balīt- **igniter, wick; fuel (?) F** -$ā_5$
baṣãṇ- **to expound, to explain F** -ai_{13}, -$a\tilde{ī}_8$
bas_1- **strength, power F** -i_6
bas_2- **to dwell F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -ai_{13}, -t_3-
baser- **night-shelter; (bird′s) perch F** -$ā_5$
bast- **thing F** -a_5, -a_9
bastar- **clothes F** -a_6
bah- **to flow, to run F** -i_{11}, -ai_{13}
bahu- **numerous, many F** -0_3, -0_5, -0_6, -0_7, -0_{10}, -0_9
bahut- **numerous, many F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_9
bahuri **again; afterwards**
bahuriyā- **newlywed wife F** -0_4
bahurūp- [**person**] **who takes on many forms or roles F** -a_4
bahū- **daughter-in-law F** -0_4
bãc- **to save F** -0_2-
bãch- **to desire, to long F** -i_3-
bãjh- **barren woman F** -a_5, -a_9
bãṇ- **arrow F** -a_4, -a_6
bãdh- **to bind together, to tie, to fix , to build F** -0_2-, -i_{11}, -au_7

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bãn- **fabric, textile, cloth** F -a_4
bãnãrasī- **Vārāṇasī** F -0_8
bãni- **character, nature; habit** F -0_4
bãnī-/bãṇī- **speech, word, advice** F -0_4, -0_8
bãbi- **snake´s hole** F -0_8
bãbhaṇ-/bãbhan- **brāhmaṇa** F -a_4, -a_6
bãv- **left** F -$ai̯_{10}$
bāg- **to sound, to resound, to ring** F -0_2-
bāch- **calf** F -$ā_7$, -$ī_4$
bāj$_1$- **to resound** F -a_2-, -$ai̯_8$
bāj$_2$- **musical instrument** F -$ā_5$
-bāja **without** [4.B.16]
bājīgar- **juggler, magician, trickster** F -a_4, -a_8
bāṛ- **fence, garden; deer park, enclosure;** ***fig.*** **human body** F -i_4, -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
bāt- **talk** F -a_7, -ani_2
bād- **argument** F -a_4
bādī **in vain, to no good purpose**
bāp- **father** F -a_4, -a_8
bāb- **father** F -$ā_5$, -ai_6
bār$_1$- **child, boy** F -a_4
bār$_2$- **enclosure** F -$ā_5$
bār$_3$- **time, turn, delay** F -a_5
bār$_4$- **twelve** F -a_{13}
bār$_5$- **to burn, to set on fire** F -i_{10}
bārãbārā **again and again, repeatedly**
-bāra **(in multiplication) times** [4.B.20] P -0_{12}, -a_{14}
  bāra bāra **again and again, repeatedly**
bārah- **twelve;** ***fig.*** **lotus with twelve petals, anāhata cakra** F -a_{13}
bāl- **child, boy** F -a_1-, -a_6, -$ā_2$-
bālik- **son, boy** F -a_4
bālū- **sand** F -0_7
bāval- **mad, insane** F -iy-
bās$_1$- **dwelling, abode** F -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$
bās$_2$- **smell** F -a_5, -a_9
bāsanã- **craving, longing** F -0_4
bāhari **away, out, outside**
bĩd- **male drop, semen; Śiva** F -a_4, -a_8, -ahi_1
bikaṭ- **sharp, pungent, strong** F -a_5
bikār- **fault, defect; decline, decay** F -a_4, -a_6, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -e_2
bigar- **to go mad** F -0_2-

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bigarã̃- **to melt, to fuse** F -n_2-
bigas-/vigas- **to bloom, to thrive** F -ai_{13}
bigir- **to go mad** F -ai_{13}
bigūcani- **impediment, hindrance, obstacle** F -0_4
bigūt- **to be seized, to be caught, to be in trouble** F -0_2-
bicār$_1$- **to think, to contemplate, to understand** F -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -$ī_{13}$, -ai_{13}
bicār$_2$- **thought, idea** F -a_4, -$ā_5$, -i_6,
bicār$_3$- **poor, helpless** F -$ī_4$
bicārī- **attentive, observant, perceptive** F -0_3
biciṣin-/bicaṣin- **clever, wise** F -a_5
bichur- **to be separated, to fall away** F -0_2-
bitaṛ- **to divide, to distribute** F -i_{11}
bidār- **to tear, to rend** F -i_{11}
bidyā- **learning** F -0_4
bidhavā- **widow** F -0_4
bidhi- **manner, way; rule, injunction, precept** F -0_4, -0_8, -0_{10}
bin-/binav- **to request** F -$a\tilde{u}_4$
-bina/-binā **without** [4.B.15] P -0_7, -0_8, -0_9, -a_8, -a_9, -ahi_1, -$ã̃_7$
binas- **to perish** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_9-, -i_{11}, -$a\tilde{i}_7$, -ai_{13}
binās$_1$- **to destroy** F -$a\tilde{i}_8$
binās$_2$- **destruction, ruin** F -$ā_5$
bipati- **calamity, hardship** F -0_4
bibarajit- **free from, exempt from** F -a_4
bibād- **dispute, quarrel** F -$ã_2$
bibhūti- **sacred ash** F -0_4
biyā- **to give birth to (of animals)** F -i_9
biratha **in vain**
biral- **rare, one or two, hardly anybody** F -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -e_1, -ai_6
biraṣ- **tree** F -i_6
birājit- **splendid, eminent** F -a_6
birol- **to churn** F -ai_{12}
bilãb- **to hover, to stay, to dwell** F -0_2-, -i_2-
bilag- **to separate** F -i_{11}, -$āī$-
bilã̃- **to disappear; to be absorbed, to merge** F -n_2-
bilās- **pleasure, lust** F -a_4
bilaiyā-/bilaīyā- **cat** F -0_4
bilo-/bīlo- **to churn** F -i_{10}, -i_{11}
bivog- **separation** F -a_8
biṣ- **poison** F -a_4
biṣay-/biṣiy- **object of sense-perception** F -$ā_7$

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biṣai- **sensual pleasure** **F** -0_7
bisamala- **ritual slaughter in the name of God** **F** -0_3
bisar- **to be forgotten** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}
bisahar- **poisonous snake** **F** -a_8
bisn- **Viṣṇu** **F** -a_4
bisrãm- **rest, repose** **F** -a_4
bihũṇ- **without, lacking, devoid of** **F** -$ã_4$
bīk- **to be sold** **F** -0_2-
bīc- **difference** **F** -a_4
bīj- **seed** **F** -a_8
bījh- **Vindhya mountain range; jungle** **F** -a_8
bīdh- **to be entrapped, to be ensnared** **F** -0_2-
bīlo- **to churn** **F** -i_{10}, -v_3-
bīlo- + -v_3- + -a_2- + -n_1- **butter** **F** -au_1
bīs- **twenty** **F** -a_{14}
bũd- **drop; semen** **F** -a_5
bujh- **to be extinguished, to cool down** **F** -$ã_3$-
buṇ-/bũṇ- **to weave** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}
budhi- **perception, discernment** **F** -0_4
bun- **to weave, to intertwine** **F** -a_2-, -$ã_3$-
bulā- **to call** **F** -v_3-
būjh$_1$- **to understand, to solve** **F** -ai_{13}, -au_7
būjh$_2$- **to ask** **F** -0_2-, -ai_{12}
būḍ- **to sink, to be drowned; to be lost** **F** -0_2-, -a_2-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}, -$ãĩ_8$
būḍh- **old** **F** -a_4
bṛṣ- **tree** **F** -$ā_5$
beakali- **lacking understanding, foolish** **F** -0_5
bekãm- **useless** **F** -a_4
beg- **speed** **F** -i_{12}
begãnã- **alien** **F** -0_3
beṭhi- **livelihood** **F** -0_4
beḍh- **small garden** **F** -au_1
bed-/ved- **Veda** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
bedī- **altar, sacrificial ground** **F** -0_4
bedh- **to pierce** **F** -0_2-
ben- **flute, pipe** **F** -a_4
-bera -**time(s)** [4.B.20] **P** -$ī_6$
bel- **creeper; bael, wood-apple** ***Aegle marmelos*** **F** -a_1-, -i_4, -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
baĩkũṭh-/baikũṭh-/baikuṇṭh- **paradise** **F** -a_4, -a_8
baĩn- **word** **F** -a_6

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baiṭh- **to sit, to sit down** F -0_2-
bairāg- **detachment from worldly affairs** F -a_4, -a_8
bairāgī- **detached from worldly affairs, devoid of passions** F -0_3
bairī- **enemy** F -0_3, -0_5
bail- **ox** F -a_4, -a_6
bais-/baiṭh- **to sit, to sit down** F -0_2-, -i_{11}
bor- **to plunge, to throw** F -0_2-
bol- **to speak, to say** P aṇa- F -0_2-, -a_2-, -$a\tilde{i}_8$, -ai_{12}, -ai_{13}, -au_7
bohith- **ship** F -a_8
baur- **mad; silly** F -$ā_3$-, -$ā_5$, -$\tilde{ā}_2$-, -$ī_4$, -e_4
bauhar- **creditor, lender** F -ai_6
byãb- **reflection** F -a_4
byā- **to drown, to sink; to destroy** F -v_3-
byākuraṇ- **grammar** F -$\tilde{a}_4$
byākul- **agitated, restless** F -a_4
byāp-/vyāp- **to pervade, to extend to, to encompass, to engulf** F -ai_{13}
byāpār- **business, trade** F -i_6
byās- **Vyāsa** F -a_4
byāh- **to marry** F -i_{11}
brahm-/vrahm- **brahma** F -a_8, -$ā_5$
bhãjan- **destroyer** F -$\tilde{a}_4$
bha- **to be, to become** [5.A.2.j] F -0_2-
bhagat- **devotee, bhakta** F -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$
  bhagat-+-a_8 bachal- **loving/affectionate toward bhakta(s)**
bhagati- **devotion, bhakti; worship, outward signs of veneration** F -0_4, -0_8
bhagavãt- **God** F -a_8
bhagavãn- **God** F -a_4, -a_8, -$\tilde{a}_6$
bhachin- **food** F -a_4
bhaj$_1$- **to worship** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -ahu_3, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -is_2-, -ai_{13}
bhaj$_2$- **to run away, to flee** F -ai_{13}
bhatār- **husband** F -a_4
bhar- **to be full, to be filled, to be saturated; to fill** F -0_2-, -i_2-, -i_3-, -i_{11}, -$a\tilde{u}_4$
bharãm- **delusion** F -a_4, -a_8
bharapūr- **all-pervading, omnipresent; full** F -$ā_5$, -i_{12}
bhari **only, just** (transposed absolutive)
bhal- **good** F -a_4, -$āī$-, -$a\tilde{i}_{10}$, -au_1
bhav- **existence, world, saṃsāra** F -a_8
bhavan- **world, house;** ***fig.*** **koṣa within the body** F -a_{10}
bhavar- **bumble-bee, blackbee** F -$ā_5$
bhaṣ- **to eat, to devour** F -a_2-

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bhasam- **ashes** F -a_4, -a_8
bhasm- **ashes** F -a_4
bhā̃ḍ- **vessel, jar, utensil, pot** F -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -ai_6
bhā̃ṇ- **sun** F -a_8
bhā̃ti- **kind, sort, manner** F -0_8
bhā̃var- **circumambulation of matrimonial fire** F -0_4
bhā- **to be liked, to be pleasing; to appear, to seem** F -v_3-
bhāī-/bhā̃ī- **brother; fellow** F -0_3, -0_5
bhāg$_1$- [**good**] **fortune, fate** F -a_4
bhāg$_2$- **to run away** F -0_2-, -$ī_{13}$
bhāj- **to run away** F -i_{11}
bhāṭhī- **oven (in distillery)** F -0_4, -0_8
bhār- **burden; load, fill, charge** F -a_4, -$ā_5$
bhārī- **huge; hard, strong; grave** F -0_3, -0_4
bhāv$_1$- **existence, essence** F -a_4, -a_8
bhāv$_2$- **love, affection** F -a_4, -a_8
bhāvari- **circumambulation of matrimonial fire** F -0_4
bhāvai **either, whether (- or); at will, as you please** (transposed indicative pres. used modally) [8.A.3]
bhāṣ- **to proclaim** F -ai_{13}
bhir- **to clash** F -ai_{13}
bhisti- **heaven** F -0_4, -0_8
bhī **also; yet, still, all the same**
bhīj- **to get wet, to get drenched** F -ai_{13}
bhītari$_1$ **in, within, inside**
-bhītari$_2$ **in, within, inside** (transposed adverb) [4.B.5] P -a_8
bhīn-/bhī̃n- **to be soaked, to be drenched** F -0_2-
bhīr- **fearful** F -a_9
bhīl- **Bhīl; hunter** F -a_4
bhui- **earth** F -0_8
bhujā- **arm, hand** F -0_6
bhul- **to forget, to err** F -$ā̃_3$-
bhuvar- **blackbee** F -$ā_5$
bhūpati- **king, monarch** F -0_5
bhūl- **to forget; to err, to be mistaken** F -0_2-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}
bheṭ- **to meet** F -i_3-
bheḍ- **sheep** F -a_5
bhed- [**making**] **difference, discrimination; mystery, secret** F -a_4
bher- **raft** F -$ā_5$
bhev- **hole; secret** F -a_4

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bheṣ- **appearance, guise** **F** -a_4, -a_6
bhais-/bhaĩs- **buffalo** **F** -$ā_5$
bhog- **enjoyment, pleasure** **F** -a_4
bhoyan- **world, saṃsāra** **F** -a_4
bhor- **simple, simple-minded** **F** -$ā_5$,-$ā_6$
bhol- **simple, simple-minded** **F** -$ī_4$
bhaũk- **to bark** **F** -a_2-
bhau- **world, saṃsāra** **F** -0_3, -0_7
bhau-+-0_7 hārī- **deliverer from the cycle of rebirths, destroyer of saṃsāra**
bhram$_1$-/bhrãm$_1$- **to wander about, to go the wrong way, to err** **F** -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_{11}
bhram$_2$-/bhrãm$_2$- **error, delusion** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
m- **pronoun of the 1st pers. sg.** [**3**.A.2, 3; **3**.B.1] **F** -er-, -$aĩ_3$, -$aĩ_5$, -ai_8, -o_4-, -or-
mãgal- **auspicious song** **F** -a_4
mãgalacār- **auspicious song** **F** -a_4
mãj- **to bathe, to cleanse, to polish** **F** -a_2-, -i_2-
mãjhā$_1$ **inside, within**
-mãjhā$_2$ **in, within** (transposed adverb) [**4**.B.6] **P** -a_8
-mãjhi **on, in** [**4**.B.6] **P** -$ī_6$
mãṭiyā- **clay** **F** -0_4
mãḍap- **canopy** **F** -a_4
mãḍal- **cakra; circle** **F** -a_8
mãt- **mantra** **F** -a_6
mãd- **dull** **F** -$ā_5$
mãdir- **temple; house** **F** -a_4, -a_8
-mãdhye **in, within** (transposed substantive) [**4**.B.6] **P** -a_8
mãn- **mind** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -ahĩ$_1$
mãniṣ- **man, human being** **F** -a_8
makar- **spider** **F** -$ī_6$
magan- **engrossed, rapt** **F** -a_4, -a_5
magahar- **the village of Magahar** **F** -a_4, -i_6
machar- **jealousy, envy** **F** -a_4
machalī- **fish** **F** -0_4
majan- **bathing** **F** -i_6
-majhāri **in, within** [**4**.B.6] **P** -$ā_7$
-majhai **in, within** [**4**.B.6] **P** -a_{14}
maṭak- **churning jar** **F** -$ī_4$, -$ī_6$
maṭh- **residence, abode, dwelling** **F** -a_4

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mati- **opinion; notion,** [**true**] **idea; mind** **F** -0_4, -0_8
mativāl- **intoxicated** **F** -$ā_5$
mad- **wine, liquor; pride, conceit** **F** -a_4, -i_6
madan$_1$- **love, passion** **F** -a_8
madan$_2$- **wax** **F** -a_8
madal- **drum** **F** -a_6, -$ā_5$, -iy-, -au_1
man- **mind, heart** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -ahi$_1$, -ahi$̃_1$, -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$, -i_6
man-+-a_4 mā$̃$n$_1$-/mān- **to be enamoured, to be in love; to be content (with: abs.)** **F** -0_2-, -a$͡i_6$, -ai$_{13}$
manasā bācā karamanā **in thought, speech and deed**
maniṣ- **man, human being** **F** -$ā_7$, -ā$̃_6$
manī$̃$- **gem, jewel** **F** -0_4
mamitā- **self-interest, egoism** **F** -0_4, -0_8
mar- **to die** **F** -ã$_1$-, -a_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_2-, -ũ$_3$, -a$͡i_7$, -a$͡i_8$, -ai$_{13}$
marāṇ-/maran- **death** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -ā$̃_4$
marad$_1$-/mrad- **to rub, to massage; to crush** **F** -a_2-, -ai$_{13}$
marad$_2$- **man** **F** -ā$̃_5$
maram-/marām- **essence** **F** -a_4
marahaṭh-/maṛahaṭ- **cremation ground** **F** -a_8
mal- **dirt, filth; excrement, faeces** **F** -a_4
malan- **unclean, dirty** **F** -ā$̃_4$
masakī$̃$n-/masakīn- **poor, wretched, humble** **F** -a_4, -a_6
masatī- **mosque** **F** -0_8
masi- **fault, blot** **F** -0_4
masīti- **mosque** **F** -0_8
mastak- **head** **F** -i_6
mah-/māh- **month** **F** -a_4
mahatārī- **mother** **F** -0_4
mahāpuriṣ- **mahāpuruṣa, Great Lord** **F** -a_8
mahāras- **amṛta, nectar; seed, sperm** **F** -a_4
mahāvat- **elephant driver** **F** -a_4
-mahi **in, among** [**4**.B.6] **P** -a_8, -$ā_{10}$
mahitārī- **mother** **F** -0_4
mahūv- **tree** ***Madhuca longifolia*** **and its flowers used for preparing liquor** **F** -$ā_5$
maherī- **wife** **F** -0_4
-mā$̃$ **in, within** [**4**.B.6] **P** -0_8, -a_8
-mājha **in** [**4**.B.6] **P** -0_7
mā$̃$n$_1$-/mān- **to to think, to contemplate; to agree, to be in harmony; to believe, to venerate; to admit, to concede** **F** -0_2-, -i_{10}, -a$͡i_6$, -ai$_{13}$

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mã̃n$_2$- **respect, prestige; pride** **F** -a$_4$
mã̃s- **meat** **F** -a$_4$
-mã̃hi/-mã̃hĩ/-mã̃hī **in, into, within; from within** [4.B.6] **P** -0$_8$, -a$_8$, -hĩ$_2$
māi-/māī- **mother** **F** -0$_4$
māg- **to ask [for dakṣiṇā etc.], to request** **F** -0$_2$-
māṭī- **clay** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$
māt- **to get intoxicated** **F** -0$_2$-
mātā- **mother** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$
māth- **forehead** **F** -ai$_6$
mādhau- **Mādhava, God** **F** -0$_3$
mān- ***see*** mã̃n$_1$-
mānũ **like, as if** (transposed imperative)
māp- **to measure** **F** -0$_2$-
māyā- **māyā, illusion; objects of sensual perception; wealth** **F** -0$_4$, -0$_8$
mār- **to strike, to beat, to kill**; ***fig.*** **to do sthg wrong or useless** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$, -ī$_{13}$, -ũ̃$_3$, -ai$_{12}$, -ai$_{13}$
mār-+-i$_{11}$ ḍār- **to kill**
mārag- [**right**] **path; path, way** **F** -a$_4$, -i$_6$
māl- **garland** **F** -a$_5$
mālaṇi- **gardener, flower-seller** **F** -0$_4$
mālanī- **gardener, flower-seller** **F** -0$_4$
mālā- **garland of flowers** **F** -0$_4$
māṣ- **fly; bee** **F** -ī$_4$
más- **month** **F** -a$_6$, -a$_{10}$
māhā- **māyā** (?) **F** -0$_4$
-māhĩ̃/māhi **in, within** [4.B.6] **P** -a$_8$, -a$_{14}$
miṭ- **to vanish, to disappear** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
minak- **cat** **F** -ī$_6$
mirag- **deer** **P** -a$_4$
mil- **to occur, to meet, to join, to come together** **F** -0$_2$-, -ã$_1$-, -a$_2$-, -ā$_4$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{11}$, -a͠ī$_8$, -ai$_{13}$
mili **together, jointly** (derived from absolutive)
mihari- **kindness, favour** **F** -0$_4$
mĩ̃ḍak- **frog** **F** -a$_4$
mĩ̃t- **companion, friend** **F** -ā$_6$
mĩ̃yã̃- **miyã̃, address of elderly Muslim man** **F** -0$_3$
mīṭī-/māṭī- **body** **F** -0$_4$
mīṭh- **sweet** **F** -au$_1$
mīt- **companion, associate** **F** -a$_6$
mīn-/mĩ̃n- **fish** **F** -a$_8$, -ā$_5$, -ã̃$_4$

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mīr- **Muslim nobleman** F -ã̃$_5$
mũkti- **salvation, deliverance** F -0$_4$
mũḍ- **head** F -a$_4$
mu-/mũ̆-/mū- **to die** F -0$_2$-
mukãd- **Mukunda, Viṣṇu** F -ā$_5$
mukã̃m- **halting place** F -ã̃$_4$
mukti- **salvation, deliverance** F -0$_4$
mugadh- **silly, deluded; fool** F -a$_4$
mugdh- **silly; deluded, infatuated** F -a$_4$
muc- **to loose, to discharge** F -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
muḍ- **to be shaven** F -ā$_4$-
mutr- **urine** F -a$_4$
mudrā- **earrings (worn by nāthapanthī yogīs)** F -0$_6$
muni- **hermit, sage** F -0$_7$, -jan-
muniyar- **the best of ascetics** F -a$_6$
murag$_1$- **hen** F -ai$_6$
murag$_2$- **Marka, name of a demon** F -ã̃$_7$
murati- **idol, icon** F -a$_8$
murasid- **murshid, Muslim spiritual preceptor;** ***iron.*** **knowing fellow, knave** F -a$_4$
murārī- **Kṛṣṇa** F -0$_3$
murīd- **follower, disciple, candidate for admission into a religious order** F -ã̃$_5$
mulak- **country** F -a$_4$
mulanā-/mulanã̃- **maulāna, Muslim scholar** F -0$_3$, -0$_7$
mulã̃- **mullāh** F -0$_3$, -0$_5$
muṣ-/mũṣ- **mouth, face** F -a$_4$, -ã̃$_7$, -i$_6$, -ya$_1$
muṣṭi- **silent, quiet** F -0$_3$
mus- **to steal** F -i$_{11}$, -e$_{10}$
musalamã̃n- **Muslim** F -a$_4$, -ā$_5$
muhur- **bit of bridle** F -ā$_5$
mũṭhī-/mūṭhī- **fist** F -0$_4$
mũḍ- **head** F -a$_8$
mũḍit- **shaved, shaven-headed** F -a$_4$, -a$_6$
mũd- **to seal, to shut, to close** F -0$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
mū-/mũ̆-/mu- **to die** F -0$_2$-
mūḍh- **silly, stupid** F -a$_4$
mūd- **to seal, to shut, to close** F -0$_2$-
mūni- **hermit, sage, ascetic (who has taken the vow of silence)** F -0$_3$, -0$_5$
mūrati- **idol, icon; form, shape** F -0$_4$, -0$_6$, -0$_8$

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mūriṣ- **ignorant, stupid** **F** -a_4, -a_8
mūl- [**medicinal**] **root of a plant; principal (capital); mūlādhāra cakra** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -$ī_4$
mūs- **mouse** **F** -$ā_5$, -ai_6
meṭ- **to remove, to abolish** **F** -i_{10}
melh- **to throw, to shoot** **F** -0_2-, -$ī_{13}$, -ai_{13}
-mā̃ī/-mai **in, within, on** [4.B.6] **P** -0_7, -0_8, -a_8, -ani_1, -$ā_{10}$, -ina, -$ī_6$, -na_2, -hu_3, -$hũ_1$
mā̃īmāt- **intoxicated, full of passion** **F** -$ī_4$
mairī- **shrine; cottage, hut** **F** -0_4
mail- **dirt; dirty, unclean** **F** -a_4; -$ā_5$
maivās- **fort, stronghold** **F** -$ī_2$-
moṭ- **rough, stout, strong; big, important** **F** -$ā_5$
moh_1- **to charm, to enchant** **F** -i_{11}
moh_2- **delusion** **F** -a_4, -a_8
-mā̃uhi **in, within** **P** -0_8
maurī- **snaffle (?)** **F** -0_4
mrigh- **deer** **F** -a_4
y_1- **near demonstrative** [3.D.1.a, b] **F** -aha_2, -ahu_1, -$ā_9$, -$ā_{10}$, -au_3
-y_2- **inserted consonant** [5.J.3] **P** -0_2-, -i_3-, -$ī_3$-, -$ī_{19}$-, k_1-, kāji-, $pati_1$-, parā-, ṣusi- **F** -$ã̃_3$-, -$ã̃_4$, -$ã̃_5$, -$ã̃_7$, -$ā_4$-, -$ā_5$, -$ā_6$, -$ā_7$, -$ā_9$, -$ā_{13}$, -$ẽ_2$, -$ẽ_1$/-e_1, -$ẽ_3$, -e_1, -e_3, -e_{11}, -$ā̃ī_2$, -$ā̃ī_9$, -ai_{15}, -o_1, -au_1, -au_5, -au_6
-ya_1 **loc./instr./erg. sg. m.** [1.A.2.k] **P** kabīr-, muṣ-
-ya_2- **connecting semivowel** [5.J.2] **P** cīnh- **F** -0_2-, -s_3-
-yanã **erg. sg. of pronouns** [3.H.1.k] **P** k_1-
-yã̃ha **obl. pl. of pronouns** [3.G.1.e] **P** j_1-
-yũ **adverb of manner** [3.D.2.f] **P** 0_1- **F** -$hĩ̃_2$
0_1- + -yũ + -$hĩ̃_2$ **to no purpose, in vain**
-$yũ̃_1$ **adverb of manner** [3.D.2.f; 3.F.2.e; 3.G.2.e; 3.H.2.e] **P** 0_1-, k_1-, j_1-, t_2-
-$yũ̃_2$ **conjunction** [8.B.4, 5] **P** j_1-
-yau **adverb of manner** [3.G.2.e] **P** j_1-
-r- **pleonastic and/or diminutive** [1.C.11] **P** lahu- **F** -iyā-
rãg$_1$- **way, manner, kind** **F** -ai_6
rãg$_2$- **love, attachment, devotion; exultation, exhilariation** **F** -i_6
rãj- **to please** **F** -ai_{13}
rãm-/ram- **to rejoice, to be addicted, to be engrossed, to become immersed, to enjoy** **F** -ahu_3, -i_{11}, -$ā̃ī_6$, -ai_{13}, -$ā̃ũ_4$
(-)ra **pleonastic particle** **P** -a_8, jau-/jo-
raghunāth- **Rām** **F** -a_4
raghupati-/raghapati- **Rām** **F** -0_3

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rac$_1$- **to create F** -a$_2$-, -i$_{11}$
rac$_2$- **to be attached, to be fond F** -0$_2$-
raci **skilfully, with fixed attention** (derived from absolutive)
raj- **rajas, one of the three guṇas F** -a$_8$
rat- **red; attached, impassioned, in love F** -a$_4$
ratan- **jewel, gem F** -a$_4$
rabāb- **rebeck F** -ī$_2$-
ram- ***see*** rām-
ramadā̃nā̃- **month of Ramadān F** -0$_3$
rav-/arav- **to call F** -0$_2$-
ravanā̃- **woman F** -0$_6$
raṣ- **protecting, protection F** -a$_1$-
ras- **juice, nectar F** -a$_4$, -a$_6$, -a$_8$, -i$_6$
rasan- **tongue F** -a$_5$
rasanā- **tongue F** -0$_8$
rasāĩṇ-/rasā̃in- **nectar, elixir F** -a$_4$
rah- **to remain, to stay, to persist; to exist, to live F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -ā$_4$-, -i$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{11}$, -u$_6$, -ū̃$_3$, -e$_{10}$, -ai̯$_7$, -ai̯$_8$,, -ai$_{13}$ -au̯$_4$
rahā̃ṭ- **wheel** (part of spinning wheel) **F** -ā$_5$, -au$_1$
rahaṭav- **spinning wheel F** -ā$_5$
-rahit- **without, free from** [4.A.5] **P** -0$_8$, -ã$_3$, -a$_8$ **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
rahimā̃n- **the Merciful, Allāh F** -a$_4$, -ā̃$_4$
rā̃k- **poor, indigent F** -a$_4$
rā̃ṇī- **queen F** -0$_4$
rā̃m-/rām- **Rām, God F** -ã$_3$, -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -ahi$_1$, -ā$_5$
rā̃madev- **God Rām F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
rāi- **king F** -0$_7$
rāj- **command, control, rule F** -a$_4$
rājapāṭ- **royal power and its paraphernalia F** -a$_4$
rājas- **rājasa, relating to the quality of rajas, passionate F** -a$_4$
rājā- **king F** -0$_3$, -0$_5$
rāt- **to be attracted F** -0$_2$-
rātī- **night F** -0$_4$
rāl- **to throw down, to heave down F** -0$_2$-
rāval- **king;** ***fig.*** **soul F** -a$_4$
rāṣ- **to hold, to keep; to protect F** -0$_2$-, -a$_2$-, -i$_3$-, -i$_{10}$, -i$_{11}$, -il-, -ai$_{13}$, -au$_7$
rid- **heart F** -ā$_7$, -ai$_6$
ris- **anger F** -ā$_3$-
rī **vocative particle**
ru **and** [8.A.1]

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rudr- **Rudra, Śiva** F -a_4
rūp- **appearance, form; beauty** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
re **vocative particle**
reṣ- **line, outline, contour** F -a_5
reṣā- **line, outline, contour** F -0_4
ro- **to weep** F -0_2-, -i_3-, -i_{10}, -v_3-
rok- **to block, to obstruct** F -0_2-, -i_{11}
rog- **illness** F -a_4, -iy-
rojā- **fast in the month of Ramadan** F -0_3
l- **to take (*see also* lai$_1$-)** F -e_{10}, -ai_{16}, -aihi
lãgh- **to cross over, to jump over** F -au_5
lag- **to be attached, to be put; to arise, to come into existence** F -0_2-, -$ā_4$-
-laga/-lagī **to, upto; till, until** [4.B.7] P -0_8, -aba, -a_8, -$ā_7$
lagan- **auspicious moment; investment; attachment, love** F -a_4, -iy-
lagm̃ām- **reins, bridle** F -a_4
laghamāt- **feeble-minded, stupid (?)** F -a_4
lapaṭ- **to become entangled, to become engulfed** F -i_{11}, -$ā_4$-
lar- **to fight** F -a_2-, -ai_{13}
larik- **son, boy** F -$ā_5$
laṣ$_1$- **to see, to look** F -$ā_4$-
laṣ$_2$- **lākh, a hundred thousand** F -a_{14}
lasakar- **camp** F -a_4
lah- **to get, to acquire, to obtain** F -i_3-, -ai_{13}
lahu- **little, small** F -r-
lā$_1$- **to apply, to put, to set** F -0_2-, -i_3-, -i_{11}, -v_3-
-lā$_2$- **deriver of causatives** [5.H.] P pi- F -0_2-
lāg- **to be attached, to cling, to stick, to land; to begin** P -a_8, -$ā_7$, -ai_6 F -0_2-, -i_{11}, -ai_{13}
-lāgi **for, for the sake of** (transposed absolutive) [4.B.8] P -0_8, -i_6
lāj- **shame** F -a_5
lāḍū- **laḍḍū, little sweet balls presented as offering to deity** F -0_3
lāpasī- **lapasī, thick paste presented as offering to deity** F -0_4
lārā **behind, after**
lāl- **dear** F -a_4
lāvaṇ- **salty** F -a_5
lāṣ- **lākh, a hundred thousand** F -a_{13}
lāh- **gain, benefit** F -a_4, -$ā_5$
lāhaṇi- **yeast** F -0_3
li- **verbal operator: the action tends to the subject** [5.F.1.g] F -0_2-, -īj- (> līj-)

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liṣ- **to write, to record, to enter** **F** -0_2-, -$ā_4$-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}
lī- **to take; verbal operator: the action tends to the subject** [5.F.1.g] **F** -0_2-, -nh-
līn- **absorbed, engrossed** **F** -$ã_4$
luk- **to be concealed; to be covered up (through dissimulation)** **F** -0_2-, -$ā_4$-
luṇ- **to harvest** **F** -0_2-
lŭcit- **Jaina ascetic (who pulls out his hair by way of self-mortification)** **F** -a_4
lūk- **to vanish, to be dissolved (?)** **F** -ai_{13}
lūṭ- **to rob, to loot** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}, -$a͡i_8$, -ai_{16}
le- **to take; verbal operator: the action tends to the subject** [5.F.1.g] **F** -0_{14}, -0_{15}, -i_{10}, -h_2-, -hu_2, -hu_3
lep- **to smear** **F** -a_2-
leṣ- **account** **F** -$ā_5$
lai$_1$- **to take; verbal operator: the action tends to the subject (*see also* l-)** [5.F.1.g] **F** -hu_3
lai$_2$- **merging, fusion** **F** -0_4
loī-/loi- **people** **F** -0_5
lok- **people** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -$ā_6$
log- **people** **F** -a_6, -ani_1, -$ā_6$
loc- **to desire, to pine for** **F** -$a͡i_8$ (-ai_{14})
lobh- **greed** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
loh- **iron** **F** -$ā_5$
-la͡u **to, upto** [4.B.7] **P** -ahã
la͡ucit-/lŭcit- **having the hair torn out** **F** -a_6
ly- **to take; verbal operator: the action tends to the subject** [5.F.1.g] **F** -au_7
lyau- **devotion, attachment, longing, spiritual/mental immersion** **F** -0_4, -0_8
v$_1$- **far demonstrative** [3.E.1.a] **F** -$ā_{10}$, -ai_3, -o_2
-v$_2$- **deriver of ordinals** [2.E.1] **P** -a_1- **F** -ai_6
-v$_3$- **inserted consonant** [5.J.4] **P** -0_2-, -a_3-, -$ã_3$-, $ā_1$-, -$ā_3$-, -$ā_4$-, gā-, cu-, $jī_1$-, dhyā-, nha-, nhā-, pasu-, pā-, pī-, batā-, bīlo-/bilo-, bulā-, byā-, bhā-, ro-, $lā_1$-, ṣā-, ṣu-, ṣo-, so_1-, ho- **F** -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, -a_{15}, -al-, -ahu_3, -$ã_3$-, -$ã_5$, -$ã_7$, -$ā_4$-, -$ā_5$, -$ī_4$, -$a͡i_8$, -$a͡ihĩ$, -ai_{12}, -ai_{13}, -aihi, -o_1, -o_5, -o_6, -$a͡u_4$, -au_5
-vara **-plex, -plicate (deriver of multiplicatives)** [2.F] **P** te-, do-
vãh- **arm** **F** -a_5
vār$_1$- **this shore, limit** **F** -a_4, -a_8
vār-+-a_4/-a_8 na pār-+-a_4/-a_8/-$ā_7$ **either shore being beyond reach; without bounds and limits**

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-vār$_2$- **deriver of nouns of profession or occupation** [1.C.9] **P** -a$_1$- **F** -ī$_1$-
vārāṇ- **brāhmaṇa F** -a$_4$
vārā- **adolescent girl F** -0$_4$
-vāl- **deriver of nouns of profession or occupation** [1.C.9] **P** -a$_1$- **F** -ā$_5$, -ai$_4$
vāh- **to till, to cultivate, to grow F** -0$_2$-
vināṣ- **death, destruction F** -a$_4$
visavāṣ- **expectation, hope, reliance F** -ā$_7$
visār- **to forget, to cast aside, to neglect F** -0$_2$-
vr̥thā **in vain, uselessly**
vr̥radhi- **growth F** -0$_4$
ved- **Veda F** -a$_6$
velā̃- **appropriate time F** -0$_4$
vai **but, after all** [8.C]
voch- **inferior F** -a$_8$
voḍh- **to cover, to wrap (body) F** -a$_2$-
vol- **screen, cover; refuge, support F** -ai$_7$
voṣad- **medicinal herb F** -a$_5$, -a$_7$
vyā-/byā- **to give birth to (of animals) F** -ī$_{10}$
vyāp- **to encompass, to pervade, to engulf F** -ai$_{13}$
vrat- **vow, fast F** -a$_8$
vrahm-/brahm- **brahma, Brahma; brāhmaṇa F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -ā$_5$
vrahmāḍ-/brahmāḍ- **Brahma's egg, universe F** -a$_4$
ṣāḍ- **to break (?) F** -a$_{17}$
ṣābh- **pillar, column F** -a$_8$
ṣa- **to eat F** -i$_3$-
ṣaṭ- **six F** -a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$
ṣaṭakaramī- **ṣaṭkarma, six duties of brāhmanas F** -0$_4$
ṣaṛag- **sword F** -a$_4$
ṣaṇ- **to dig out F** -i$_{11}$
ṣabari- **news, information F** -0$_4$
ṣar$_1$- **ass, donkey F** -a$_4$
ṣar$_2$- **exceeding F** -ā$_5$
ṣalak- **world F** -a$_8$
ṣalās- **released, liberated F**-ai$_3$
ṣasam- **husband; Lord F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
ṣā̃ḍ$_1$- **sword F** -e$_2$
ṣā̃ḍ$_2$- **sugar F** -a$_9$
ṣā- **to eat; to devour F** -0$_2$-, -i$_9$, -ī$_9$, -ī$_{11}$, -v$_3$-
ṣāī- **moat F** -0$_4$
ṣār- **salty F** -e$_1$

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ṣālik- **Creator** **F** -a_4
ṣālī- **empty, vacant** **F** -0_5
ṣiṇ- **moment, instant** **F** -a_8
ṣilũn- **toy** **F** -$ã_4$
ṣīṇ- **thin; faded, feeble, weak** **F** -$ã_4$
ṣīn- **thin; faded, feeble, weak** **F** -$ā_5$
ṣīr- **milk** **F** -a_8
ṣu- **to eat** **F** -v_3-
ṣudāi-/ṣudāī- **God** **F** -0_3, -0_7
ṣumārī- **intoxication** **F** -0_4
ṣul- **to be opened** **F** -0_2-
ṣusi- **happy, pleased** **F** -y_2-
ṣusur- **father-in-law** **F** -a_4
ṣũṭ- **peg** **F** -$ī_7$
ṣūṭ- **to end, to be ended** **F** -ai_{13}
ṣet- **field** **F** -i_6
ṣed$_1$- **beater driving the game during hunting** **F** -$ā_5$
ṣed$_2$- **to drive off, to scare away** **F** -ai_{13}
ṣem- **welfare** **F** -a_4
ṣel- **to play (a game); to go, to roam** **F** -ai_{12}, -ai_{13}
ṣevaṭ- **boatman, oarsman** **F** -a_4
ṣo- **to lose, to waste** **F** -0_2-, -v_3-
ṣoj$_1$- **to search** **F** -0_2-, -i_{10}, -i_{11}, -$ai̯_8$, -$au̯_6$
ṣoj$_2$- **trace, clue** **F** -a_4
ṣoṭ- **false, fake** **F** -ai_6
ṣol- **to open, to untie** **F** -ai_{13}
ṣosar- **castrated animal (?)** **F** -ai_6
ṣyau- **destruction, removal** **F** -0_7
s$_1$- **far demonstrative/correlative** [3.F.1.a] **F** -a_{12}, -u_4, -o_2, -o_7
-s$_2$- **like, resembling** [4.A.2] **P** -a_{14}, -au_1 **F** -e_1, -au_1
-s$_3$- **future** [5.C.2] **P** -a_2-, -i_2-, -ya_2- **F** -$ī_{10}$, -i_8
sãkar- **Śaṃkara, Śiva** **F** -a_4
sãkuṭ-/sãkaṭ- **adversity, trouble, misery** **F** -i_6
sãg- **attachment, bond, tie; touch, contact, company** **F** -a_4, -a_6, -i_6
sãgati- **company** **F** -0_4, -0_8
-sãgā **with** [4.B.10] **P** -ai_6
(-)sãgi **along with, together (**transposed substantive) [4.B.10] **P** -0_7, -a_8, -$ā_{10}$, -āhū **F** -kari$_2$
sãgrã̃m- **battle** **F** -i_6
sãc- **to amass, to hoard** **F** -a_2-, -i_{11}

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sājam- **saṃyama, control of senses, self-discipline** F -a_4, -$ā_7$
sājhā- **evening, night; junction of the three divisions of the day: morning, noon and evening** F -0_8
sājhyā- **ritual acts performed at sandhyā time** [**morning, noon, evening**] F -0_4
sāt$_1$- **noble, virtuous** F -a_1-, -a_4, -a_6, -a_8, -a_{10}, -ani$_1$, -au$_2$
sāt$_2$- **to grieve, to suffer** F -$ā_4$-
sātata/sātati **continuously**
sātāp- **suffering, affliction** F -a_4
sātoṣ- **satisfaction, contentment** F -a_4
sādaur-/sīdaur- **box with vermilion** F -$ā_5$
sādhi- **conjunction, union** F -0_4
sāneh- **love** F -a_4
sāpati- **wealth** F -0_4
sāmād-/samād- **ocean** F -a_4
sāmajh- **to understand** F -a_2-
sāmudr- **ocean** F -ahi$_1$
sās- **doubt** F -$ā_5$
sāsār-/saĩsār- **saṃsāra, world** F -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$, -$ī_1$-
sāsārī- **worldly person, man of the world** F -0_7
-sa/-s[a] **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.D.1.d; 3.E.1.b] P i_1-, u_1- F -hi$_2$
sak- **to can, verbal operator** P na$_1$ F -ai$_{12}$, -ai$_{13}$
sakālaviyāpī- **all-pervading** F -0_3
sakal- **whole, all; finished** F -a_4, -a_5, -a_8
sakti- **might, power** F -0_8
sag- **one's own; relative** F -$ī_4$, -au$_1$
sac- **happiness, joy, pleasure** F -u_2
sacal- **changing, mobile** F -a_4
sajan- **gentleman; close relative** F -a_6
sat$_1$- **truth, ultimate reality** F -a_4
sat$_2$- **sattva, one of the three guṇas** F -a_8
satagur-/sātagur- **Sadguru, the Supreme guru** F -a_4, -a_8, -i_6
satari- **seventy** F -0_{11}
sati- **truth, ultimate reality** F -0_7
satī- **woman who immolates herself on funeral pyre of her husband** F -0_4
sadā **always**
sanakādik- **Sanaka and the other** [**three sons of Brahmā**] F -a_6
sanātan- **eternal** F -a_4
sanāh- **armour** F -a_4
saneh- **love, kindness** F -a_8, -$ī_2$-

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sanyã̃- **multitude, large assembly** F -0_4
sab- **all, whole; every** F -a_4, -a_5, -a_6, -a_7, -a_8, -ana, -ani_1, -ahi_1, -ai_2, -ai_1, -ai_3, -ai_5
sab-+-a_4 koī **everybody**
sabad- **śabda, sound, word** F -a_4, -a_6, -$ã̃_7$
sabal- **strong** F -$ā_5$
sabd- **śabda, sound, word** F -a_4
sabhāg- **lucky, fortunate** F -$ā_5$
sam- **same, equal** F -i_6
sami kar- **to regard as of equal value**
samajh-/sãmajh- **to understand** F -0_2-, -$ā_4$-
samã̃-/samā- **to enter, to penetrate, to permeate; to dissolve; to fill, to fit in** F -i_{11}, -$ī_{10}$, -$ī_{13}$, -$ũ$, -$ŋ_2$-/-n_2-, -$hĩ_1$
-samã̃n- **equal; like, resembling** [4.A.4] P -a_8, -a_{14} F -a_4
samādhi- **samādhi, contemplation, concentration of mind** F -0_4, -0_8
samo- **to add, to admix** F -i_{10}
sayã̃n- **clever, sophisticated** F -$ã̃_5$, -$ī_4$
sar_1- **to succeed, to be accomplished** F -0_2-, -ai_{13}
-sar_2- **deriver of ordinals** [2.E.1] P dū- F -a_4
sar_3- **arrow** F -i_6
sarajīv- **created; living being** F -a_4
saraṇãī- **protection, refuge, asylum** F -0_8
saraṇāgati- **protection, refuge, asylum** F -0_4
saravar- **pond, lake** F -a_4, -i_6
sarīkī- **participating** F -0_3
sarīr- **body** F -a_8, -$ā_5$, -$ā_7$
$sarūp_1$- **true nature, substance** F -a_4
$sarūp_2$- **good-looking** F -a_4
sarovar- **lake, pool;** ***fig.*** **expanse of spiritual consciousness** F -a_8
sarb- **all, every** F -a_8
sal_1- **funeral pyre** F -a_4
sal_2- **to prick, to pierce** F -0_2-
[sa]lãmã̃- **salutation, tribute** F -0_3
salã̃mati- **well-being, welfare** F -0_4
savāy- **debt with interest rate at 25 per cent** F -$ā_5$
savār- **to make, to accomplish** F -0_2-, -ai_{13}
saṣ- **friend, companion, chum** F -$ā_6$, -$ī_5$, -$ī_7$
sasihar- **moon** F -a_4, -a_8
sahaj- **easy; innate, natural, spontaneous; the Innate, the state of sahaj** F -a_4, -a_8, -i_6, -i_{12}, -ai_{17}, -$\widetilde{aĩ}_2$, -$\widetilde{aĩ}_{10}$

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sahī- **correct, right** F -0_4
-saheta **together with** [4.B.11] P -a_8
sahel- **companion** F -$ī_5$
sā̃ī- **Lord; husband** F -0_3, -0_7
sā̃c- **to accumulate, to collect, to hoard** F -0_2-, -ai_{13}
sā̃ṭh- **capital** F -$ā_5$
sā̃ḍ- **Śaṇḍa, name of a demon** F -$ā_7$
sā̃dh$_1$- **to fulfil, to practice** F -0_2-
sā̃dh$_2$- **to plait, to braid** F -i_{11}
sā̃dh$_3$- **to take aim, to zero in** F -0_2-, -ai_{13}
sā̃s- **doubt** F -$ā_5$
sākat- **śākta, worshipper of goddess Śakti** F -a_6
sāgar- **sea, ocean** F -a_4
sāc- **truth** F -a_4
sāṭī-/sāṭi- **club, stick** F -0_8
sāt- **seven** F -a_{13}
sāta sūt- **seven dhātus of the body**
sātig- **sāttvika, relating to the quality of sattva, pure, virtuous** F -a_4
sāth- **company** F -a_4
sāthī- **companion, friend** F -0_5
sādh$_1$- **to prove, to fulfil** F -0_2-
sādh$_2$- **saint, saintly man** F -a_{10}
sādh$_3$- **desire, wish** F -a_5
sādhū- **saint, saintly man** F -0_7
sāp- **snake** F -a_4
sāpaṇi- **female snake** F -0_4
sār$_1$- **essence, substance** F -a_4
sār$_2$- **ultimate, true, real** F -a_4
sārā̃gaprā̃ṇī̃-/sāragaprā̃ṇī- **Kr̥ṣṇa, Viṣṇu** F -0_3
sāradūr- **cheetah; tiger; lion** F -ahi$_1$
sāvaj- **wild animal** F -a_6
sāṣat- **Śākta** F -a_4, -a_6, -a_8
sāṣā- **branch of tree** F -0_6, -~
sāṣit- **Śākta** F -a_8
sās- **breath, life** F -$ā_5$
sāsati- **direction, order, command** F -0_4
sāsur- **residence of the in-laws** F -i_6
sāsū- **mother-in-law** F -0_4
sāhib- **Lord** F -a_4
-si **2nd and 3rd pers. sg. infl. perf.** [5.B.3] P -0_2-

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sikalī- **firm, firmly fixed (?); (located at the) summit / top (?)** F -0_7
sigār-/sĩgār- **make-up, adornment** F -a_4
sic- **to water, to irrigate** F -$ā_4$-
sicā̃ṇ- **hawk, falcon** F -$ã_2$
sidhi- **siddhi, magical power; attainment of final goal** F -0_4, -0_6
sinyāsī- **saṃnyāsin, ascetic** F -0_3
sir- **head** F -a_4, -i_6
siraj- **to create** F -0_2-
siv- **Śiva** F -a_4
sĩ̃gī- **musical pipe (made of deer´s horn)** F -0_4
sĩ̃ghāsan- **throne** F -a_4
sĩ̃c- **to water, to irrigate** F -0_2-, -a_2-
sīv- **Śiva, paramātman** F -ahi$_1$
sīṣ- **to learn** F -0_2-
sīs- **head** F -a_4
sũdar- **beautiful** F -a_5, -i_5
sũnah- **dog** F -$ã̃_4$, -$ã̃_6$
sũni- **śūnya, the state of sahaja** F -0_7
sukrit- **merit** F -a_8
sujas- **glory** F -a_4
suṇ- **to listen, to hear** F -0_2-, -$ã̃u_6$
sut- **son** F -a_4, -a_8
sudhi- **consciousness** F -0_4
sun-/sũn- **to listen, to hear** F -0_2-, -a_2-, -ahu$_3$/-ahũ$_4$, -$ã̃_3$-, -$ā_4$-, -i_3-, -i_{10},
sunah- **dog** F -$ã̃_4$, -$ã̃_6$
suni- **śūnya, the state of sahaja** F -0_7
supin- **dream** F -a_8, -ai$_4$, -ai$_6$
suphal- **successful** F -a_6
subadhi- **good sense, correct understanding** F -0_8
sumir- **to remember** F -0_2-, -$ã_1$-, -a_2-, -a_{17}, -i_{10}, -ai$_{12}$, -au$_7$
sumir- + -$ã_1$- + -$ṇ_1$- **remembrance, recollection, contemplation** F -a_4
sumriti- **smṛti, Dharmaśāstra** F -0_4, -0_8, -0_{10}
sur$_1$- **god** F -a_6, -a_8
sur$_2$- **arrow** F -a_6
surajh- **to be disentangled, to extricate oneself** F -i_2-, -ai$_{13}$
surati- **consciousness, concentrated mind** F -0_4
surahī- **cow** F -0_4
surtt- **attentive, concentrated** F -$ā_5$
sulatā̃n-/sulitā̃n- **sultān, king** F -a_4
suvan- **parrot** F -$ā_5$

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suṣ- **happiness; bliss** **F** -a_1-, -a_4, -a_8
suṣadev- **Śukadeva, devotee of Viṣṇu, narrator of Bhāgavatapurāṇa** **F** -a_8
suṣaman-/suṣman- **suṣumnā, the central of the three nāḍīs** **F** -a_5, -i_7
suṣadāī- **F** -0_4
suṣmanā̃- **suṣumnā, the central of the three nāḍīs** **F** -0_4
suhā- **to be liked, to be pleasing** **F** -$ī_{10}$
suhāg- **woman's matrimonial happiness** **F** -a_4
suhāgani- **woman whose husband is alive** **F** -0_4, -0_8
sũdar- **beautiful** **F** -a_4
sũni- **śūnya, the state of sahaja** **F** -0_7
sūk- **dry** **F** -ai_6
sūkar- **pig** **F** -a_4, -a_8
sūc- **clean, pure** **F** -$ā_6$
sūjh- **to be perceived, to be felt; to occur to one's mind, to be understood** **F** -ai_{13}
sūt- **yarn, thread** **F** -a_4, -a_6
sūd- **śūdra** **F** -$ā_5$
sūdh- **pure, clear, distinct; straight, upright** **F** -a_4, -$ā_5$
sūbhar- **full to the brim; clear, radiant, shining** **F** -a_4
sūr$_1$- **hero** **F** -a_6, -$ā_5$, -au_1
sūr$_2$- **sun** **F** -a_4, -a_8, -$ā_5$
sūr$_3$- **god** **F** -a_6
sūrati- **form** **F** -0_8
se- **to worship** **F** -i_3-, -$ī_3$-
set- **white** **F** -a_6
-setī **with** [4.B.12] **P** -a_8
ser- **ser, measure of weight equal to approx. 1 kg** **F** -a_6
sev$_1$- **to serve** **F** -au_7
sev$_2$- **devoted service, reverence, devotion** **F** -a_5
sevag- **devoted servant, bhakta** **F** -a_4
sevā- **devoted service, reverence, devotion** **F** -0_4, -0_8
sail- **free, unrestrained, independent** **F** -a_4, -$ī_5$
so$_1$- **to sleep** **F** -0_2-, -i_{11}, -v_3-
-so$_2$ **with** [4.B.12] **P** -e_5
soc- **to think** **F** -ahi$_3$, -i_{10}, -i_{11}
sodh- **to search** **F** -i_{11}, -il-
solah- **sixteen;** ***fig.*** **lotus with sixteen petals, viśuddha or ājñā cakra** **F** -a_{14}
soṣ- **to suck, to absorb** **F** -0_2-, -ai_{13}
soh- **to shine** **F** -ai_{13}
-sa͠ũ **with** [4.B.12] **P** -a_8, -a_9, -$ā_{10}$

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sa͡ũj- **energy** **F** -a_5
snān- **ritual bathing** **F** -a_8
syãgh- **lion,** ***fig.*** **ahaṃkāra, egoism** **F** -a_4, -a_8
syāl- **jackal,** ***fig.*** **mind** - (V. Sĩha) **F** -a_4
-syũ **with; of, from** [4.B.12] **P** -0_7, -0_8, -a_8, -a_{14}, -ani$_1$, -avana, -$ā_{10}$, -āhī, -$ī_6$
srãg- **heaven, paradise** **F** -a͡ĩ$_2$
sragalok- **heaven, paradise** **F** -a_4
srap- **snake** **F** -a_8
srab- **all, entire, whole** **F** -a_4
srī- **honorific particle** **F** gopāl-, naraharī-, hari$_1$-
svã̆tī- **peace of mind** **F** -0_4
svã̆n- **dog** **F** -a_4, -a_8
svã̆mī- **Lord, Master** **F** -0_3
svād- **enjoyment, taste** **F** -a_4
h$_1$- **to be, to exist** [5.A.1.d] **F** -0_2-, -ũ̆$_3$-, -a͡ĩ$_8$, -ai$_{12}$, -ai$_{13}$, -a͡ũ$_5$, -au$_5$
-h$_2$- **future** [5.C.3] **P** -i$_2$-, de-, dai-, le- **F** -ũ, -ũ̆$_3$, -a͡ĩ$_7$, -ai$_{13}$, -au$_5$
hãm- **pronoun of the 1st pers. pl.** [3.A.6, 7; 3.B.3] **F** -a_{13}, -a_{14}, -ār-
hãs- **soul,** [**represented as**] **swan** **F** -a_4
haka **just, right (attribute of God)**
haja- **hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca** **F** -0_3
hajūr- **presence, attendance** **F** -i$_{12}$
haṭh- **to be obstinate** **F** -i$_{11}$
had- **limit, bounds** **F** -a_9
ham- **pronoun of the 1st pers. pl.** [3.A.6, 7; 3.B.3] **F** -a_{13}, -a_{14}, -ār-
har$_1$- **to carry away; to annihilate** **F** -i$_{11}$
har$_2$- **house, abode** **F** -a_8
haraṣ- **to rejoice** **F** -i$_{11}$
hari$_1$-/harī- **Hari, Viṣṇu, God** **P** srī- **F** -0_3, -0_7, -ĩhi
hari$_2$- **green, fresh** **F** -$ā_3$-
harijan-/harījan- **bhakta, devotee** **F** -a_6, -a_8
hariṣ- **to rejoice** **F** -i$_3$-
halad- **turmeric** **F** -a_5
halāla- **prescribed** [**way of killing a sacrificial animal**] **F** -0_3
havāī- **spark (?)** **F** -0_4
hastī- **elephant** **F** -0_3, -0_5, -0_7
-hã̆ **adverb of place** [3.D.2.b] **P** i$_1$-
hāk- **to drive out** **F** -i$_{11}$
hājir- **present** **F** -$ã̆_4$
hāṭ- **market, marketplace** **F** -a_5
hāth- **hand; cubit, measure of 24 angulas** **F** -a_6, -i_6

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hār$_1$- **garland, necklace** **F** -a$_4$
hār$_2$- **to lose** **F** -0$_2$-, -i$_{10}$, -ai$_{13}$
-hār$_3$- **deriver of agent nouns** [1.C.10] **P** -a$_1$- **F** -a$_4$, -ā$_5$, -ā$_7$, -ī$_6$, -ai$_6$, -au$_1$
hārī- **remover, destroyer** **F** -0$_3$
-hĩ$_1$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.f] **P** puvã-
-hĩ$_2$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [7.A.1] **P** -a$_{13}$, -a$_{14}$
hĩdū **Hindu** **F** -0$_3$, -0$_5$
-hi$_1$ **obl. sg. of pronouns** [3.D.1.c] **P** i$_1$-
-hi$_2$ **dat./acc. of pronouns** [3.A.3, 5, 7; 3.D.1.d; 3.F.1.e; 3.G.1.c] **P** -a$_{14}$, -ā$_{10}$, -o$_4$-, -sa
-hi$_3$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.f] **P** hũ$_2$-
-hi$_4$ **2nd pers. sg. imper.** [5.B.2.a] **P** jā$_1$-
-hi$_5$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [7.A.1] **P** -a$_4$, -a$_{13}$, -ai$_6$, -ta
hit- **passion** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
hitakārī- **useful, beneficial** **F** -0$_3$
hiraṇākas- **Hiraṇyakaśipu** **F** -a$_4$
hiradai- **heart** **F** -0$_7$
-hĩ$_1$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.f] **P** jã-, samã-
-hĩ$_2$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [7.A.1] **P** -a$_4$, -a$_8$, -a$_{13}$, -a$_{18}$, -ani$_2$, -aba, -ã$_7$, -i$_6$, -ina, -yũ, -hã
hĩdū-/hīdū- **Hindu** **F** -0$_3$
-hī$_1$ **3rd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.f] **P** de-
-hī$_2$ **exclusive emphatic particle** [3.F.1.e; 7.A.1] **P** -a$_8$, -a$_{13}$, -ahã, -ā$_{10}$, -inha, -au$_3$ **F** -syũ
-hīṇ- **without, lacking** [4.A.6] **P** -0$_8$ **F** -ã$_4$
hīdū-/hĩdū- **Hindu** **F** -0$_3$
hīn- **weak, feeble** **F** -a$_5$
hīr- **diamond** **F** -ā$_5$, -au$_1$
-hũ **aggregative** [2.B] **P** -0$_{12}$
-hu$_1$ **aggregative** [2.B] **P** -0$_{12}$
-hu$_2$ **2nd pers. pl.** (pres., if no other temporal marker follows) [5.B.1.e] **P** jā$_1$-, de-, le-
-hu$_3$ **2nd pers. pl. imper.** [5.B.2.c] **P** de-, lai$_1$-/le-, ho$_1$-
hulas- **to rejoice, to be joyful** **F** -ai$_{13}$
hũ$_1$- **pronoun of the 1st pers. sg.** [3.A.1] **F** -0$_{11}$
hũ$_2$- **to be** [5.A.2.e, m] **F** -ṇ$_3$-, -hi$_3$
-hũ$_3$ **inclusive emphatic particle** [7.A.2] **P** -a$_{13}$, aja, -aba, āja, -i$_{11}$, -ina

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hū$_1$- **to be, to become** [5.A.2.i] **F** -0$_2$-
-hū$_2$ **aggregative** [2.B] **P** -0$_{12}$ **F** -thā̃ĩ
hr̥dai-/hr̥idai- **heart** **F** -0$_3$, -0$_7$
he **vocative particle**
hek- **one** **F** -a$_{13}$
het- **love, affection, attachment** **F** -a$_4$, -a$_8$
her- **to find** **F** -0$_2$-
hai **vocative particle**
ho$_1$- **to be, to become** [5.A.2.a, c, g, h, k] **F** -i$_9$, -i$_{11}$, -ī$_{10}$, -ī$_{11}$, -t$_3$-, -v$_3$-, -hu$_3$
ho$_2$ **vocative particle**
hridai- **heart** **F** -0$_7$
hv- **to be, to become** [5.A.2.b, d, e, f, l] **F** -ā̃ĩhi, -ai$_{13}$, -ai$_{14}$, -ai$_{16}$
hvāl-/havāl- **condition, plight** **F** -a$_4$

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